

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Edited by
NARENDRA NATH LAW



The establishment of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones in the eighteenth century, the product of the early Europeans in India, to acquire and disseminate knowledge of Indian history, customs and manners of the Indian people left a blazing trail through its journals and proceedings. The coming centuries witnessed several savants delving deep in the subject and as a result, besides many books, several articles were published in the ever increasing journals and periodicals. To wit the untiring efforts of Cunningham, Max Muller, Stein, Princep and others can be cited.

Thus by the early twentieth century books, journals and periodicals had become so vast that it became a Herculean task for the scholars and researchers to find in one place all relevant materials required for their subject of research, particularly about Indian history and culture. They had to wade through an ocean of publications.

To alleviate the distress of these knowledge craving scholars Dr. Narendra Nath Law started a Quarterly—*The Indian Historical Quarterly*. The principal aim of this quarterly was to publish articles, notices, *etc.* dealing with Indian history and civilization.

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THE
INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

EDITED BY
NARENDRA NATH LAW

Vol. I



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Introduction

It would seem that as there are already so many journals in which Indian history and civilization are discussed, there is no need for a new one. Those who have tried to follow the development of Indian historical research in later times will know, however, how extremely difficult it is to do so. It is necessary to look for information in so many different periodicals, and the number of separate books and publications dealing with the various periods and the numerous problems is so rapidly increasing from year to year that it is not an easy task to know what has already been done.

An Indian Historical Quarterly will therefore be very welcome, and we have every reason for being thankful to Dr. Narendra Nath Law for taking the initiative.

There are numerous problems connected with the history of India which are of general interest and do not concern India only. The latest discoveries in Sind and in the Punjab have raised the question about a possible connection between India and the ancient civilization of Mesopotamia, which latter has played such a prominent rôle in the development of the Western world. If the antiquities unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa belong to an old civilization connected with that of the Sumerians, which came to an end about 3000 years B. C., we shall have to

reconsider the question about the date of the Aryan invasion of India in the light of these new finds, and it is probable that we shall arrive at results which are calculated to modify our ideas about the history of the Aryan and the Indo-European periods in the history of our race. We shall be able to judge better about the relations existing between the different countries and the different civilizations in ancient times than we can at the present day, and we shall probably find that there was much more intercourse and much less isolation than many people have been inclined to think.

There are other questions which likewise take us outside the borders of India. Who were the Dravidians, and whence did they come? What can we find out about the ancient civilization which perhaps preceded the Dravidians and the Aryans in India and in the continent and islands surrounding the Indian seas, and what does it teach us about the development of the eastern world in pre-historic times?

If we turn to later times, the importance of Indian history does not become less. Time after time foreign invaders have entered the country and founded empires of varying importance and duration. Indian history has seldom been restricted to India itself. It forms an important chapter in the general history of the world; and the Indian trade, which looms so large in the statistics of many modern nations, has always been important. The history of the trade of the world would be incomplete if India's share in it were not carefully studied.

Still more such considerations hold good with him who tries to disentangle the history of the development of human thought and human ideals during the ages. Here, a conspicuous place is to be accorded to India, not only in modern times, but also in bygone ages. And much, very much, patient spade work will have to be done before we can hope to draw the historical outlines.

To the students of history in general, a periodical which is devoted to Indian history will, for such and for other reasons which I need not here detail, be extremely welcome. Much more still, however, will that be the case from the view-point of the Indian student.

India is slowly, but surely, making her re-entrance as a separate unit in the world's concert. The Indian tribes and races are developing into a real nation, with its own aims and its own tendencies ; and the Indian people will necessarily take a greater interest in its past history.

An ancient people will never be able to hold its own in the world, if it chooses to live exclusively on loans from abroad. It must build up its future on the safe foundation of its material and spiritual experience in the past. It cannot live in the past and seclude itself from the outside world by means of Chinese walls. The ancient barriers have been broken down, and every country must, at the present day, enter into competition and co-operation with all the rest. But it cannot enter into the complicated system of the modern world without backbone. And only a thorough understanding of the past, with intimate knowledge of such power and forces as have been developed out of the peculiar faculties of the people itself, can give the necessary self-reliance and strength if it is not to lose its individuality and become a mere spectator of the great drama.

With the growth of the national idea in India, the interest in the country's history must go hand in hand. It is India, with all her traditions and all her ancient history, which must secure her entrance in the modern world ; and an historical journal is bound to occupy an important place in the development.

All those who have learnt to know India and to love India, whether they are Indians or foreigners, will therefore welcome the new Quarterly. It will become an important source of information and a proper centre for discussion and research.

The necessary condition is, however, that the undertaking is conducted in a scientific and critical spirit. It will not be enough to dwell on such periods in Indian history as bear witness to great power and strength. Also the times of decadence and disaster belong to the people's history and are often peculiarly interesting in its development.

If such principles become the leading feature, the Indian Historical Quarterly will become an important undertaking, and the editor will be entitled to the gratitude of the world of scholars and of his country.

STEN KONOW

The Date of Zoroaster and the *Rgveda*

Professor Johannes Hertel has recently announced¹ his conclusion that a complete error has been made in accepting Indian tradition as a guide to the elucidation of the early history of India, and has claimed that our only authorities must be the actual texts, supplemented by the information to be gained from older or contemporary works. In this spirit he has revived the older idea that it is to the *Avesta* that we must look for evidence of the first weight in estimating both the date and the place of composition of the *Rgveda*, and he has arrived at the conclusion that the period of Zoroaster's activity fell about 550 B. C. and that the *Rgveda* was in large measure contemporaneous with the *Avesta* and was composed during the period when the wanderings of the Aryan tribes were not yet com-

1 *Die Zeit Zoroasters* (1924).

pleted. This claim involves two distinct issues, the date of the Zoroaster, and the contemporaneity of the *Ṛgveda* and Zoroaster, and the importance of the question for our view of the beginnings of Aryan influence on India is such as to justify full examination of his thesis, specially since its author adduces positive arguments and does not rely on vague impressions.

Herodotos, it is pointed out, shows no knowledge of the teaching of Zoroaster, but instead reports a condition of affairs representing faithfully the old nature worship of the priests, Magoi, to which the Zoroastrian reform was opposed. Zoroaster introduced a strong dualism based on moral principles, composed his pantheon of abstract figures, and treated the old nature powers, water, wind, earth, sun, moon, and dawn, as no more than mere natural objects, degrading to demons the Daévas of the older faith. To the supporters of the Good Spirit he assigns the bliss of heaven, to the adherents of the Druj abode in hell. Moreover, he attacked the practice of the sacrifice of animals, disapproved of the Haoma offering and of drunkenness, ignored the cult of the dog, a remnant from the period of nomadic life, and apparently did not approve the practice of the Magoi in exposing the bodies of the dead to dogs and birds. He says nothing of the wickedness of defiling water or fire, and he is a stranger to the vehement carrying out of the doctrine of dualism, which in the *Later Avesta* shows us the priests demanding the slaughter of all those creatures which were ranked as opposed to the Good Spirit. Herodotos¹ ignores all these traits ; he shows us the worship of the nature powers, the sky, sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and wind ; the sacrifice of animals ; drunkenness as a prevailing practice ; the exposure of the dead by the Magoi, and their devotion to slaying ants, snakes, other reptiles, and birds, while dogs they ranked with men as inviolable.

All this is clear and not open to serious dispute. But it is not easy to agree with the conclusion derived therefrom that the religion of Zoroaster must have been little known in Persian circles, and that Zoroaster could not have lived long before the date of Herodotos's visit to Persia or the reign of Xerxes I. Two views have been held with regard to the relation of Zoroaster and the Magoi. Dr. Hope Moulton¹ contended energetically in favour of the view that Zoroaster represented genuine Iranian views as against those of the aboriginal nomads whose priests the Magoi were. But this view seems to have little that is attractive in it². Much more plausible is the view accepted by Professor Hertel that the Magoi represented the true Iranian nature worship, upon which Zoroaster induced a moral dualism, which is recorded for us in the *Gāthās* of the *Avesta*, while in the *Later Avesta* we have the synthesis which the Magoi effected between the old religion and Zoroastrian reform, a synthesis in which pedantry and priestcraft have exaggerated and deformed much of what was noblest in Zoroaster's teaching. The conclusion, however, that Zoroaster himself was not a priest but a peasant, seems wholly unwarranted. It rests on an unsupported theory that Zoroaster represents a sharper break with the past than is plausible. We are at least entitled to assume that the essence of Zoroaster's work lay in developing and making distinct the germs of morality which in every religion of importance soon came to be associated with nature deities. The only tradition we have of him asserts consistently that he was one of the Magoi, and the whole point of Hertel's argument against this view lies in his contrast between him and the Magoi of the *Later Avesta*, ignoring the practical certainty that the earlier Magoi were far less fanatical. Reflexion on the development of religious feeling will show that the introduction of fanaticism

1 *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 152 ff.

2 See Keith, *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 790 793.

was largely due to Zoroaster's own teaching, for he certainly introduced into religion a moral emphasis which must result, human and priestly nature being such as it is, in vehemence of opposition to what is classed as bad which is foreign to religions with a less ethical turn.

In the light of these considerations we see another possibility. Instead of proving that Zoroaster was recent, Herodotos's silence may rather establish that he was early, and that, when Herodotos visited Persia, he did not appear in the light of a recent reformer, whose name would naturally be learned by an enquirer, but as a person of remote antiquity. Positively this argument is inconclusive, but it definitely negates the possibility of attaching any conclusive force to the contention in favour of the late date of Zoroaster based on the silence of Herodotos.

Moreover, against the negative evidence we have to set a very distinct fact. The Lydian Xanthos, who was a contemporary of Artaxerxes I (465-424 B. C.), is recorded in two different sources¹ as mentioning Zoroaster, and the second of these expressly mentions that he assigned him to a period 6000 years before the invasion of Xerxes and called him one of the Magoi. Unfortunately, as is inevitably the case in regard to numbers preserved only in *ms.* tradition, we have the variant 600, and there are many considerations which may be adduced in favour of that reading². On the other hand there was the belief vouched for by Hermodoros in the fourth century B. C. that Zoroaster lived 5000 years before the Trojan war, or as put later 6000 years before Alexander, and this fact may be regarded as supporting the earlier date given by Xanthos³. It is important also that in a fragment of Xanthos preserved by Nikolaos of Damascus, who wrote in the first century B. C., we find

1 See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 232, 241.

2 See Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 572, n. 8.

3 See Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 152 ff.

it recorded in connexion with the effort of Kroisos to burn himself on the fall of Sardis before the unexpected Persian attack that the Persians remembered the rule of Zoroaster against the defiling of the fire by burning the dead or otherwise. From the fact that Zoroaster was thus early credited with the Later Avestan doctrine of the purity of fire, it may quite fairly be deduced that he lived very considerably earlier than Xanthos of Lydia, whose Asiatic origin may justly be assumed to give his reports great weight. As Hertel merely vaguely suggests that the statements attributed to Xanthos are not authentic, and, as there is really not a scrap of evidence for such a view, we may safely hold that the silence of Herodotos is outweighed by the evidence of Xanthos, and that no conclusion for a later date of Zoroaster is admissible from it. Xanthos, on the other hand, attests the belief which was always held in Greece, that Zoroaster was a very ancient sage, and, if we take the date 600 before the expedition of Xerxes, we obtain a date of 1080 B. C. which is not itself implausible, although to give it credence on its own merits alone would be obviously impossible.

Other Greek testimony is of less account; the author of the pseudo-Platonic, but early, dialogue *Alkibiades I* records that Persian princes were instructed in the Mageia of Zoroaster, and Aristotle ascribed Zoroaster to 6000 years before the death of Plato.

Turning to the evidence from the Persian inscriptions, we find that Dareios I avows his deep devotion to Auramazdā, while before him we have according to Hertel no historical evidence whatever of the existence of this god either in Persian sources or in Herodotos. It follows therefore, that we must assume that Dareios trusted in the aid of a god who was the god par excellence of his family, and that Zoroaster must have lived in or before his time. The evidence of Herodotos, it is said, shows how few adherents Zoroastrianism had even under Xerxes I, and this fact is fatal to the view that Zoroaster lived a few centuries before that date.

A religion, it is contended, if after some centuries it has only a few adherents, could not suddenly develop in strength. This contention, however, appears to be without any cogency. If Zoroaster started his religious innovations some centuries before, and if the tradition had been kept up in the line whence Dareios sprang, it is not difficult to suppose that his success in overthrowing his foes, supported by the whole power of the Magoi who espoused the cause of Gaumāta, who claimed to be the brother of the dead Kambyases and therefore heir to the throne, may have roused his devotion to his family god, and induced him for the time to spread the Zoroastrian faith. The probability of Hertel's view is, therefore, negligible, and more serious proof is requisite.

This certainly cannot be deduced from the terms of the inscriptions of Dareios, which say nothing whatever about the introduction of a new deity. Hertel's claim that the conclusion of the Naksh-i-rustam inscription in which he bids men obey the commands of the god is only consistent with the introduction of a new deity is wholly inconclusive.

But a more concrete argument is adduced in the renewal of the old suggestion that in Vishtāspa the father of Dareios, we are to find Vishtāspa the patron of Zoroaster, and in the claim that this agrees with the traditional date of Zoroaster. The latter is unanimous in placing the beginning of his ministry 258 years before the commencement of Alexander's reign, or 272 years before the end of that reign, which gives us 595 or 594 B. C.¹ Hertel, however, candidly admits that in the main the Parsi tradition is utterly worthless,—it is not merely extremely late in its records but it displays deplorable ignorance of history² and his defence of it in this case rests on very feeble grounds. Sects, he contends, would place their founder at an earlier rather

¹ See Jackson, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 157 ff.

² See Meyer, *KZ.* xlii. 1, n. 2.

than a later date : the conclusion from this argument would seem to be that they have exaggerated the date of Zoroaster rather than that it is reliable, and Hertel really abandons tradition in favour of a somewhat later date. He refers to Anquetil du Perron's statement¹ that a religious sect which immigrated into China in 600 A. D. is evidently Zoroastrian in origin and that it has an era approximately of 559 B. C., which may be regarded as the date when Zoroaster left his home and entered on his mission. On the strength of this worthless piece of evidence, Hertel places Zoroaster about 550 B. C. as a preliminary to establishing the identity of his father with the patron of Zoroaster.

In this effort Hertel has no traditional support ; one thing is clear : the tradition asserted that the Vishtāspa who patronised Zoroaster was not the father of Dareios, but a Kavi-Vishtāspa, as the Gāthās call him, who according to the tradition was of the Kayanian dynasty founded by Kavāta. Hertel maintains that the term Kavi means merely prince, but assuming this to be correct, we are left with the fact that there is no obvious reason why tradition should have invented the dynasty and ignored the connection with the Achaimenidai. Hertel argues that it was due to their dislike of Dareios who slew the Magoi, but this is clearly something of a tour de force, as is his belief that the genealogy of Zoroaster is purely mythical, invented in order to make him one of the Magoi. But there is a further consideration, which makes it unlikely that Hertel's statement is true that the only Vishtāspa with whom we have to do must be Dareios's father. Moulton² has justly pointed out that Kyros gave his daughter the name Atossa, the Avestan Hutaosā, the name of the wife of Vishtāspa, Zoroaster's patron. It can hardly be denied that this use of the name of the wife of Vishtāspa in one branch of the Achaimenidai, coupled with

1 Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

2 Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 47.

the use of Vishtāspa's name in the other, proves that both branches knew of a Vishtāspa and Hutaosā earlier than either.

Finally Hertel seeks to show that the Gāthā preserved as *Yasna* liii, which was composed for the marriage of Zoroaster's daughter Pourucistā, really contains in veiled form an exhortation by Zoroaster addressed to Vishtāspa to take up arms against the Magos Gaumāta who had usurped the throne. The Gāthā then falls between April 2 and September 29, 522 B. C. The exhortation, it is supposed, was lost on Vishtāspa but accepted by the more energetic Dareios, who was thus fired to secure his succession to the throne and induced to become a convinced adherent of Zoroaster's god. It may fairly be said that the Gāthā in no way lends itself to such a hidden meaning, and this argument certainly does not strengthen Hertel's thesis.

Hertel recognises that his view is opposed to that of Eduard Meyer¹ among others, and he seeks to meet the argument derived by that scholar from the occurrence of the names Mazdaku or Maztaku as names of two Median princes in a list of twenty three found in an inscription of Sargon (722-705 B. C.), reflecting probably that king's victories in Media in 715-713 B. C. Meyer naturally held that the two princes by this nomenclature asserted their connection with the faith of Ahura Mazdāh. Hertel objects that *a priori* the names are not to be taken as theophoric, since no others in the list are of this kind. This contention, however, is clearly without value. It is no objection to the view that two princes should have theophoric names that others have not. Further the contention that the names may be derived merely from the Avestan counterpart of the Vedic *medhā*, which is used from time to time in Indian names, is merely a possibility, which leaves Meyer's argument still plausible. But, what is far more important, Hertel ignores entirely the argument which

1 . Meyer, KZ. xlii, 16.

can be deduced from the occurrence in an inscription¹ of Assurbanipal of the name Assara Mazdāsh. The inscription itself goes back to the middle of the seventh century B. C., and whatever else it does it disproves entirely the contention of Hertel that we hear nothing of Ahura Mazdāh until he appears in the inscriptions of Dareios and contemporaneously in the Gāthās of Zoroaster. The form of the name, however, obviously represents an older form than the Ahura Mazdāh of the Avesta, and Hommel who discovered the reference suggested that the borrowing of the name should be assigned to the Kassite period of Babylonian history, say 1700 to 1200 B. C. This would induce us to put the worship of Ahura Mazdāh as earlier than Zoroaster, and this accords well with the position suggested above, that Zoroaster was the man who extended and deepened a moral and abstract tendency in Iranian thought, not the man who suddenly overthrew a purely non-moral nature worship.

We are left thus with nothing definite regarding Zoroaster's date, save that it was probably a good deal earlier than Kyros. Hertel ignores the difficulty presented by the absolute silence of Dareios regarding Zoroaster, which points rather distinctly to the fact that Zoroaster belonged to a considerably earlier period, and that he has not yet assumed in the eyes of kings at least the extraordinary importance accorded to him in the *Later Avesta*. Indeed it has often been held that Dareios was not even a Zoroastrian², and he certainly was a lax one, but in any case we cannot really suppose that, if he owed his incentive to monarchy from Zoroaster, he would so wholly have passed him over in his inscriptions when magnifying the god of whom Zoroaster was the prophet. A hint at a more definite dating might be obtained if we could believe that the name Phraortes, borne by the father of Deiokes,

1 Hommel, *PSBA*. 1899, pp. 127 ff.

2 Casartelli, *The Religion of the Great Kings*; L. H. Gray, *ERE*, i. 69-73.

founder of the Median kingdom, was correctly rendered "confessor," Fravartish, thus establishing its bearer as an exponent of the doctrines of Zoroaster¹. But the evidence for this view is too slight to be considered valid.

We reach, therefore, the conclusion that Hertel's effort to date the Gāthās of the *Avesta* has failed definitely, and with it the value of his evidence connecting the *Rġveda* and the *Avesta* becomes minimal. But it must be noted that his evidence on this score so far as it has been presented is scanty and unattractive. The *Rġveda*² uses the term *devanid*, 'those who scorn the Devas.' Now, it is contended, none but the Zoroastrians can be meant by this term, for Zoroaster was the revolutionary who overthrew the Devas, and in no other people do we find such a treatment of the gods of light prior to Christianity. The argument seems deplorably weak; India in *Rġveda* times was obviously strongly influenced by aboriginal tribes who, we may be sure, were regarded as hostile to the Aryan gods by the Vedic Indians, just as in Homer we have the gods ranged against one side or another in hostility according as they favour the Achaians or the Trojans.

Secondly, it is contended that the term *brahma-dviṣ* in the *Rġveda* applies primarily at least to the Zoroastrians. The explanation of this view is complex. It rests on the doctrine that to Zoroaster the soul (*daénā*) existed both before and after its earthly experience, while in the Veda the doctrine of the Brahman was held, according to which there is a heavenly fire whence springs the individual and into which the individual is resolved on death. The Zoroastrians, accordingly, may justly be styled *brahma-dviṣ*. Yet common sense tells us that the term simply means "hating the Brahmins", and has nothing whatever to do with a complex mystical theory of the nature of the Brahman. Still less can we accept the

1 Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 455, n. 1.

2 i. 152. 2; ii. 23. 8; vi. 61. 3.

theory of Hertel that the term *brahma-dviṣ* in *Rgveda* vii. 104. 2 obviously applies to the Piśācas, who are then identified with the Padaioi, nomads of the Indus valley, in Herodotus (iii. 99), for the passage applies the term to a Rakṣas, and we need have no hesitation in finding in India itself demons and foes sufficient to explain the term *brahma-dviṣ*.

We must, therefore, acquiesce in essentially negative conclusions, nor unfortunately have the results of recent discoveries in Asia thrown any very effective light on the early history of the Indo-Iranians. Hertel incidentally cites with approval the effort of Ipsen¹ to establish that the unity of the Indo-Europeans lasted to about 2000 B. C. The evidence, however, is inadequate; it rests on nothing more substantial than the assumption that the form of the word "star" was borrowed by the Indo-Europeans when still united about the time of Hammurabi². The assumption lacks, unfortunately, any serious ground. There is not sufficient evidence to prove that the word actually was borrowed from Babylonian, and still less to prove borrowing at the specific time alleged.

Another effort has been made by Peake³ to sketch a time table of Indo-European movements. Rejecting the view of Giles⁴, which selects the Hungarian area as the original home, or at least relegating it to the remote past of the race, he finds in them the people known as Kurgan builders or red ochre people who occupied according to archæological evidence a wide area on the steppes east of the Dnieper, extending perhaps even as far as Turkestan. From this home, where they had on the west as neighbours the men of the Tripolye culture, which others have claimed as Indo-European⁵, various

¹ *IF.* xli, 177 f.

² Dated 2123-2081 B.C. or 1958-1916; See *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* i. 147 ff.

³ *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, pp. 156 ff.

⁴ *Cambridge Hist. Ind.* i. 72.

⁵ Cf. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 92.

movements took place, resulting in the wide appearance of peoples of Indo-European speech. A dispersal, due to drought on the steppes, seems to have sent some of them to the Baltic lands about 3000 B. C., but the main movement falls about 2200 B. C.¹ Then nomads attracted the attention of Hammurabi on the Iranian slopes, into which they introduced the horse; these were the Kassites whom he assumes from their language to have been Indo-European. The Āryas, who spoke Indo-European dialects, were still undivided about 2000 B. C., when they were occupying the eastern parts of Russian Turkestan. A little later a group of these speaking a dialect with Iranian affinities occupied eastern Armenia, constituting the Mitanni barons whom Sayce would connect with the Phrygian Midas, but who were earlier than the Phrygians and entered from the east, not the west. Other Indo-Europeans went west, passing over the seats of the older Tripolye culture, and divided; a section crossed the Hellespont, sacked the second city at Troy, and penetrated into Asia Minor, where they explain the Indo-European element in the Hittite Empire, which may have owed its political organisation to their efforts. About 1760 B. C. fresh moves took place; the Kassites established themselves in Mesopotamia, and the schism between the Indo-Europeans of the Aryan type took place, with the result that the Indians crossed Afghanistan and entered the Punjab, while the Iranians continued to roam the steppes of Turkestan finally crossing the Volga into South Russia, where they eventually occupied the plain as far west as the foot of the Carpathians.

The weakest point in this theory is the assertion of the Indo-European character of the Kassi, for it rests on nothing more substantial than a number of equations of divine names. Thus we are asked² to believe that Maruttash is Marut; Bugash Slav bogu Phrygian Bagaio; Shuriash Sūrya;

1 Presumably 2000 B. C. if the later date for Hammurabi is taken.

2 Cf. *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* i, 553; *Cambridge Hist. Ind.* i, 76.

Buriash Greek Boreas, and even Shīmalia, "lady of the bright moutains," Himālaya. The last identification, which has the approval of Dr Giles, ignores the fact that Himālaya is not an early word, the Vedic being Himavant; it also leaves the long vowels out of account, and it rests on the view that the word refers to snow, which seems to have no foundation other than the supposed etymology. The Kassites may have contained Indo-European elements; what is clear is that this is not proved; Kassite language and deities in general are not Indo-European¹. The view, again, that the Mitanni are Iranian is far from established. The evidence rests on the names of the deities², Varuna, Mitra, the Nāsatyas, and Indra and on certain other words, including those numerals and terms of horse training which are found in a document emanating from a man of the Mitanni. The forms of the numerals have been confidently claimed as Indian, as have also the names of the deities. Careful examination, however, rather shows that they represent a stage earlier than Indian or Iranian³, and it must be remembered in any judgment on this score that we have Iranian only in the very developed form of the *Avesta*; if we could go back a century or two we might have forms much more Aryan than those actually found. The name Assara Mazāsh already noted belongs probably to the same speech period, when Indian and Iranian were still in the making. To ascribe the Mitanni either to the Indian or the Iranian branch of the Āryas appears, therefore, unjustified on the information yet available. The result is important, because, if the names and words had been definitely Indian, we might have been compelled to revise our conception of the movements which produced the phenomena connected with the Mitanni.

1 See Bloomfield, *AJP.* xxv. 1 ff.

2 Cf. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 81 ff.

3 See *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* i. 312.

As regards the Hittite Empire we may accept the view that Indo-European speech elements were introduced in some such way as Peake supposes. The speech, as investigations of the Hittite records show¹, was of the *centum* variety, and it has interwoven itself fantastically with proto-Hittite and perhaps other elements to form a curious blend. It will be remembered that Tocharian is also a *centum* speech, but we are without the necessary material to decide how, and when, the Tocharians arrived at their later home. Here again we end in uncertainty, but it is often wiser, and more favourable to advance in knowledge, to admit the existence of problems which cannot yet be solved. Peake, however, is clearly wrong in ascribing to the Hittite Empire Indo-European deities; the evidence is overwhelming that the Hittites knew these only as Mitanni gods.

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¹ See C. J. S. Marsteader, *Caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite* (1919), pp. 168-172; IF. Ang. xli. 8-11; Bloomfield, JAOS. xli. 195-209; Prince, *ibid.* 210-224; Sayce, JRAS. 1922, pp. 563 ff. and the discussions in ZDMG. LXXVI and LXXVII.

The Northern Buddhism

The Southern Buddhism was long known in Europe. In the beginning of the 16th century, when the Portuguese established their supremacy over the Indian Ocean and came in contact with Ceylon and Burma, the Indian Archipelago and Southern China, the Southern Buddhism with its pompous possessions, huge stūpas, big vihāras, and strict monastic system became known to them. It was after the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 that a study of the Southern Buddhist literature was earnestly undertaken. The traditional history of Buddhism speaks of a schism in the second century of the Nirvāṇa Era. In this schism two parties of Buddhists separated never to meet again. The Southern Buddhism called in Sanskrit Sthavira-vāda, in Pāli Theravāda, has a history of its own but the Northern Buddhism is entirely ignored in its religious and traditional works.

So in Europe and India, Southern Buddhism was well-known in the 19th century while the Northern was not. Even the majority of the educated people in India think that Buddhism is only to be found in the southern countries of Asia, that its literature is all written in Pāli, that it is a huge monastic system, very strict in discipline, both moral and physical, and so on. They cannot even imagine that there could be a Buddhism where monasticism is absolutely loose, where the literature is written in a language other than Pāli, where worship of images prevails and where all food regulations are completely set aside. Even in works written by eminent European scholars, Southern Buddhism looms large and Northern Buddhism is summarily disposed of. Yet the votaries of Northern Buddhism are much larger in number, its philosophy is much deeper, the paraphernalia of worship are more imposing, and its history exceedingly interesting.

The discovery of Northern Buddhism is very recent. It became known in the early 19th century and its study began late in that century. Its study has made great strides and its modern literature has grown up to a considerable extent within the last forty years. The social, intellectual, and literary history of Northern India has been greatly benefited by these studies, and it is therefore desirable at this stage to write a history of its discovery and the progress of its study.

The Segauli treaty in 1816 brought to an end the most difficult war in which the East India Company was engaged in India. With extreme reluctance the Nepalese people agreed to have a British Resident in their capital. Shortly after the establishment of the Residency at Katamundu, Brian Hodgson came there as the Residency assistant. He was a learned man and well-informed in all matters relating to India. As an assistant he had not much work and his thirst after knowledge was very great. In a new country so little known to the outside world, he began to collect information on all subjects, scientific, literary, historical, and social. He found a strange religion professed by nearly half the people of the Valley, called Buddhism but differing *in toto* from the Buddhism known from books. He began to make his enquiries about this religion. Fortunately for him there was a very learned Buddhist at that time employed as the Munshi of the Residency. This was Amṛtānanda. He too had very little work and Brian Hodgson began to take his assistance. He induced the old Buddhist paṇḍit to write a book for him giving all information about the Buddhism prevailing in Nepal. The name of the book is *Dharma-koṣa-saṃgraha*. In the 78th leaf of the book, the author says :—

Rtūdadhiniḍhau varṣe śrāvane kṛṣṇa āruṇe,
Śrīsāhevajñayā lekhat Amṛtaḥ Śākyaśāsanah.

[The Buddhist Amṛta wrote this in N. S. 946 (1826 A. D.) under orders of a European gentleman i. e. Brian Hodgson]. Amṛtānanda was the head of the Mahābodhivihāra in Lalita-

pattan, the second city in Nepal and chiefly inhabited by Buddhists. This vihāra contains a replica of the Mahābodhi-caitya of Bodh-gayā. One of Amṛtānanda's ancestors came on pilgrimage to Bodh-gayā in the middle of the 17th century and lived there for three years though in the midst of jungles, and took the plan, elevation and picture of the Bodh-gayā temple. On his return home he built a caitya exactly like that in Bodh-gayā; the caitya is still in existence. Hence the name of the vihāra is Mahābodhivihāra. Amṛtānanda was a profoundly learned man. He had already written many books in Sanskrit, and his new book is a noble performance and it gave Brian Hodgson an insight into the Buddhism of Nepal—the last remnant of Northern Buddhism in the soil of India, with a considerable literature in Sanskrit. With the help of Amṛtānanda, Brian Hodgson began to collect Buddhist manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts are on palm-leaf and very old, dating from the 11th and 12th centuries of Christian era. Some are on daphne paper called in Nepal Vamśapatra kāgaja. Some are copied for Mr. Hodgson in modern Nepal paper. How these manuscripts were collected is an interesting story. The copy of the Buddhacarita then found in Nepal was incomplete at the beginning and it came up to the middle of the 14th canto. Amṛtānanda got it copied but he completed the work himself adding more than two scores of verses in the beginning, completing the 14th canto and adding four cantos more himself, to bring the account of Buddha's life to a close.

Brian Hodgson distributed the manuscripts to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and to the India Office Library. On the strength of the materials thus supplied and by dint of personal observations Brian Hodgson wrote a large number of papers in the early volumes of the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The illustrious Burnouf exploited the Mss. in Paris and wrote his history of Buddhism and translated the Saddharma

Pundarika. But for a long time the Mss. lay idle in all these places.

In the meanwhile Jung Bahadur, the Prime Minister of Nepal, took possession of one of the Nepalese Buddhist monasteries and threw away the Mss. on the street. Dr. Wright, the Residency Surgeon, coming to learn all these facts, went to Jung Bahadur and asked permission to take the Mss. away as they were of no use to him. Jung Bahadur readily gave his permission and Mr. Wright sent them to Cambridge where they remained idle for sometime. It became apparent within a short time that the Mss. were of great age. The Palæographical Society having declared some of them to have been as old as the 9th, 10th, or 11th centuries, both Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Wright became anxious to know the contents of the Mss. Hodgson was constantly writing to the Asiatic Society to employ some scholar to make a descriptive catalogue of these Mss. and the Society after a long delay requested Raja R. L. Mitra to undertake the work. He appointed two pandits to read the Mss. and to give their abstracts in Sanskrit, from which abstracts the Raja undertook to make a descriptive catalogue in English. But he fell ill and needed help, and so asked me in 1878 to look into these abstracts and render them into English. For five years the Raja, the Pandits, and myself were engaged in this work and our work entitled *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* appeared in 1882 in the name of Raja R. L. Mitra. He spoke very kindly of my services to him and gave me an introduction in the preface of the work to the learned world which was very useful to me.

The Cambridge manuscripts were put in charge of Prof. C. C. Bendall and his catalogue of Cambridge Mss. was published in 1883. Prof. Bendall's catalogue did not go into the contents of the work beyond giving the full colophons or so to say the chapter headings, but he very accurately gave the post-colophon statements in which there was much historical information about the copying of the work, its date, the king

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in whose reign the copy was made and other information of the highest importance to the history of Nepal. He discovered in these Mss. oldest Bengali writings, some of them going to times before the Musalman conquest of Bengal, one in transitional Gupta character going so far back as 859 A.D. He gave an historical introduction and a palæographical introduction to his catalogue and illustrated the description of some of the Mss. with plates. But as I have said before, he did not go into the contents of the works. That difficult task was performed by Raja R. L. Mitra. He gave the contents of every big work whether philosophical, ritualistic or religious. The shortcomings of these catalogues were many. The old writing was difficult to decipher. Many technical terms were but imperfectly understood, and the history and doctrines of Northern Buddhism were almost unknown. Yet these two works roused the interest of the savants of Europe and the students in India. The Archæological Department of India though in its infancy had discovered in Sanchi, Barhut, Mathura and other places sculptures giving not only incidents of the life of Buddha but pictures illustrating the story of his former births and the good work done by his disciples and other great men who helped in the propagation of Buddhism. Many of these sculptures were explained by the Jātaka-avadāna stories from Rajendra Lal's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*. I distinctly remember the Raja's interest in comparing these stories with those sculptures and his rapturous delight when he could identify one of the stories with one of these sculptures. The Archæological Department also busied itself with the sculptures. The sculptures mostly went to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd century B.C. and it was wonderful that these sculptures simply reflected the stories of Buddhist literature.

The labours of that intrepid Hungarian scholar Cosma de Koros preceded by a few decades the appearance of these catalogues which brought to light a large portion of the Tibetan translations of the Sanskrit works written in India on Buddhism in two grand divisions the Kanyur and the

Tangyur containing a collection of Buddha's sayings and sermons, commentaries on them and other miscellaneous works. It now became possible to trace some of these translations to their originals. Similarly the originals of some of the Chinese translations were also traceable. It opened a great vista of research which might engage generations of scholars for many centuries to come.

The publication of these two catalogues containing descriptions of old original works written in India in Sanskrit is of the highest moment in understanding the history and the doctrines of the form of Buddhism prevailing in Northern India from the 2nd century of the Nirvāṇa era to the present day. It also gave the public a good deal of information of all the stages of Buddhism in India from the 8th century A. D. when the Chinese ceased to come to the time when Buddhism became only a name in N. India. A good deal of the history of Buddhism from the 4th to the 7th centuries in India was known from the translations in European languages or the travels of the great Chinese travellers like Fa-hian, Hiuen Tsang, and I-tsing. But of the later centuries nobody knew anything. Indian people thought that Buddhism disappeared from the face of India after the advent of Śaṅkarācāryya about 800 A. D. But here was found undoubted evidence of Buddhism still flourishing in full vigour for four or five centuries more.

Soon after publishing his English catalogue of Cambridge Buddhist Mss., Prof. Bendall came to India and travelled to Nepal and Rajputana. He discovered a few Mss. and took immense materials for working out a history of Nepal and of Buddhism. The story of his meeting with me could read like a novel. He used to come to the Sanskrit College. I was also not remiss in visiting my *Alma Mater*. We often met without knowing each other. One day he wanted to see the Sanskrit College at Mulajore and Mm. Mahesh Ch. Nyāyaratna took him there. I was also requested by the Mm. to be present at Mulajore. We three examined the

College and Prof. Bendall was shown all those things in which a European Sanskrit scholar was likely to be interested. The Mm. was then suffering from gout and Prof. Bendall was very anxious to see the indigenous tôls at Bhatpara. The Mm. therefore asked me to take Prof. Bendall with me and show him the tôls. We entered into a carriage and began to talk. Prof. Bendall complained that there was in India a very large number of Sanskrit scholars, but there were none who took interest in Buddhism. I asked him if he had any doubts and difficulties about Sanskrit Buddhism in which he was so much interested. He asked me a few general questions which I readily answered. Then he asked me if I could introduce him to Haraprasad Śāstri who had been so well-spoken of by Raja R. L. Mitra. I told him that I could easily do it, but with a significant smile. In a few minutes I had to reveal myself to him and since then we were friends. He asked me where all that Buddhism has gone. I could give him no reply. But he would not leave me. For several years we were regular correspondents and the burden of every one of his letters was 'where was all that Buddhism gone'? I was already looking for traces of Buddhism all round me without success. I picked up every bit of information that I could of the former existence of Buddhism in Bengal. But I could not find where that Buddhism had gone till at last after nearly 13 years I found Buddhism still remaining as a living religion in western Bengal. This discovery was of very great moment for the social, intellectual, moral, and even the caste history of Bengal but that is another story. I am at present concerned only with Northern Buddhism and not the cryptic Buddhism which I have discovered in Western Bengal.

The publication of the catalogues by Raja R. L. Mitra and Prof. Bendall gave an impetus to Buddhist scholars both in India and Europe to publish Buddhist Sanskrit works. Raja R. L. Mitra published the *Lalitavistara* and the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñā pāramitā* in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.

The first is on the life of Buddha and the second on the doctrines of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Prof. Bendall published the *Śikṣasamuccaya* a wonderful book. It is a summary of Buddhist doctrines with a vast number of authorities quoted in Sanskrit and various Sanskritic languages. M. Senart published the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* the earliest work yet known of the Northern Buddhism, written in a language which may be termed either Sanskritised vernacular or vernacularised Sanskrit, and which M. Senart called mixed Sanskrit. I contributed my mite in publishing the Svayambhū Purāṇa the only Purāṇa of the Buddhists, giving the topography of one of the most important places of pilgrimage in Nepal, with all its shrines and monasteries and stūpas. Profs. Cowell and Neil published the Divyāvadāna a collection of avadāna-stories written at various times and various places. There was also Kāraṇḍavyūha giving the marvellous achievements in emancipating people by Avalokiteśvara. It was published not as a Buddhist work but as a Jaina work in a series of Jaina canonical works published by Paṇḍit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī under the patronage of Raja Dhanapāl Sinha of the District of Murshidabad.

When the Svayambhū Purāṇa was printed off, I was anxious to identify the places and shrines, mentioned in that unique work, and therefore went to Nepal in 1897. I saw all the spots mentioned in the Purāṇa and all the rivers and cities in the valley of Nepal and made notes on them. But I found that Mr. Oldfield in his sketches of Nepal had already done much that I wanted to do. I might have given some more information and collated them with that given in the Purāṇa edited by me. But my interest was absorbed by the Durbar Library. There was a Durbar Library, perhaps more Durbar Libraries than one, as there were more than one independent kingdom in the small valley of Nepal. But the Libraries were dissipated on the Gorkha conquest of the Valley in 1768 and nobody knew where the Mss. of these Libraries were gone. In 1868 when I was still a school student in the Sanskrit College,

my attention was arrested by a small pamphlet published by Mr. R. Lawrence, Resident of Nepal, under the title 'Lists of Sanskrit Works supposed by the Nepalese Pandits to be rare in the Nepalese Libraries at Khatmandu'. That showed that there was at that time no Durbar Library. Prof. Bendall went there in 1884, shortly after we met at Mulajore and he did not see the Library. So the Durbar Library in 1897 appeared to me to be a discovery of the highest moment. I, at once, asked permission to visit the Library and work there. The permission was readily accorded by Sir Bir Samser Jung Rana the Prime Minister who took a great interest in the Mss. and in the Library. In fact, as I subsequently learnt, it was His Highness who put all the Mss. in the palaces and started the Library in the college premises and was doing everything to bring all Mss. in the Valley to the Library. He subsequently built a spacious hall with a clock tower where the Library is now kept.

After this discovery I spent all my time in the Ms. Library examining old palm-leaf manuscripts. The Library was then kept in the college premises to the south of Rani Pokra. I discovered some unique Mss. of very great age. My notes on these Mss. were embodied in a paper in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of that year under the title 'Notes on Mss. in the Durbar Library, Nepal.' When that paper was published, Prof. Sylvain Lévi of Paris came to Calcutta with a view to visit the Library himself. He remained at Katamundu for a month, and collected some Mss. and inscriptions. With these materials he published a history of Nepal and edited with a French translation the Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra attributed to Asaṅga, which for the first time gave the world some definite idea of the Mahāyāna system of Buddhism of the Yogācāra school. Within six months of Prof. Sylvain Lévi's departure from Nepal, Prof. Bendall was anxious to visit the same Library and arranged with the Secretary of State for India that I should accompany him and stop in Nepal for two months during the winter of 1898

and 1899. We remained in adjoining houses in the Residency and went every alternate day to the Library. His object was to write a history and chronology of Nepal and adjoining states and my object was to write a descriptive catalogue of the palm-leaf Mss. which are very old. Our joint work was issued in my name under the title of 'Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper-Mss. in the Durbar Library of Nepal,' to which Prof. Bendall appended a history of Nepal and the surrounding countries. The catalogue was issued in 1905 before which time however Prof. Bendall had breathed his last. This catalogue brought to light the literature of many Saiva and Buddhist sects which were all forgotten. The Tāntric works in this catalogue are unique. The opinion that the Tantras were recent, not more than five centuries old, became absolutely untenable by the discovery of a large number of Tāntric Mss. in the handwriting of the 10th century of the Christian era. The prevailing opinion in Europe was that the Purāṇas could not go back beyond 800 A. D. For this opinion Horace Hayman Wilson, I believe, is responsible. It was also believed that the Skanda Purāṇa was a myth and that it existed only in Khaṇḍas and Māhātmyas. But the discovery of a palm-leaf Ms. of that Purāṇa in later Gupta character at once made both these opinions untenable. Prof. Bendall was very unwilling to admit that the Ms. was so old, and we often talked on the subject and I maintained that the Ms. belonged to the 6th century and that the writing resembled that of the Horiuzi Ms. kept in the Horiuzi Monastery in Japan where it has been lying since 609 A. D. But Prof. Bendall could not admit that it was so old and stoutly maintained that it was written in the 9th century. Finding that we were quarrelling on these facts for several days Mrs. Bendall one day told us both to bring all the materials on which we held our opinions and to decide the questions once for all. She very kindly consented to be our umpire. So one day we three sat on the verandah of the College Library and brought all the Mss., charts, and drawings and began to show them to Mrs. Bendall. Prof.

Bendall had a theory that a Ms. is old in the inverse ratio of the mātrās or the top lines of letters. I readily acceded to this theory. It was however found that Bendall's Ms. of the Pārameśvara-mata-tantra copied in 859 contained many more mātrās or top lines than the Skanda Purāṇa discovered by me. Prof. Bendall had to admit that the Skanda Purāṇa was at least two hundred years older than the Pārameśvara-mata-tantra i. e., the Skanda Purāṇa was written in 659 at the latest. The umpire gave her verdict in my favour. We worked from 11 to 3 o'clock in the afternoon and the verdict was passed and we all came well satisfied with our work. The antiquity of the Purāṇas was set back by several centuries and the discovery of the unique Ms. of the Skanda Purāṇa was regarded as a great event in the history of the Paurāṇic literature.

The 'Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. in the Durbar library of Nepal' has been pronounced by Mr. Jayswal in one of his letters to me as a wonderland. The publication of these catalogues and the editions of some very interesting works found in Nepal during our joint expedition took nearly ten years and in 1907 I went once more to Nepal to examine the rest of the Library. In the year 1906, the Nepal government sent to the Asiatic Society a list of Mss. recently acquired. In this list was a Ms. entitled Nyāya-vārttika which the Society thought must be a work by the great Buddhist logician Dinnāga. This excited my curiosity and I obtained permission to proceed to Nepal from the Govt. of Bengal and the Govt. of Nepal. But to my utter disappointment I found the Ms. to contain a portion of the Nyāya-vārttika by Udyotakara. But I took this opportunity to examine the rest of the palm-leaf Mss. and published on my return the second volume of the 'Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. of the Durbar Library, Nepal,' in 1915. This contains a very large number of Buddhist works on Tantra mostly written and copied before the Muhammadan conquest in Bengal. The Nepal Government having

absolutely prohibited the export of palm-leaf Mss. from the country since the re-establishment of the Durbar Library, I had to collect only paper Mss., either by purchase or by copying. During the expeditions of 1897-98 and 1907, a considerable number of Mss. was collected in the Asiatic Society's rooms, and the Society pressed me to publish a catalogue of these manuscripts. So in 1916, I published a volume of Catalogue of Buddhist manuscripts being the first volume of a large number of volumes, containing descriptions from all the Mss. collected there. It contained descriptions of 119 Mss. Like Prof. Bendall I was very careful in giving the post-colophon statements and the chapter headings. Like Rajendra Lal Mitra also I wanted to give some idea of the contents of the work, but this I did not by translating abstracts but by giving profuse abstracts which appeared to me to throw light on the doctrines of Buddhism and its history. There are works in the collection which are either not to be found among the Chinese or the Tibetan translations, or though found there, were considered to have been absolutely lost in Sanskrit.

I undertook a fourth journey to Nepal in the year 1922 and found Prof. Sylvain Lévi there. I confined myself to the examination of the Sanskrit Library and took extracts from rare Mss. already described in my catalogues. My son Benoytosh Bhattacharyya who was with me busied himself in taking photographs of Buddhist images in different vibāras for his forthcoming volume on Buddhist iconography. Thus it will be seen that in the matter of the collection of Northern Buddhist Mss. Brian Hodgson began it and I have carried it on up to now. The Ms. materials have not yet been exhausted and the report has it that the Sanskrit Buddhist Mss. may be had in large numbers in Tibet and Eastern China. These are the best materials for the study of Northern Buddhism. The Tibetan and the Chinese translations come next after them, but the value of the Sanskrit materials is much greater than that of these translations. Sanskrit materials are coming out also from

other parts of India ; for instance, the Kathiwar Jaina Library has already furnished the texts and commentaries of the Nyāya Vinū by Dharmottara. The Nyāyapraveśa of Dīnāga has also been found there and the Gaikwar Sanskrit Series has undertaken to publish it. Mm. Ganapati Śāstri is also publishing a Buddhist Tantrik work entitled Ārya Mañjuśrī Sūtra Kalpa and I know other collections in Bengal and Benares containing Mss. of works on Northern Buddhism. In the 'Catalogue of the Tanjore collection of Tibetan translations' published by Beckh and the two volumes of the catalogues of the Tangyur collection published by my late lamented friend Dr. P. Cordier, as well as in the Catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka by Nanjio, we hear of thousands of Sanskrit Buddhist works belonging to the Northern schools of Buddhism. Of these only a very small number has been found in Sanskrit. But the Sanskrit Mss. are much more valuable than the translation. For the Chinese is a free translation, often wide from the text and the Tibetan is so absolutely literal that it is difficult to understand for one who is not a master of both the ancient Tibetan and Sanskrit. That being the case it is very difficult to write a history of Northern Buddhism from Sanskrit materials alone. But I have had the good fortune of receiving much of my information from Indrānanda the great grandson of Amṛtānanda, Hodgson's friend, philosopher, and guide. He often gave me light on the history of Buddhism which I found nowhere in printed books and Mss. But he is no more, and Buddhist scholars are becoming more and more rare in Nepal. With this preamble I now begin to give a connected history of Northern Buddhism from the second century of the Nirvāṇa era to the present day. I am fully conscious of my shortcomings and know that there are many gaps which I cannot fill up. Still I think a connected history with all its shortcomings is likely to be useful to the readers. 143150

(To be continued)

HARAPRASAD ŚĀSTRĪ

Bhāravi and Daṇḍin

At the Second Session of the Oriental Conference held in Calcutta in 1922 (*Proc. and Trans.*, 1923, pp. 193f), Mr. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi announced the discovery of two manuscripts containing the texts of an hitherto unknown *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* in prose and its metrical summary *Avanti-sundarī-kathā-sāra*, which, in his opinion, threw fresh light on the date and mutual relation of Bhāravi, the author of the *Kirātārjuniya* and Daṇḍin, author of the *Dasū-kumāra-carita*. He has since, under the editorship of Pandit S. K. Rāmanātha Śāstri, has published these two interesting works in the Dakṣiṇabhārati Series, No. 3 (1924) with an introduction which practically reproduces his article on the subject referred to above.

Of these two works, the *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* is in prose with an introduction in verse but is published as a much broken fragment consisting of 18 or 19 hopelessly worm-eaten leaves, which occupy about 25 pages in print. It conforms to the technical requirements of a *kathā*, not as indicated by the author of the *Kāvyaḍḍarī* but as given by Rudraṭa¹; but it is curious that it contains, after the manner of an *ākhyāyikā*², an introductory metrical *namaskriyā* and praise of older poets, followed in the prose part, at the outset, by an account of the poet's family and of his motive in composing the work. From this prose part of the work it is, however, difficult to gather connected information about the author himself, on account of the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the fragmentary text, which contains large lacunae in almost every third line.

1 See my article on *The Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā* in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii, pp. 508f, 514f, 517.

2 As in Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita*.

But these autobiographical details regarding the author are rendered intelligible by the incomplete metrical summary published along with it and entitled *Avanti-sundarī-kathā-sāra*. It is apparently of a different and much later authorship.

The °*Kathā-sāra* gives the name of the author, presumably of the original story, as Daṇḍin, and sets forth his genealogy and a somewhat fanciful account of the origin of the work. We are told that a family of Kausika Brāhmaṇas, who were living in a north-western province, named Ānandapura, migrated to Acalapura in the Nāsikya country, founded by Mūladeva (*mūladeva-niveśita*). There was born Dāmodara from Nārāyaṇa-svāmin, like Ādideva springing from the navel of Nārāyaṇa¹. Referring to Dāmodara, it goes on to say (i. 22) :

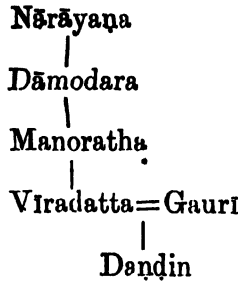
*sa medhāvī kavir vidvān bhāraviḥ prabhavo girām
anurudhdyākaron maitrīm narendre viṣṇuvardhane*

Then we are told that while living with Durvinīta (who is called *gāṅgeya-kula-dhvaja*, apparently a prince of the Gaṅgā dynasty), he sent an *āryā*-verse to the Pallava king Siṃha-*viṣṇu*, who invited him to his court, where Dāmodara appears to have thenceforth lived. He had three sons, of whom Manoratha was the second. Of Manoratha's four sons Viradatta married Gaurī, and a son named Daṇḍin, who is the narrator of the story, was born to them. Then the story goes on to give us some account of Daṇḍin who was fostered by Śruta and Sarasvatī, having been rendered orphan in his childhood ; and he was well versed, among other things, in the science of architecture. We are not concerned at present with this part of the account.

These details agree substantially with what one can gather from the fragmentary prose narrative. Mention is made of Acalapura and *kuṭika-vaṃśa*, of Dāmodara being born of Nārāyaṇa-svāmin, of Dāmodara's friendship with Viṣṇuvardhana

1 *Tasyām nārāyaṇasvāmi-nāmno nūrāyaṇodarāt.
dāmodara iti śrīmūn ādideva ivādbhavat.* (i. 21)

and so forth. Now, from these we get the genealogy of Daṇḍin who according to the °*Kathā* and the °*Kathā-sāra* was the narrator of the story of *Avantisundarī* thus :



We will try to deal in another paper with the question whether this Daṇḍin is the same as the author of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*, and whether the prototype of the latter work is this newly discovered *Avantisundarī-kathā* ; but assuming for the present that the two Daṇḍins are identical, our main concern in this paper is to consider the statement of Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi that the two texts published here establish that Daṇḍin was the great-grandson in the direct line of the poet Bhāravi. If this opinion can be taken as beyond question, it would prove to be a fact of immense importance in the history of Sanskrit literature.

Unfortunately the published texts have not succeeded in removing all doubts and settling the question definitely. The only place where Bhāravi is mentioned is in the verse quoted above from the °*Kathā-sāra*, with reference to Dāmodara who is given as the great-grandfather of Daṇḍin and the whole statement regarding Daṇḍin's relation to Bhāravi stands or falls with this verse alone. The interpretation given to this verse by Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi is presumably that Bhāravi is spoken of here as identical with Dāmodara, whose alternative name or alias was such, although it is curious that there is no direct suggestion of such an alias but for the apparently appositional use (assuming the text to be unobjectionable) of the word *Bhāravi*, used as a proper name, along with *saḥ* (he) referring to Dāmodara. But the construction

is somewhat peculiar, and one cannot reconcile himself to the abruptness with which Dāmodara is mentioned in the verse as Bhāravi without some words indicating his identification, if it is so intended, with the great Bhāravi of the *Kirātārjunīya*. Is it possible that some qualifying adjective, such as *medhāvī* etc. immediately preceding it, is meant in or for this word? Or, is some pun or simile meant in *bhā*, *ravi* or *ravi-prabhava* which would explain the word *anurudhya* better in the context? An emendation is difficult, but the word *bhāravi* in the verse does not look very convincing. It is possible that Dāmodara had the *biruda* of Bhāravi; but if one assumes that the name of the great poet of *Kirātārjunīya* was itself a *biruda*, his real name having been Dāmodara, one would not be supported either by Sanskrit literature so far, or by any tradition authenticating such speculation regarding the well-known poet Bhāravi¹.

On the other hand, assuming the verse in question to be impeccable, it is somewhat disconcerting to find nothing in the original prose *Avantisundarī-kathā* itself to support this reading or this proposed identification of Bhāravi with Dāmodara, the great-grandfather of Daṣḍin. The passage in the prose-narrative corresponding to this verse in the metrical summary runs thus (p. 6) :

(nā)rāyaṇa-svāmīno nābhi-padme iva brahmaika-dhāma
dāmodara-svāmi-nāmā tameta (?).....sarvāṅga-manoharayā
sarvajñayā vidagdhayā sarva-bhāṣā-pravīṇayā pramāṇa-yuktayā
lalita-pada-vinyāsa.....sneham asvajyāta.

Again,

yataḥ kauti(ka).....va puṇya-kormaṇi viṣṇuvardhan-
dkhye rāja-sūnau praṇayam anubadhnāt².

1 A poet Dāmodara, Dāmodarabhaṭṭa or Dāmodaradeva is quoted independently of Bhāravi, in the anthologies *Śrīṅgadkara-paddhati*, *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, *Paṇḍitavāk* as well as in *Bhoja-prabandha*.

2 In these quotations, the dots, indicating lacunae, are given as in the printed text.

Dāmodara is mentioned again at p. 7, but his other and more famous name (if it was so) viz., Bhāravi, is nowhere alluded to or coupled with his real name. On the other hand, in the metrical introduction (p. 3, verse 22) of the prose-story, the author refers apparently to himself as *dāmodara-vaṁśaja* and not as *bhāravi-vaṁśaja* which would certainly have served as a better introduction of himself to his public. If he was really a descendant of the great poet Bhāravi, he should have been naturally proud of his illustrious literary lineage and would have taken enough care to apprise his reader of the fact. It is surely too much to rely upon a doubtful verse of a later summary of presumably different authorship and theorise on its basis upon the relation of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin with any complacent assurance. It is not suggested that the genealogy of Daṇḍin, the author or narrator of the *Avantisundarī-kathā*, as given here is unreliable; but one cannot readily accept the relationship of this Daṇḍin (whoever he was) with Bhāravi sought to be made out on the authority of this verse alone. On the other hand, the probable date of Bhāravi, who was certainly later than Kālidāsa but earlier than the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. in which he already appears as famous, would roughly coincide with that of Simhaviṣṇu of the Pallava dynasty, who may be taken as belonging to the end of the 5th century; and the mention of this prince in this connexion in the text would make one pause before he can sweepingly reject the theory set forth by Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi. All that can be said for the present is that the theory cannot be taken as settled or beyond question until other data are forthcoming to corroborate this unique verse, which is itself of doubtful authority.

Apart from this question of literary chronology, however, there can be no doubt that these works are important publications, for which the learned editors deserve all credit, even though it is a great pity that the *Avantisundarī-kathā* could not be recovered except as a hopeless mass of fragments.

These works are of great interest in view of the question of their relation to the *Dāśa-kumāra-carita* and its author Daṇḍin ; which question, however, would require a detailed study and cannot be discussed within the limited scope of this paper.

S. K. DE

Some Aspects of the Economic Life in Ancient India

(AS DEPICTED IN THE ṚGVEDA)

In this article we propose to deal with some obscure points in regard to the economic life of the early Indo-Aryans which have not been attempted to be studied so far. The development of agriculture, art, and crafts has been studied by some scholars. Here we shall study something about the trade and commerce of the people of the time and about the units of measurement and exchange as used by them.

I Trade and Commerce

Trade of course existed in the period of the Ṛgveda but the villages being more or less self-contained units, and the wants of the people being limited, it was naturally confined within narrow limits. *Kraya* is the word for exchange in the later Saṃhitās, derived from the root *kri*, to Barter. buy. In the Ṛgveda we find the use of this root only on a few occasions¹. Ordinarily sale and purchase constituted exchange of things only. Barter was the normal system and no popular medium of exchange as such existed. Indra is offered libations in exchange for ten milch

¹ iv, 24, 10.

kine¹. From this some have concluded that cattle formed the medium of exchange. But the use of the word does not seem to justify such an assumption.

Human nature being what it is, the attempt on the part of the parties to depress the exchange value of the commodities of others must have been the same. The higgling and bargaining of the market was known in those early days. Even as it is to day, an exchange transaction was complete and irrevocable as soon as it

was arranged and delivery of things made over. This is clearly indicated in a hymn to Indra by Ṛṣi Vāmadeva². A man realised a small value for an article of great value, *bhūyasū vasnam acarat kaṇīyas*, that is, by (giving up) much a man acquired (in exchange) a little wealth or value. Coming again to the buyer he said : this has not been sold ; I want the full price. But he does not recover the small price by getting a large equivalent now ; whether helpless or clever they adhere to their bargain. *Vasna* in this passage clearly means price. But *śulka* was the usual word for price. Thus Indra's image is so dear that it would not be sold even for a large *śulka*³. The idea of price also underlies another verse where the sacrificer and his wife, by their praises, confer strength on Indra and Varuṇa to receive, for this price, great wealth from the gods⁴.

The merchant went by the name of *vaṇik*, and his position was distinctly inferior to that of the other important classes in society. Dīrghaśravas is called a *vaṇik*, and as such he has been distinguished from the other descendants of the same line as his, who were all ṛṣis, simply because, according to the legend, he was compelled to live by trade during a period of famine⁵. The merchant is referred to as going to the wood and obtaining water, *vaṇig vankur āpā purīṣam*⁶.

1 iv, 24, 10. 2 iv, 24, 9. 3 viii, 1, 5. 4 vii, 82, 6. 5 i, 112, 11.
6 v, 45, 6.

The avarice of a merchant is mentioned, and Indra is asked not to deal with the praisers like a merchant ¹.

The art of navigation had already developed Merchant in the period of the R̥gveda². Probably it was learnt from the Dravidians who had preceded the Aryans. The voyages into the sea were mostly sporadic expeditions either for fighting or for mere adventure. There is nothing to prove that there was any commerce carried on with any country outside India. The Babylonian commerce must have been of a much earlier date before the advent of the Aryans into India and the traditions of which had been lost after the Aryan conquest. At the same time we cannot deny the existence of some coastal trade as well as that of voyages for the treasures of the ocean³. The Aśvins are said to bring riches to king Sudās and they are requested to bring wealth to their praisers from the *samudra*⁴. Indra is asked to pour riches upon the worshippers from the *samudra*⁵. Not only are the treasures of the sea referred to, as in the above passages, but positive evidence is not wanting for the proof of actual going out to sea for gaining those treasures. Uṣas is described as the impeller of chariots which are harnessed at her coming, like those who being desirous of wealth, send ships to the sea, *samudre na śravasyavaḥ*, literally, like those, desirous of wealth, (going) for the sea⁶. The adorers of Indra, bearing oblations, throng round him as merchants covetous of gain, *sanisyavaḥ*, crowd the ocean on a voyage⁷. The worshippers praise the deities for desirable things as those, desiring to acquire riches, praise the ocean on traversing it⁸, *samudram na sañcarāṇe sanisyavaḥ*, explained thus : those wishing to possess riches for the sake of

1 i, 33, 3.

2 i 116, 3 ; i, 182, 5 ; ii, 39, 4 ; ii, 42, i ; ix, 95, 21 ; x, 101, 2.

3 vii, 6, 7. 4 i, 47, 6. 5 ix, 97, 44. 6 i, 48, 3. 7 i, 56, 2.

8 iv. 55. 6

going through the midst of the ocean praise it. From the above references it seems to be undeniable that maritime trade did exist, but its extent seems to be limited. The want of reference to masts, etc., necessary for going out far into the sea or cross over to Africa or Babylonia, suggests that no such communication was kept up by the Aryans. Along the coast, by the sea there certainly was commerce, and this commerce was extremely lucrative, so that a merchant desirous of wealth could be fully satisfied by the profits of trade in those regions. Unfortunately no reference specifically alludes to the commodities obtained by this trade. Pearls were of course obtained thus since we find the use of *mani* or jewels¹. With regard to other things brought and with regard to the commodities exported, we are not told anything.

II Units of Measurement and Exchange

From the Rgveda we do not find any clue to a measure of weight. Most probably there was no such measure as things were measured either by number or by volume. It is doubtful whether any measure of weight was ever known to the Aryans during the whole of the Vedic age. The conception of weight as a standard of comparison is always a matter of late growth in the history of a nation. Among the Greeks and the Romans we do not find any trace of it in the early stages of their development. Owing to insufficiency of evidence we cannot ascertain even the approximate date from which they began to use weights as such. But in their case, these systems were not developed by themselves but were borrowed from the Egyptians. Among the latter, these existed only at a very late stage of their development, and considerable doubt has been cast on their popularity in the ordinary transactions of daily life. The history of the Teutons is much better known. In their case weights and measures were unknown at the time

Weights and
measures.

of the conquest of England. Even during the period just following the Norman Conquest we do not hear anything about weights, although otherwise, particularly in political and administrative matters, they were well developed.

Measures of distance, on the other hand, grew at a very early stage. Distance is the most familiar conception in the life of a people, especially during the periods of migration. One day's march or a few days' march would readily become a sort of measure. When settled in a locality this conception helps equally well. The distance from one village to another, from one end of the field to the other, all begin with certain indefiniteness, but all tend ultimately to crystallise into definite measures of distance, suiting, for all practical purposes, the habits of thought of a primitive people. The Aryans in the Vedic age also had such conceptions of distance as measures. *Gavyuti* is frequently found in the Rġveda. Its meaning has been the subject of some discussion leading to differences of opinion. But in one passage it clearly indicates a distance, although what exactly it is cannot be ascertained. Agni is asked to drive away further than a *gavyuti* from the devotee, poverty, hunger, and the strong demons ¹. Most probably it signified an indefinite and very long distance, since one would like to be as far away as possible from these evils. In the *Brāhmaṇas* also the word was recognised as a measure of distance.

On the other hand *yojana* was definitely a measure of distance. It means the distance which can be covered by one ride, that is, what can be traversed at one stretch without unyoking the horses. Thus the Dawn is said to precede Varuṇa (here identified with Sun) by thirty *yojanas*². With fast horses Indra can traverse many *yojanas* at one stretch³. The Maruts are described as swift-moving like rivers and as having traversed many *yojanas* like mares who have journeyed far⁴.

For purposes of trade and exchange it is essential that some standard should be devised by which comparisons can be made. If measure by weight was unknown at so early a date the people had to substitute for it a measure by volume. This was essential for even the elements of economic and social life. The Soma sacrifice was the great occasion in those days when the communal life was focussed and represented, and it is in this connection that we hear of a measure by volume. *Khāri* was a jar which measured the quantity of the soma juice. Indra asked to give a hundred *khāris* of soma juice¹. Of the measures in ordinary life we have several of them. *Urdara*² was either such a measure or it was a granary. In either case it could broadly compare one heap of grains with another. *Sthivi* also occurs in the *Rġveda*³ with the same meaning. It occurs also in its adjectival form *sthivimant*⁴. That they helped measurement is certain, but it is equally certain that measurement by volume, like measurement by distance, was crude. This only shows an imperfect growth of the elements of retail trading.

In the period of the *Rġveda*, barter was the form of exchange, and there had not as yet arisen any need for a medium of exchange. In one passage⁵ suspicion is raised about its existence, where R̥ṣi Kakṣivat speaks of having received a hundred *niṣkas*, *niṣka* being a golden necklace. So many *niṣkas* could not have been used by one for personal adornment. It must have served the purpose of getting other things of life. Still we cannot say that it was the usual currency because its mention is so rare, and because its value could not be consistent with its use as a popular medium of exchange. Here also we cannot be positive as we do not know the value of gold in comparison with that of other commodities as determined by exchange. The safe course would, therefore, be to admit *niṣka* as having been a medium of exchange in the period of the

1 iv, 32, 17. 2 ii, 14, 11. 3 x, 68, 3. 4 x, 17, 5. 5 i, 126, 2.

Rgveda and to restrict its use to rare occasions or within a limited circle owing to the very rare occurrence of the word as such medium and to its probably too high value.

PRAPHULLA CHANDRA BASU

The Aryan Rule of India

It has been assumed, and the assumption has long passed into an axiom of Indian history, that Aryans, after first conquering a part of Northern India, close to the Western frontier, gradually extended their conquests to the whole of India, and held regal sway over their conquests, until general unsettlements of power led to changes within comparatively recent times.

We know that during what is known as the Hindu period, which covered many centuries following the Vedic times, India comprised a large number of kingdoms, and for the greater length of that period, the thrones of all these or nearly all were filled by princes of the two royal houses of the Sun and the Moon. After Paraśu Rāma arose as a great military hero, he led a colony of Brāhmaṇas into the Western littoral, and there founded the dynasty of Agni-kula, so called apparently after his patronymic, the name of his father being Jamad-Agni. These three houses—the first two as the ancient, the third as the later in date—were the recognised royal houses in India (others which were impermanent being not counted), and Indian princes, even at the present day, generally trace their descent to one or another of these houses.

If these dynasties were Aryan, then it would follow that the rule of post-Vedic India was Aryan, and the axiom referred to above should be accepted as sound. But were they Aryan? It seems to me that the question has yet to be answered.

There seems to be some confusion of thought with regard to the inter-relation of the terms Aryan, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya etc. The prevalent idea is found to be that Aryan is the generic term denoting race, and that Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, etc. are specific terms denoting sub-divisions of that particular race ; in other words, the terms Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, etc. necessarily imply Aryan descent. I can see no justification for this idea. That Aryan society in India was divided into four orders is a well-known historical fact ; but it is equally the fact that the names of the four orders seem to have carried no racial significance, and to have been used in a general sense of professions or social grades, which under the same names would have been true of any community. Thus Pulastya was the progenitor of the Rākṣasa royal family of Ceylon, and was presumably himself a Rākṣasa or Dravidian ; but he was a priest, and therefore a true Brāhmaṇa. When Viśvāmitra was a ruling prince, he was necessarily a Kṣatriya ; but later he changed into a priest, and then he was a Brāhmaṇa ; of his sons a good many turned out to be Dasyus, a term which in the language of the Aryans themselves, meant aliens to their race. There were Kṣatriyas among the Aryans ; so there were among the Scythians on the North, the Chinese on the East, the Tamils on the South, and the Yavanas (Greeks plus any other nationalities) on the West. Clearly then a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya was not on that account an Aryan ; he may have been of any race.

In the view of the Aryans, the question of race was very simple ; all humanity consisted of two divisions ; the first division included the four classes of Aryan society ; the second the Dasyus who were all the rest of mankind alien to the Aryans. The distinction is thus authoritatively drawn by Manu (X. 45) :—

Mukhabāhūrupajjānāṃ
Yā loke jātayo bahiḥ
Mlecchavācas cāryavācas
Sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛtāḥ.

"Whatever races be in the world outside those born from the mouth, the arms, the thighs, and the feet (of Brahmā), they all, whether speaking the language of the barbarians, or speaking the language of the Āryas, are known in law as Dasyus".

The 'Āryas' were the people whom we are speaking of as the Aryans.

The definition of Manu is clear, precise, and emphatic. According to it, the supreme test of Aryan race is descent from Brahmā in one of the four ways mentioned. This may sound mythical; but it ceases to be mythical and becomes the basis of sound history, once the society has fallen into groups on that idea, and the tradition of the descent running in the four orders of society has become the hall-mark of the race; for whether the hall-mark had its origin in fact or fancy, it serves this practical purpose: that it racially differentiates those bearing the hall-mark from those not. Hence, if the attested pedigree of a family shows descent different from the four ways of the Aryans, that family is devoid of this hall-mark and is therefore Dasyu or non-Aryan. There may be other evidences, such as those of modern science, leading up to a decision; but considering that Manu's dictum, whatever be its mythical basis, ought to have been sound as a criterion from the very beginning of society and must always prevail; those modern evidences can only be corroborative and never contradictory of its finding. With the ground so cleared, we will now proceed to enquire whether the three royal houses of India were really Aryan in origin.

We will begin with the house which was descended from an admitted Brāhmaṇa sage Jamad-Agni. This holy man was the descendant of Bhṛgu, and Bhṛgu's son Śukra was the great preceptor of the Asuras, who were non-Aryans and always enemies of the Āryas, potential if not always actual. The early history of the family therefore was on the non-Aryan or native side; and when we look into the origin of Bhṛgu himself, we find that his son, the pre-

ceptor of the Asuras, was rightly where he should have been on the side of his blood. For Bhṛgu was not born from the mouth of Brahmā, as an Aryan priest should have been; he simply sprang from the skin of Brahmā, along with flames, whence perhaps the beginning of the Agni connection. Whatever the legend of his birth may stand for, it is clear in the light of Manu's dictum that he was not an Aryan. Moreover, between the Brāhmaṇas of his clan, the colonists of Paraśu Rāma, who are said to be known as Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇas, and the Brāhmaṇas of Northern India, who go upon their own traditions, it is said that there is absolutely no bond of community. So far, then, we have evidence direct and presumptive that the Agni-kula was non-Aryan, or by a comprehensive term applicable in the case, Dravidian. Is there any evidence to the contrary?

We now come to the Lunar Race. The first real conflict between the Aryans who have somehow found their way into India, and having secured a foot-hold, were showing a disposition to acquire more room for expansion, appears in the resistance offered by Śambara, the king of the Asuras. This Dravidian prince, backed as he was by endless odds available against limited numbers, was apparently too powerful in the field for Divodāsa, the leader of the Aryans, and a curious thing happens: the great Dravidian prince allows himself to be rolled down the side of a precipice and killed. That he was surprised is plain; but was it in actual warfare, or under circumstances where he had no occasion for suspicion? Whatever may have been the true character of the surprise, it was a good stroke of business on the part of the Aryans. The forts of Śambara were destroyed, and his forces, disheartened by the fall of their chief, were scattered; and no doubt the Aryans reaped advantages which must have stood them in good stead for a good long time to come. This closes the first stage of the Aryan advance. The struggle with the native princes, however, had only commenced, and here we may remark that Śambara had left a number of brothers, two of



whom (in the Aryan translation of their names) were Sūrya and Candramas, or Sun and Moon.

What length of time may have passed before we witness the next stage of the struggle, we cannot say. The Aryans had slowly but steadily pushed their way forward south-by-east, fighting, as we may suppose, every inch of ground, and adding a few stadia to their Dominion every year, until they found themselves on the northern bank of the river Sarasvatī, where they settled down and consolidated their position. Their main strength lay in the warlike tribe of Trtsus, whose chief, Sudās a descendant of Divodāsa was now their leader. Sudās was a good general and a man of foresight ; and seeing the disadvantage of paucity of numbers as compared with the strength of the foe he strengthened himself by making alliances with warlike tribes outside the Indian frontier, such as the Persians and the Medes. In the meantime the native princes were also seeing the value of concerted action, and Kutsa the chief of the Pūrus was able to take the field at the head of a powerful confederation of ten princes with their tribal levies. The allied army, intending to march to the Sarasvatī, collected on the northern bank of the Parusnī (modern Ravi) ; but the watchful Sudās, who had knowledge of the movement, had gathered his foreign allies, and not waiting to be attacked on a matured plan, boldly marched forward and appeared on the southern bank of the Parusnī. To that extent he had surprised the enemy and upset their arrangements ; but a fierce battle ensued and both sides fought with grim determination. Both sides claimed the victory, but the truth seems to be that on both sides there was much crossing of the river for attacks and counter-attacks, and both sides suffered heavily. The moral effect, however, went in favour of the intrepid leader of the Trtsus ; for on returning to his settlement, he found that he could now take a forward step, and crossing the Sarasvatī, he occupied the fertile tract of country between that river and the Drṣadvatī. This was a momentous acquisition ; it became the premier settlement of the Brāhmaṇas

THE ARYAN RULE OF INDIA

of the horde, and under the name of *Brahmāvarta*, became famous thenceforward as the centre of Aryan tradition and Aryan influence. But it was the last achievement of the Aryans as a military people, culminating in a triumph ; their armed career now comes to a close.

For, when next history re-opens to our view, it is no longer the strife between the foreign Aryans and the native Dravidians, but the peaceful amalgamation of the two races under the beneficent rule of *Trasadasyu* the prince of the *Pūrus*. *Trasa-dasyu* was undoubtedly the greatest statesman in the early epoch of Indian History. A gifted man and a brave soldier, he was at the same time a most benevolent and amiable prince ; and he had made himself so acceptable to both his own race and to the Aryans, that the two erstwhile enemy-peoples had chosen to come under a single supreme government of which he was to be the head as their *Samrāt* or Emperor. His position in *Brahmāvarta* now was somewhat analogous to that of *James I* in England ; and following the analogy, we are tempted to suppose that he inherited both his blood and his united sovereignty by descent from both sides. But no. He was the son whom the gods have given to *Purukutsāni* (*Lady Puru-kutsa*) to console her husband for his want of success in his great undertaking against the Aryans ; and *Puru-kutsa* was a native prince. By the Aryans, the Emperor was spoken of in eulogistic terms as their friend and ally, which, while showing the firm bond of union that was between the two races, and the tendencies which were developing under him for the eventual *Aryanization* of the whole of India, also goes to show that the Emperor was their master not by race but by adoption. According to later accounts, the royal house supreme in this part of the country, was *Candra Vamśa* ; and there too the first king had *Pūru* in his name : *Purūravas* (formed from *Puru* and *ravas*). He was descended from *Candra*, who is represented to us as the god of the Moon. From the historical associations we have so far pursued, it seems reasonable to

give the story a human interpretation and to see in the god of the Moon the Prince Candramas, the brother of Śambara. It was their clan that was in the forefront in the first great opposition to the Aryan advance. Later on, Puru-kutsa appears on the scene filling the great place of Śambara as the leading opponent. Was he the tribal successor? Evidently he was. And what is more, he was in all probability the son of Candramas the prince and if so, the Budha of the celestial account. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt as to the identity of the Candra Vamśa with the dynasty founded by Trasa-dasyu, a member of the native tribe of the Pūrus. It was therefore Dravidian. And independently, it seems to have been of that branch of the Dravidian race which was known as the Nāgas. One of the earliest princes of the house was Nahusa, a great king. Owing to an unhappy accident, he fell from his high state, and then he became a serpent. The meaning seems plain : shorn of his glory, he became a mere Nāga.

If we take the celestial origin of the house, we have necessarily to apply Manu's canon, and we again arrive at the same result that the house was Dravidian. For the Moon-god, the progenitor of the race, had not his descent from Brahmā in any one of the four ways of Aryan society, and his Indian descendants were therefore Dasyus. In this connection, it is remarkable that the name of the first Emperor was Trasa-dasyu, which, whatever Aryan expositors might say by a laboured construction, seems to mean "Dasyu the Mobile" i. e. a Dasyu ever in motion, which he was expected to be, considering the times of commotion and the position of command to which he was born.

In this connection, it may be here mentioned as a relevant fact that Kṛṣṇa, the best representative of the Lunar race, was a very dark person, and a skin so decidedly dark and in that early age, would, in the case of an Aryan, have been an impossibility.

Lastly we come to the race of the Sun. The earthly

ancestor of this race was Manu VII, and according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, he was Draviḍeśvara, i.e. Chief of the Draviḍas. This connects him with the Draviḍas, either as an alien who had become their ruler, or, far more probably, as the most prominent member of the race with position of command. Which of the two remains to be ascertained by other evidence.

Now, the typical Dravidian is dark in colour, and in the full vigour of manhood, his eyes are red. What is the portraiture we see in the Rāmāyaṇa of the personal appearance of Rāma the flower of the Solar Race? The colour of his skin was that of the blue lily, and his eyes were of the same hue as the petals of the red lotus. Making due allowance for poetic embellishment, we have yet here in the main outline a true picture of the typical Tamil.

Again, among the Aryans, marriage was governed by certain stringent rules, and from peasant to king none dared to flout them for fear not only of legal punishment, but worse still, of social infamy and degradation worse than death. But among the Kṣatriyas of the Solar Race (here we confine ourselves to that race) what marriage customs do we find as being quite in order? We will mention only one as an illustration. Among the Aryans, union with one's wife's sister was incest; among these Kṣatriyas, it was a natural and most desirable domestic tie. And from the earliest times, the custom has been Dravidian.

Finally we apply Manu's canon. The Solar Race had its origin in Sūrya, and whether Sūrya was the Sun-god or Śambara's brother of that name, he too, like Candra, had not the same descent as any section of the Aryans. In mythology, he and Candra may differ among themselves in origin. But that is a question which has no bearing here; the point is that Sūrya was not an Aryan by descent, and therefore his Indian descendants could not be Aryans. Now we see the meaning of the statement in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that Manu VII was Draviḍeśvara: he was the

chief of the Dravīdas not only as their sovereign, but also as the noblest born of the race.

All this leads us to the question : "Where comes in the Aryan rule of India, which so largely colours and indeed forms the main background of all modern ideas of Indian history ?" There is no denying the fact that the Aryans made India a great country ; but it seems equally undeniable that they never ruled the land, but that dominion always rested with the native princes, who, with their tribes, were Aryanized indeed, but were none the less of Dravidian stock. The idea of Aryan rule arose with the European *savants*, and from its scientific importance seems well worth a review. My remarks are intended to show that there is a case for investigation, and I invite discussion.

W. F. GUNAWARDHANA

Message From Barhut Jātaka Labels

The Barhut railing has a fairly large number of inscriptions serving as labels for the artistic illustrations of its tale. These illustrations consist of carvings or bas-reliefs depicting various scenes from Buddha's life, past and present. The underlying scheme is two-fold : doctrinal and biographical. The biographical details are introduced only by way of an illustration of the Buddhist doctrine inculcating the equality of all the Buddhas, so that the incidents of the life of one Buddha are virtually the same as those of the life of any other Buddha. According to this doctrine, the evolution of the Buddha types of human personality is the outcome of a natural process, which is reducible into a determinate causal

order. In the tradition of the time, the legends of seven Buddhas were well known. This doctrinal scheme with some of the biographical details is laid down in the famous *Mahā-padāna* discourse of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. The labels attached to representations of Bodhi-trees of seven Buddhas, including the missing one referring to the Bodhi-tree of Śikhi, are as follows :—

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Vipascit.”

“Śāla the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Viśvabhṛt.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śikhi.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Kakutsandha.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Koṇāgamaṇa.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Kāśyapa.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śākyamuni.”

Here the Bodhi-tree referred to in each label not only stands as an artistic symbol of the enlightenment of a Buddha but may be taken to symbolise his whole career. The epithet *Bhagavā* prefixed to the name of each Buddha and rendered ‘Divine Master’ is resplendent with the Hindu or *Bhāgavatic* idea of divinity. Of the names of the Buddhas adopted in these labels, some, such as *Koṇāgamaṇa* and *Kakusaṃdha*, correspond to those in Pāli; some, such as *Vipasino* (genitive form) correspond to those in Buddhist-Sanskrit works; some, such as *Vesabhūno* (genitive form), are peculiar to Barhut tradition; and some, such as *Kāśapa* and *Śākamuni*, are common to all traditions. Comparing and contrasting these various forms of the names one cannot help thinking that the source of the Barhut tradition was neither exclusively Pāli nor exclusively one identical with any one of the known Buddhist-Sanskrit works. The source must have been an independent one, though not without some common points with other traditions. The Barhut tradition, so far as it can be tested in the light of the *Mahāpadāna* discourse, is yet in a stage when the lives of the previous Buddhas were not linked up by the chain of existences running through the Bodhi-sattva-career of Buddha Gautama.

As for the life-history of Buddha Śākyamuni there are several scenes, to some of which more labels than one are attached. To begin with, one has to note a solemn scene of supplication of various deities to the Bodhisattva, then born as the male god Santosita, to be reborn on the earth for the opening of the gate of immortality to all. There are three separate labels referring to different classes of deities according to their seats in the assembly :—

“The Rūpabrahma deities of Pure Abodes on the eastern side”.

“The three classes of all-pervading Rūpabrahma deities on the northern side”.

“The six thousand Kāmāvacara gods of six lower heavens on the southern side”.

Just below this is a scene of forecast of the Bodhisattva's birth characterised by the charming music of the gods. It indicated that the Bodhisattva has, after much deliberation, given his word to the joy of all. To this scene are annexed some five separate labels, the remaining four recording the names of four heavenly nymphs or dancers :—

“The jovial and ravishing music of gods”.

“Alambuṣā—the heavenly dancer”.

“Miśrakeśī—the heavenly dancer”.

“Padmāvatī—the heavenly dancer”.

“Subhadrā—the heavenly dancer”.

The third scene is that of Queen Māyā's dream, aptly described in the label as—

“The Divine Being's Descent”.

Next to this notice is a grand scene in the palace of Śuddhodana, of an assembly of the gods making obeisance to the newly born Bodhisattva and announcing the inception of Buddhism as will appear from the following label—

“The angel Arhadgupta announces the inception
of the Divine Master's system”.

This naturally leads the observer to a continuous scene of the great renunciation, where the Bodhisattva Prince

Siddhārtha runs away from his father's place on horse-back, protected by the angels with Arhadgupta at their head. The attached label simply records the name of the head angel—

“Arhadgupta”.

After this is to be noted the beautiful scene of the Prince's self-initiation into asceticism, followed by a great festival of the gods signalling the enshrinement of his head-dress and tuft of hair. The three annexed labels can be rendered together as follows —

“The ceremonial enshrinement of the Divine Being's hair-tuft in Sudharmā, the celestial council-hall, attached to the Mansion of Victory”.

Now one must take note of two separate scenes, one in which the angels of the Rūpabrahmaloka have come down on the back of elephants to congratulate the Bodhisattva on his victory over the hosts of Māra, and the other in which Buddha attains enlightenment. Each scene bears an inscription appropriate to it :

“The Brahma god.”

“The enlightenment of the Divine Master Śākyamuni.” The Buddhahood marked the turning point in the life of the noble Śākya prince, while with the proclamation of the truths in Benares he came to be known as the unrivalled Teacher. Accordingly there is a scene of the first sermon, labelled by the inscription —

“The Dharmacakra of the Divine Teacher.”

The conversion of three colonies of Vedic ascetics at Gaya was a notable incident, as it served to increase his fame as a powerful personality. Thus one need not be surprised that there should be a distinct scene depicting this incident, indexed by the label—

“The assembly of the Jaṭilas.”

The followers of the Buddha were yet living a wandering life of recluses of the time. The monastic life, marked by settled habits, could begin only when the kings and traders

and rich bankers made over royal parks for their permanent residence. The most important of these parks was the Jetavana in the suburb of Śrāvastī purchased by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika. The scene of dedication of this park by the banker bears the following label incised in bold letters—

“Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates Prince Jeta’s park, purchased with a layer of crores.”

A serious misunderstanding among the bhikṣus at Kauṣāmbī endangering the unity and future interest of the Brotherhood led the Master to go away alone to a woodland where he spent a rainy season being waited upon by the Paṛileya elephant. Though the scene is missing, the following label survives to indicate its inclusion in the Barhut scheme—

“Paṛileya—the woodland resort.”

Another notable scene is that of king Ajātaśatru’s interview with the Buddha, apparently based upon an account similar to that in the Samaññaphala-Sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya. The king kneels before the Master’s seat as an act of obeisance, in the midst of a troop of amazonian guards, all mounted on the back of elephants. The label appropriately recording this scene is—

“Ajātaśatru bows down to the Divine Master.”

Finally one must take notice of two important scenes, the first one being the pathetic scene of the last interview of king Prasenajit of Kośala with the Master, and the second one being that of king Viḍudabha’s or Virūdhaka’s march towards Kapilavastu. The second scene represents the sudden arrest of the march by a timely intervention of the Master, while the label attached to it records the determination of the Śākya to take the utmost risk to maintain their non-violent attitude. Now note what the labels themselves are :—

“King Prasenajit of Kośala.”

“Even if they die.”

These two incidents happened in the last year of Buddha’s life. But there are several other scenes representing various intermediate episodes, which cannot be chronologically

arranged. In all these scenes, based upon distinct stories on legends, the interlocutors and worshippers are some super-human or infra-human beings—gods, goddesses, *nāgas* *yakṣas*, and *yakṣiṇīs*.

In the first instance one may note the curious scene of *Indrasāla* or *Indrasāila* cave, where Śakra, the king of gods, put questions to the Buddha and praised him for his unsurpassed wisdom. The story is based upon the legend in the *Sakkapañha-sutta*. The annexed label records the name of—
 “The *Indrasāila* Cave.”

On the railing-pillars at the gates one has to see the life-size figures of the four *Yakṣas* with labels recording their names as *Dhatarāṭha* (*Dhṛtarāṣṭra*), *Virudaka* (*Virūdhaka*), *Virupaka* (*Virūpākṣa*), *Kupira* (*Kubera*). The representation of these guardian angels or regents of the quarters apparently follows their description in the *Mahāsamaya* and the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttas*. In a Pāli commentary *Kubera* is described as *Kumārī-vāhana*, i. e. with a maiden as his vehicle. The representation of *Kubera* as *Nara-vāhana*, i. e. with a man as his vehicle, rather points to a source similar to the *Lalitavistara* version of the *Mahāsamaya* story.

These four *yakṣas* of warrior-like habit and civic spirit are all benevolent deities representing a super-human type, in whose families and retinues there were the goddesses of an anthropomorphic character, the *nāgas* or dragons of a pitiable existence, and the ferocious and malevolent *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs* of an infra-human type.

Our railing bears some figures of the popular Goddess of Luck, apparently representing two types, northern and southern. In the northern type, the goddess is seated majestically on a full-blown lotus, being anointed with water from a jar held over her head by two elephants from two sides, standing on two lotuses. Here the goddess is but an artistic form of Beauty as an aspect of the Divine Being, adored by the lotus-shaped human heart, placed under the apex of two elephant-like lungs touching each other at a

point. Of the southern type (referred to in some of the Buddhist writings as the eastern), there is only one example of a life-size female statue with prominent hip and heaving bust, expressive of the power of production and feeding. The reason for association of the former type with the life of the Buddha is not quite clear, though there is indication in the Lalitavistara story that ideal beauty or gracefulness was a corollary of the quality of Buddhahood. The figure of the latter type is indexed by the label recording the descriptive name of

“The goddess of lucky grace”.

In addition to Sirimā Devatā, there are standing figures of two weeping, bemoaning, or shrieking goddesses, representing two wild varieties, who must have been tamed by the Buddha's powers. These are :—

“The weeping goddess of the larger variety”.

“The weeping goddess of the lesser variety”.

There is, first of all, a pathetic scene of a Dragon-chief hurriedly wending his way to the Divine Saviour, together with his wife and daughter, to pay homage as a means of escape out of his present unbearable existence, in spite of his amazing hoards of wealth. The story of this interview can be traced in the Dhammapada-commentary and the Mahāvastu. The Dragon-chief was noted as one of the four richest persons. He is assigned to a home in a lake of ancient Taxila, which was a great centre of trade. To this scene are attached two labels, one simply containing his name and the other describing his pious acts

“Erāpata [Erāpatha, Erakapatta, Ailapattra]
—the Dragon-chief”.

“The Dragon-chief Erāpata bows down to the Divine Master”.

The second scene is that of another Dragon-chief standing on a rocky ground with joined hands directed towards the invisible presence of the Buddha. The existing Buddhist

literature affords no clue to identification of the story. The annexed label clearly bears the name of :

“The Dragon-chief Cakravāka.”

It is in taming and humanising the yakṣas that the Master had to display a wonderful moral courage and spiritual powers. Of the yakṣa-scenes, our railing can produce the following specimens. There is, for instance, the life-size figure of a yakṣa standing on a hideous-looking vehicle with the tail of a Makara and the front part of a quadruped like the goat. So far as the literary description goes, this ferocious demi-god was Ajakālāpaka or goat-molester, the devourer of living beings of immortal essence, in whose temple, situated near Pātali or Pāvā, where the goats were sacrificed in groups or men entered with offerings uttering the cry ‘aja’ or ‘unborn,’ the aja or goat symbolising the unborn. The burning of the goat with a corpse is an ancient Aryan custom referred to in a Vedic funeral-hymn. Evidently the yakṣa represents Time or Death, the destroyer of living creatures. Even this dreaded being was tamed by the Buddha. The label records the name of the yakṣa as—

“Ajakālaka.”

There is another standing figure of a yakṣa in a similar devotional attitude. The particulars of this demi-god cannot be traced in any known Buddhist or Indian work. Apparently his habitat was some Gangetic region. At any rate, the label names him—

“The Gangetic yakṣa.”

There is yet another yakṣa-statue with the usual devotional attitude. This scene of interview is based upon a Buddhist discourse, from which and its commentary it is clear that the yakṣa a prickly-haired, porcupine-like demi-god who lived inside a Tam shaped stone-structure, on the roof of which lived another yakṣa of the rough-skinned crocodile species. The label aptly describes him as :

“The prickly-haired yakṣa.”

Though the actual figure is missing, the surviving lab.

legibly bears the name of a yakṣa, of whom no trace can be found in the existing Buddhist or Indian literature. He is named—

“The Supravāsa yakṣa.”

These demi-gods are all male yakṣas. Our railing also bears figures of a few female species, such as “Candrā” and “Sudarśanā” who are not met with in any known literature.

The sculptors of our railing have tried to magnify the powers of the Saviour by other means as well. There is a fine medallion-carving illustrating the glorious name of the Lord served to rescue the crew of a merchant-ship from the jaws of a whale. The label records :

“The wealthy merchant Vasugupta is rescued from the grip of a whale and brought ashore.”

This is not all. Our railing also bears representations of the lordly thrones of the mighty being, worshipped by a herd of elephants, one of which is placed in a scene having something to do with—

“Sisūpāla the fort-keeper and Venuka the gardener.”

(*To be continued*)

B. M. BARUA

The Vicitra Nāṭak

(GURU GOVIND SINGH'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY ADVENTURES)

General description

In the *Daṣam Pādshāh kā Granth* or the Book of the Tenth Guru is incorporated the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, a metrical composition in fourteen chapters, wherein the Guru describes, among other things, some of the principal actions in which he fought, either as a principal or as an ally. The *Daṣam Granth* was compiled from various materials by Bhāi Mani Singh about twenty six years after the death of Guru Govind Singh. 'It is apparently a collection of many books of various sizes and the subjects dealt with seem to be as various.' There is clear internal evidence that different parts of the *Daṣam Pādshāh kā Granth* were written by different authors at different times, but as to the authorship of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself there has never been any doubt, though the date of composition has not as yet been definitely settled.

Like the *Ādi Granth* and the rest of the *Daṣam Granth* itself, the *Vicitra Nāṭak* is written in the Gurumukhi character but the language is old Hindi with a large admixture of Sanskrit and Persian words. * Moreover, from his early training and environment at Patna, Guru Govind Singh had developed a liking for eastern forms and idioms. These he freely used in his compositions and thus introduced an element of great difficulty for the future interpreters of his work. The modern Sikh commentaries are not always convincing and there still remains much room for honest doubts. But such instances are obviously rare and with Macauliffe's unrivalled translation of the major portion of the work for our guidance, we think that it is possible to take a gauge of the work and proceed to estimate its historical importance.

Guru Govind Singh opens his work by an invocation to the Sword, which is identified in the Guru's mind with the

Lord. The first six sections of the work except a portion of the fifth, where the Guru gives a bare account of his predecessors in office, belong, more or less, to the domain of mythology and need not detain us long. But the Guru's mode of presenting his mission is extremely interesting and deserves a brief notice. Guru Govind Singh traces the history of the Sodhi family to its origin and then narrates the circumstances under which he was commanded by the Almighty to appear in this world to preach to men the true ways of religion. The origin of the Sodhi family is traced to the time-honoured line of Raghu to which belonged the celebrated hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. Lahu and Kuśu (Lava and Kuśa), the two sons of Rāma are said to have built the two cities of Lahore and Kassur, which were named after them. The descendants of these two kings continued to wield sceptres for a long time and lived in harmony till the days of Kālket and Kālraī. Kālket (descended from Kuśu) is said 'to have possessed peerless strength' and had no difficulty in expelling Kālraī (descended from Lahu) from the city. The latter fled to the Sānaudh country¹ where he married a king's daughter. To him a son named Sodhi Rāi was born and the Sodhi race began from that time. The Sodhis gradually became influential and independent, conquered many countries and at last invaded the Punjab. The descendants of Kuśu were defeated, and in their turn, fled to Benares where in course of time they became the readers of the *Vedas* and came to be known as the Vedīs. Another turn in the wheel of fortune came. To patch up past differences the Sodhi king of the Punjab wrote a conciliatory letter to the Vedī chief and invited him and his followers to come back to the Punjab. The Vedī chief complied with the request. On the arrival of the Vedīs the Sodhi king asked them to recite the *Vedas*. They obeyed. The

¹ Macauliffe says that it was situated near Benares and its inhabitants, the Sānaudhis, were afterwards called Sodhis (*Sikh Religion* Vol, v, p. 291, fn. 4).

king was very much pleased, gave all his possessions to the Vedīs and assuming the garb of a R̥khi retired to the forest to become absorbed in God's love. The Vedī chief blessed the Sodhi king, saying,

"When I come in the Kali Age under the name of Nānak I will make thee worthy of worship in the world. And thou shall attain the highest dignity."

And the blessing was fulfilled when Guru Amar Dās gave the Guruship to Rām Dās Sodhi, in whose line it became hereditary.

The Guru next relates his own circumstances and informs us that in his former life he was engaged in deep austerities in the mountain of Hem Kunt when God gave him the order to assume birth in this Kali Age. As his attention was fixed on God's feet the Guru did not desire to come but God remonstrated earnestly with him and he had to obey. It is important to notice that like his predecessor Nānak, Guru Govind Singh also does not deny the missions of the various religious teachers that preceded him but says that they did not follow the path laid down by the Almighty and arrogated to themselves the worship that was due to Him alone. There were innumerable sects with different formalities and rituals but true love of God was nowhere to be found and hence the Guru was sent to this world to establish the true Panth.

No comment on these stories is necessary here except that these and various other portions of the *Dasam Pādsāh kā Granth* 'serve as an excellent index to the part played in Guru Govind Singh's life and activities by Hindu mythological ideas.' As Dr. Narang says, 'he seems to have been deeply impressed by the idea that runs throughout the Paurāṇic literature, viz., the idea of a saviour appearing from time to time to uphold righteousness and destroy unrighteousness. The circumstances in which he was placed and the tyranny and oppression that he saw around him were very likely to make him feel that the time for a new saviour had arrived and like all great men who have helped in the

advancement of humanity he felt that he himself was the man required by the times.¹

But these are questions with which we have no concern here. The stories referred to above, together with the introductory invocation to the *Sword*, cover the first six sections of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* and it is with the seventh that the really historical interest of the work commences. Herein the Guru narrates briefly the story of his birth and in subsequent sections he describes his early adventures.

It may as well be stated here that even in those portions of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* which are generally regarded as being beyond the domain of history there occur a few sentences, here and there, which seem to throw some light on the career of Guru Govind Singh, or are at least very suggestive. For instance in the first section the Guru says that none had erred like him and asks the forgiveness of the Lord for his past errors. Naturally one becomes curious to know what the Guru is referring to. Again, we come across a very interesting passage in the last section of the work to which Malcolm draws attention in his *Sketch of the Sikhs*². As the learned author points out, the Guru here seems to admit the temporal sovereignty of the descendants of Bābar. Guru Govind Singh says that the successors of both Bābā Nānak and Bābar were created by God himself and the former was to be recognised as a spiritual and the latter as a temporal king. The successors of Bābar would plunder those who would not deliver the Guru's money. We are tempted to suggest that the Guru is referring here to the well-known incident of the treacherous and fugitive *masands*, narrated in the Sikh records³. The story runs that when Husain Khan was fighting some of the Hill Rājās and the Guru, many of the *masands* fled to the hills with their accumulated treasures. But the Moghul

1 Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, pp. 74, 75.

2 Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 62, fn.

3 Macauliffe, Vol. v. p. 59.

general Mirza Beg, who had succeeded Prince Muazzim in the command against the Hill Rājās, proceeded instantly against them and stripped them of all their possessions. Passages like these add another element of interest to the work and raise a hope that a closer enquiry is likely to be still more fruitful.

*Sources of information on Guru Govind Singh and
the historical value of the Vicitra Nāṭak*

The *Vicitra Nāṭak* very early attracted the attention of modern scholars and more than hundred years ago Malcolm brought it to light and incorporated English translations of several important extracts from the work in his *Sketch of the Sikhs*, though, as Cunningham says, 'his own general narrative of the events is obviously contradictory and inaccurate.'¹ Almost every subsequent writer has referred to the work and utilised it, though some have been sceptical as to its historical value. According to Malcolm 'the work is more calculated to inflame the courage of his followers than to convey correct information of actual events'² and the learned author adds that the Guru's account of the adventures against Husain Khan is given 'in a style sufficiently inflated for the wars of the demons and angels.'³ 'The Guru's object,' writes Dr. Narang, 'was to rouse the military ardour of his followers rather than record history.'⁴ Macauliffe says, 'at that time it was the custom to recite on the eve of battle the praises and warlike deeds of the brave, so that the hearts even of cowards might be inspired with eagerness for the fray.' This was the object that led Guru Gobind Singh to translate the tenth canto of the *Bhāgavat* in which are recounted the chivalrous exploits of Kṛṣṇa.' 'I have rendered into the vulgar dialect the tenth chapter of the *Bhāgavat*,' says the Guru, 'with no other object than to inspire ardour for religious warfare,' and the praises of Caṇḍī were specially translated that 'they might be chanted

1 Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* (Garrett's Edition)

2 Malcolm, *ibid.*, p. 54. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 59, fn. 4 Narang, *ibid.*, p. 91, fn.

for warlike purposes.’¹ Though it is nowhere stated explicitly, still it seems probable from the character of the descriptions, that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* was also written partly for the same purpose. I say partly advisedly, for the main object of the Guru in writing this work was undoubtedly the presentation of his mission—establishing true religion as the chosen instrument of God.

But that does not prove that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* can be of no historical use. The descriptions of the battles may be exaggerated and inflated but there remain many other things besides. The general sequence of events, the causes and the main incidents of the battles, the combatants that participated in them, and similar other matters are perhaps more important for our purposes, and it is with regard to these that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* proves to be of invaluable assistance. A rapid survey of our sources of information on the life of Guru Govind Singh and the general confusion that prevails in the modern works on Sikh history would, we hope, make our position clear.

Besides the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, the two other works, which are generally relied upon for the history of Guru Govind Singh, are the *Gur Vilās* of Bhāi Sukhā Singh and the *Sūraj Prakāś* of Bhāi Santokh Singh. ‘Bhāi Sukhā Singh was born in A. D. 1766 in Ānandapur, where Guru Govind Singh long had his residence. He became a pupil of Bhāis Bhagwan Singh and Thākur Singh, and was subsequently a *jñāni* or expounder of the *Granth Sāhib* at Keshgarh where the tenth Guru first administered his baptism.’² Sukhā Singh lived and worked in the very tract which had been the centre of Guru Govind Singh’s activities and though he completed his work about ninety years after the death of the tenth Guru, it seems probable that he had opportunities of ascertaining the facts that he narrated. At any rate, the *Gur Vilās* must be regarded as extremely useful as

1 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, V. p. 83. 2 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, V. p. 1 fn.

It is the earliest detailed account of the life of Guru Govind Singh that has come down to us.

But to the orthodox Sikh the most authoritative of all the works about their Gurus is the *Sūraj Prakāś* of Bhāi Santokh Singh. Macauliffe's opinion of the work, however, is extremely unfavourable. Besides the fact that the work was completed so late as 1843, exception has been taken even to the mentality of the author himself. The learned author of the *Sikh Religion* says that from his early education and environment Bhāi Santokh Singh was largely tinctured with Hinduism. It is extremely doubtful whether he had any reliable authority before him and his statements cannot often be accepted as even an approach to history. Macauliffe takes particular exception to numerous stories of indifferent merit sometimes discreditable to the Gurus and their systems that Bhāi Santokh Singh incorporates in his work, and suggests that most of them had been invented by the author himself.¹ These remarks might be a bit too hard but they show how desperate our position is.

The other Gurumukhi records are still less reliable. We come next to the *Sau Sākhi*, and the *Sākhi Book* translated by Sirdar Attar Singh of Bhadāour. Macauliffe says, 'There is a book called *Sau Sākhi* which professes to be a conversation between Sāhib Singh and Gurbux Singh on the sayings and doings of the tenth Guru.....It is relied on by the Kukās as the main authority for their heresy. There, however, appears nothing to establish its authenticity.'² We have not been able to procure a copy of this book. It is, however, interesting to note that the *Sākhi Book* translated by Sirdar Attar Singh is also said to have been written by Sāhib Singh on the basis of what he heard from Gurbux Singh, one of the immediate disciples of Guru Govind Singh

1 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, i, Introduction, p. lxvii.

2 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, v, p. 1 fn.

and a lineal descendant of Bhāi Budha.¹ It is clear that the original of Sirdar Āttar Singh's translation cannot be the same as the *San Sākhi* but it is evident that a close connection between the two exists. 'Santokh Singh also sometimes gives Bhāi Gurbux Singh's communication to Sāhib Singh as the basis of his history of the Gurus' and it may not be improbable that this fact was seized upon by later writers who, in order to gain credence for their narratives, passed their own works in the name of Sahib Singh. That this is the case with Sirdar Āttar Singh's *Sākhi Book* is almost certain. The translator is inclined to place the composition of the work near about 1834² but there is clear internal evidence that it is much later. Many things are referred to in the form of prophecies and there cannot possibly be any doubt that the book was written even after the Mutiny. The *Sākhi Book*, therefore, is not of much historical value and the same may be said of Sirdar Āttar Singh's translation of the *Sākhi Nāmā*.

Lastly, we have got to consider the *Panth Prakās* and the *Itihās Guru Khālsā*. The latter is a recent treatise by Sādhu Govind Singh of Benares. The *Panth Prakās* is based on older Gurumukhi works and is perhaps an attempt to recount the story of the Gurus from the point of view of a reawakened Sikh. Dr. Narang uses this work freely in his '*Transformation of Sikhism*' but it is our opinion that as the book was written so late as 1880, it must yield in authority to the earlier records whenever there is any attempt in it to strike a new path. But the *Panth Prakās*, in one sense, is very useful as it is practically an abridged compilation of the more ponderous volumes on the Sikh Gurus.

This fairly exhausts the Gurumukhi materials we have on Guru Govind Singh, for more recent works like the *Sikkhan de Raj di Bikhiā* or the *Tawarikh Guru Khālsā* may safely be ignored. As far as we are aware, no Persian document of

1 *Sākhi Book* (Sirdar Āttar Singh's Translation), p. 1.

2 *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vii.

importance, which throws light on the early adventures of Guru Govind Singh, has yet been discovered but there exist several works in English which deserve a brief notice. The two earliest are Browne's *India Tract* and Forster's *Travels* but the accounts given are obviously confused, Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* does not improve our position much. Leaving aside the more comprehensive volumes on Sikh history, we come to the introductory essays in Trumpp's *Ādi Granth* and Macauliffe's account of Guru Govind Singh given in the fifth volume of his famous work on Sikh religion. The value of Trumpp's remarks is greatly weakened by his obvious prejudice against the Sikhs but this can on no account be said of Macauliffe whose object throughout has been to present the orthodox Sikh view-point. I may as well mention here that there is a work in Bengali, viz., the *Life of Guru Govind Singh* by Babu Tinkāḍi Banerjee, which is also likely to be of some assistance. The book is based almost entirely on the *Sūraj Prakāś* and with due caution may very well be used as a source book.

We would conclude by mentioning another very interesting work, viz., the *Bilaspur Banswara*, compiled under the direct supervision of the late Rājā Hirā Cānd. 'It was drawn up by men of learning in the State, who were given access to such family and State records as existed, and though no doubt the earlier chapters contain more mythology than historical fact, the work is both useful and interesting¹. Although this book does not give us any new facts, it supplies us with a very important date, which, in the present shifty and uncertain state of Sikh chronology, cannot be too highly estimated. We are inclined to believe that if similar works existed about the various other Hill States with which Guru Govind Singh had dealings in peace and war, our task might have become easier.

We are now in a position to go back to the question with which we started, viz., the historical value of the *Vicitra*

1 *Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspur State*, p. 4.

Nāṭak. It appears that the historical portion of this work is the only contemporary account of the early adventures of Guru Govind Singh and the next record is about a century later. The Guru's descriptions might be inflated and all his details might be 'saturated with the spirit of Hindu mythology' but it has to be remembered that in the later works as well, common historical events are very often almost inextricably mixed up with religious myths and legends; moreover, it is significant that almost all the later works, notably the *Gur Bilās* corroborate the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, though they add many details and supply some missing links that enable us to follow more clearly the fragmentary account of the Guru. And when we examine the confusion among modern writers, the need for more closely studying the only contemporary narrative, however limited it may be in its usefulness, becomes evident. One single instance, I hope, would make my point clear. With regard to the first battle of Guru Govind Singh, Cunningham says that it was a mere local skirmish against the chief of Nahan¹. According to Irvine 'his first campaign was made as the ally of one hill Rājā, Bhīm Cānd of Nadon against another the Rājā of Jamnu, who had been incited by Miyan Khan the Moghul to make an attack on his neighbour'². While Narang writes that the Rājās had made a grand alliance against the Guru and the parties met at Bhangani where the Guru's first battle was fought and won³. On these points the testimony of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* is almost invaluable, and our regret is not that the Guru's account is inflated and animated but that he has not left a similar record of his later exploits.

(*To be continued*)

INDUBHUSHAN BANERJI

1 Cunningham, *ibid*. 2 Irvine's *Later Moghuls*.

3 Narang, *ibid*., pp. 89-90

Bengal School of Art

Origin and Varieties of Indian Art

Art is idealistic in India. From pre-historic times idealistic India developed her Art. It influenced the national life of the people. In the earliest stage of human civilization, protection of self and preservation of racial seeds are the greatest pursuits of mankind ; then comes the protection of society and religion ; and last of all, prevails the culture of Art for the manifestation of inward bliss and mental pleasures. India has never been satisfied with 'little,' her achievements have always been the greatest in all her undertakings. The number of her arts by the gradual process of ramification ran up from 64 to 582.

India is spiritualistic and its spirituality is the underlying cause of its art-culture. As to please the gods the Indian people developed their music, so to illustrate the attributes of their divinities they had recourse to painting and sculpture. And to enshrine their metallic and lithic images they eventually developed their architecture. Sculpture and Architecture are inter-related and they grew up side by side. Under the common name of *Vāstu-Vidyā* or architecture, the Aryans of India dealt with all other branches of Art.

Teachers of Art and their Works

As there were 20 preachers of the Codes of Law in Vedic India, so there were no less than 18 teachers of the Science of Art. The names of these teachers, as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, are :—Bṛgu, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvakarman, Maya, Nārada, Nagnajit, Viśālākṣa, Purandara, Brahmā, Kumāra, Nandiśa, Śaunaka, Garga, Vāsudeva, Niruddha, Śukra and Brhaspati. Many of them were celebrated *ṛṣis* or *munis*. We still worship Viśvakarman and Maya. It is doubtful whether Viśvakarman was the name of a person or a mere title. In the 6th century A. D., Varāha Mihira, while

compiling his *Brhat Samhitā*, took his lessons from the work of Garga and others. Besides these 18, there were other teachers of *Silpa Śāstras*, which, according to some, were numbered 64.

In Northern India, on account of frequent foreign invasions and revolutions, many works on Indian Art have been lost. Some splendid specimens of ancient Art and Mss. on the Science are still to be found in Southern India. About a century ago, a talented Paṇḍit of Tanjore, Rām Rāj, collected the mss. of *Mānasāra*, *Mayamata*, *Kāśyapa*, *Vaikhānasa*, *Sakalādhikara*, *Viśvakarmya*, *Sanatkumara*, *Sārasvatyaia*, *Pāñcarātra* and other works of Art and the accomplished Paṇḍit in his *Essay on Indian Architecture* dealt with the first four and specially *Mānasāra*. Of these four, the authors are known from the names except in the case of *Mānasāra* which is said to have been the work of Agastya, the pioneer of Aryan civilization in the South. These works belong mostly to the Deccan where great temples were built according to the canons laid down in the mss. Though there may not be found *Vimāna* or *Gopuram* in other parts of India, the principles are the same everywhere in the construction of pillars, pedestals, and arches. Being deeply absorbed in their culture of Art, the ancient Hindus evolved a sound and original system of their own, which prevailed all over the country, and "this Indian Art," as Mr. Havell says, "is still a living thing with vast potentialities."

History of Art up to the 7th century A. D.

"Hindu Art is the real Indian Art." It received a great impetus from Jainism and Buddhism, specially from the time of Asoka in the 3rd century B. C. There might have been foreign influences when Buddhistic India came into contact with outside countries. But India assimilated all that she received and got nourishment from the culture of many nations among which she preached her religion and spread her culture and civilization. She created a greater India all her own and infused everywhere, a new spirit

which cannot but be characterised as original. Modern history of art begins with Asoka. His capital at Pāṭaliputra became a great centre of art-culture, from which Bengal got its first impulse. It is doubtful whether the Græco-Bactrian art of Gandhāra ever reached Bengal after passing through Magadha. The start that was given by Asoka was stopped or retarded for several centuries on account of political changes. There was no doubt a revival of Art and Literature during the reign of the Gupta Vikramādityas, but a definite growth of Art is scarcely perceptible even when all Northern India came under the mighty rule of king Harṣa in the 7th century A. D. This monarch was a great lover of learning and literature, himself a poet of no mean repute, and his patronage of the Buddhistic University of Nālandā went a great way to make it a unique international centre of education in the world. Though his court-poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa states that a group of skilled painters painted at the time auspicious scenes, the traces of these artistic products are now lost to us through the iconoclastic spirit of the early Moslem invaders. But the condition was quite otherwise in the South, where Harṣa's great rival, king Pulakesin II of the Cālukya dynasty was reigning. Under his patronage the best fresco-paintings of the caves of Ajanta were nicely executed. Though Harṣa's was presumably an age of painting, it cannot be said that sculpture and architecture were neglected, for how then could the statements of the great Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang regarding the extensive educational buildings and splendid monasteries of Nālandā be justified? Some beautiful metallic and stone images recently discovered by the excavation at Nālandā serve as a link between the growth of sculpture in the Gupta period and the reign of the Pāla kings of Magadha and Bengal. The stream of art-culture, which flowed through Magadha in the 8th century A. D., assumed a new character in Bengal and a *New School of Art* was the result. Gradually during the 800 years of the rule of the Pāla, Sena, and Pathan kings of Bengal, three different stages of

the Bengal Art were noticeable—Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic—according to the character of the religious persuasions of the reigning monarchs. We propose to take a brief chronological view of these three aspects of the growth and progress of the Bengal School of Art as a distinct school of Indian Art.

Art-culture under the Pāla kings of Bengal

• As soon as king Harṣa died, Northern India was once again in the midst of anarchy and misrule. But a great change took place before the close of a century, when the harrassed people of Bengal in order 'to escape from anarchy' elected Gopāla Deva, the son of a successful soldier, as their king in the middle of the 8th century A. D.¹ Gopāla was followed by 17 other kings of the Pāla dynasty reigning from 750 to 1198 A. D. Gopāla Deva ushered in a new era of good government by establishing peace and tranquillity in the country. These Pāla kings were almost all Buddhists, and under the balmy shade of their benign rule, there dawned a Renaissance of Art, which reached a culminating point during the protracted reigns of the 2nd and 3rd kings of the line—Dharmapāla and Devapāla, the son and grandson of Gopāla Deva. These two kings are the real founders of the greatness of their dynasty. They conquered far and wide and attained to the sovereignty of nearly the whole of Northern India. The period of one hundred years during which they ruled (780—892 A. D.) may be said to be an epoch of great development of Art in Madhyadeśa. Among the many valuable finds of the Nālandā excavation, there has been discovered a copper-plate inscription, which refers to the establishment of a monastery at Nālandā by the king of Java and this was

1 Varendra or North Bengal was the original home of the Pāla kings. Gopāla was elected for the throne in Gauḍa or Varendra kingdom. Magadha and Mithilā were then included in the kingdom of Gauḍa, to get the sovereignty of which, Gopāla conquered Magadha and established a capital at the city of Bihar near modern Patna.

done with the express permission of the reigning monarch Devapāla. In the Viradeva inscription of Ghoshpara, Devapāla has been styled the king of the world. In this regime of extraordinary brilliancy, the culture of art in the country rose to its zenith.

Taranath, a Tibetan Lama, wrote in 1608 A. D., a history of Buddhism of which the last chapter gives us many important points with regard to the art-history of India. I am quoting a passage from the translation of the chapter: "In the time of the kings Devapāla and Śrīmanta Śārinapāla, there lived in Varendra (Northern Bengal) an exceedingly skilful artist named Dhīman, whose son was Biṭpāla; both of them produced many works in cast-metal as well as sculptures and paintings, which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools; as the son lived in Bengal, the cast-images of the gods he produced, were of the *Eastern Style*, whatever might be the birthplace of their actual designers. In painting the followers of the father were called the *Eastern School*, those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called the followers of the *Madhyadeśa School* of Painting. In Nepal, the earlier school of art resembled the old *Western School*; but in course of time was formed a Nepalese school which in painting and casting resembled the eastern types. The latest artists have no special character."

So we see that both the father and the son, Dhīman and Biṭpāla, were skilled alike in painting, sculpture, and bronze-founding. Dhīman was the head of the eastern school of painters, while his son Biṭpāla, who lived in Bengal, was the head of the eastern school of bronze-casting. If we investigate the sculptures in Bengal and Behar, and even in Orissa to which Pāla-rule never extended, we may be able to identify the works of Dhīman and his son.

This culture was a little retarded after Devapāla but in the reign of Mahīpāla I in the latter part of the 10th century A. D., Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla, two younger

brothers of Mahīpāla I went to Sarnath and repaired the Dharmarājika Mahāvihāra of Asoka and the capital of the newly discovered Asokan pillar and also erected a Gandhakuṭī. Mahīpāla himself built up the temples of Navadurgā at Benares. I am just annexing a list of some significant dated images of the Pāla period, found here and there, which will give an idea of the development of art, specially of lithic and metallic sculptures in Bengal and Behar.

Specimens of the Pāla Art

1. Three stone images of *Viṣṇu* found near the Mahābodhi temple of Bodhgayā, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum, with an inscription on the left side, from which it is known that a sculptor named Keśava placed the image of the four-headed Mahādeva near the Mahābodhi tree in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla Deva.

2. Two stone images of *Buddha*, found at Uddanāpur, the modern Bihar town in the Patna District, dedicated by an inscription in the pedestal of each of the images, from which it is known that they were set up by Purna Das a Buddhist monk of Sindh at Uddanāpur Mahāvihāra in the 3rd year of the reign of Vīrahapāla I (or Surapāla I).

3. A bronze image of *Pārvatī* found at Uddanāpur; from the inscription at the back it is known that the image was dedicated by a merchant named Uchpatra Thākura in the Uddanāpur Mahāvihāra in the 54th year of Nārāyanapāla Deva.

4. A stone image of goddess *Vaṣiṣṭvarī* discovered in the ruins of Nālandā. From the inscription on its pedestal which has been perfectly deciphered, it is known that the image was dedicated in the 1st year of Gopāla Deva II.

5. Five metal images of *Viṣṇu* discovered near Sahebganj in the Gaibanda sub-division of the Rungpur district in Bengal, two of which are being locally worshipped and three have been brought to the Calcutta Museum. Though there is no inscription to date the images, Dr. Spooner of the Archaeological Department has reasons to hold that they are

associated with the dynasty of the Pālas of the 10th century¹. These images have resemblance to a statue of Viṣṇu of the Mathura Museum².

6. A stone image of *Buddha* discovered amidst the ruins of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum, dedicated with an inscription by a person named Śakrasena during the reign of Gopāla Deva II, no year being mentioned.

7. A stone image of *Viṣṇu*, discovered at Baghaura village in the Tippera District, dedicated with an inscription on its pedestal, which shows that a Vaiṣṇava merchant named Lokadatta established the image in the 3rd year of Mahipāla I.

8. A stone image of *Buddha* on a door-frame, found in the ruins of Nālandā, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum. The inscription under the feet of the image records that one Bālāditya erected a temple and incised the inscription in the 11th year of the reign of Mahipāla I (973-1026 A. D.).

9. A colossal image of *Buddha* at Tetravan village, six miles from Bihar town in the Patna District, dedicated with an inscription which gives the name of Mahipāla I.

10. An image of *Buddha* discovered at Sarnath, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum, dedicated with an inscription which shows that it was set up by the order of Mahipāla Deva in 1083 (S. E.) or 1026 A.D.

11. Several bronze images discovered at Imadpur village in the District of Muzaffarpore with inscriptions which declare that they were dedicated in the 48th year of the reign of Mahipāla I.

12. A stone image of *Buddha* in the attitude of touching the earth, now placed in a small shrine of Bodhgaya with inscription on the pedestal giving the 11th year of king Mahipāla I.

1 *Archæological Survey Report*, 1911-12, p. 153.

2 V. A Smith's *History of Fine Art*, p. 207.

13. A bronze image of *Viṣṇu*, found at Sāgardīghi in the Murshidabad District, near the great *Dighi* or tank excavated by Mahīpāla I. It is a fine specimen of art identifying Bitpāla's hand.

14. A stone image of twelve-armed *Viṣṇu* or a Buddhist saint of the Tāntrika order, found at the ancient Mahīpāla city in the Murshidabad District, which was one of the provincial capitals of Mahīpāla I. The image is preserved in the Calcutta Museum.

15. A stone image of *Buddha* found at Bihar in the Patna District and preserved in the Calcutta Museum. It was dedicated with an inscription by one Dehek, son of Suvarṇakara Sāhā in the 13th year of the reign of Vīgrahapāla III (1045-58 A. D.).

16. Two *līnga* images of *Śiva* with an inscription plate, now seen at the Akṣayavatā tree at Gaya. From the inscription it is known that one Viśvāditya erected two temples for the *līngas* in the 5th year of Vīgrahapāla Deva III.

17. A stone image of *Tārā* discovered at the Tetravan village in the Patna District, preserved in the Calcutta Museum, with an inscription recording the dedication of the image by a certain Bhaṭṭa Ichra in the 2nd year of the reign of Rāmapāla, son of Vīgrahapāla III.

18. A stone image of *Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi*, discovered at Chandimau village in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna District and now preserved in the Calcutta Museum. From the inscription on its pedestal it is known that it was dedicated by a merchant named Sādhuharan in the 42nd year of Rāmapāla. (*Memoirs of Asiatic Society*, vol. v, pp. 93-4).

19. A stone stèle of *Buddha* or group of images from the scenes of Buddha's life, exquisitely finished in the best style possible, now found at Sivabāri village in the Bagerhat subdivision of the Khulna District presumably identifying the workmanship of Dhīman and his famous school of the Pāla Art in Magadha. (Fully described in my *History of Jessore and Khulna*, vol. I, pp. 205-12).

20. A similar stone stūle of *Buddha*, preserved in the Calcutta Museum (Br. 5. Cat. II, p. 80), belonging to the ancient school of Pāla art in Magadha.

It is evident from these specimens how the Pāla kings of Bengal were great patrons of Art and were directly or indirectly responsible for the installation of various images in their kingdom, most of them having been found at or near their capital cities. Most of these images were of Buddha but those of *Viṣṇu* were not inconsiderable. There were also images of *Tārā*, *Vāgīśvari*, *Pārvatī*, and other *Tāntrika* deities. The metallic images were generally found to be of *Viṣṇu*. It may be surmised that *Dhīman* was himself a Buddhist and lived in Magadha, while his son *Bitpāla* being a Hindu did not leave *Varendra*. These skilled artists and their disciples realizing a true aspect of beauty from a study of nature, chiselled out their images from hard stone or cast metals with a rare imaginative power and masterful vigour. They clothed their ideals of divine form with an awe-inspiring dignity and calm solemnity, and there flashed such divine looks in their beaming eyes and eternal smiles in their lips and cheeks as were never dimmed even when buried in ruins for a thousand years.

The style of the two master artists *Dhīman* and *Bitpāla*, as *Taranath* clearly points out, influenced the neighbouring kingdoms. Nepal founded a school of her own in painting and bronze-casting based on the model of the Eastern school of the Pāla regime. The beautiful Nepalese images of *Tārā*, *Mañjuśrī*, *Maitreya*, and *Trimūrti* (Buddhist Triad) in cast-copper, are examples of this influence. (Vide plates x, xvi, xviii, and xix of *Havell's Indian sculpture and Painting*). The plastic art of Nepal is represented by the images of bronze and copper and not by sculptures in stone.

The Indian culture reached Nepal first and then it was borrowed by the Tibetans. In the reign of their king, *Srong-tsan-Gampo*, Buddhism was introduced in Tibet with the help of Indian scholars. There was revival of this cult in

Tibet, when, during the reign of the Pāla king, Mahipāla I, Buddhist preachers like Paṇḍit Dharmapāla and others were invited to go to Tibet in 1013 A. D. and to restore the old religion. A subsequent mission under Paṇḍit Dipankara, Śrījñāna, Atiśa from the Vikramaśīlā monastery was sent to Tibet in 1042 A. D. during the reign of Mahipāla's successor Nayapāla and Tibetan Buddhism was firmly established. The Tibetan people had then already introduced the Nepalese art based on the Eastern School and this got an impetus from the religious missions of the later Pāla kings. This school of Tibet may be called the *Nepal-Tibetan Branch School of the Pāla Art*. The artists of Tibet were generally Lamas and their outputs were highly realistic images of Lamas and Buddhist saints.

From Taranath we also know that a similar introduction of the *Pāla School of Art* in Kashmir took place when a certain Hāsurāya (presumably Haṃsarāj, the minister of Queen Didda of Kashmir) founded the *Kashmir School* in the 10th century A. D. The same school of Art seems to have influenced Burma and the Southern countries. In the South, three artists named Jaya, Parājaya and Vijaya had a large number of followers. The concluding remarks of the same Art-historian regarding the gradual decadence of the influence of the Pāla school of Art are important :—"Whenever Buddhism prevailed, skilful religious artists were found, but as Islam advanced they disappeared. When orthodox Hinduism got the upper hand, unskilful images came to the front."

We have already said that Gopāla Deva, the founder of the Pāla dynasty established his capital at Uddanāpur, the modern town of Bihar in the Patna district. This capital was provided with a grand monastery, mistaken for fort when it was captured by the Turki invader, Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1197 A. D. The monastery was destroyed and the monks were massacred. Those who survived fled to Tibet, Nepal, and the South. "Buddhism in Magadha never recovered from this blow ; it lingered in obscurity for a while

and then vanished."¹ And with this stagnation of religion, demolition of temples, destruction or disappearance of images that followed in the wake of iconoclastic conquest vanished the schools of the Pala Art, which had thoroughly influenced the short rule of the Sen Kings of Bengal, who were more busy with the social problems than with the Art-specimens of religious devotion.

(*To be continued*)

SATISCHANDRA MITRA

Rāma Rāya, Regent of Vijayanagara (1542-1565)

One of the most interesting rulers in the history of Vijayanagara is Rāma Rāya, the Regent of Sadāsiva Rāya. This shrewd politician had saved the Empire from the chaos created by Salakam Tinma Rāju after the death of the young monarch Venkaṭadri. During his regency, he kept the Empire as illustrious as it had been during the time of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and Acyuta Rāya. His indisputable qualities as a statesman, combined with his victorious campaigns as a warrior, place him among the great Hindu rulers of India.

We shall study in this paper the character of his regency, putting aside both his administration of the Empire and his foreign policy. Our only purpose is to ascertain what kind of relations existed between Rāma Rāya and his sovereign.

When Sadāsiva was proclaimed Emperor of Vijayanagara he was unfit on account of his age to manage the State affairs. Hence the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda states that

1 Ency. Brit. (11th ed.), vol iii, p. 655.

Rāma Rāya assumed the office of Protector¹. The Muhamadan writer in announcing the assumption of power by the Minister Rāma Rāya describes him as Regent of the puppet Sadāśiva. Accordingly, all power was vested in Rāma Rāya, as the *Cikkadevarāya Vaṃśāvali* recorded some years later². The only fact, on which all the authors who have written on Sadāśiva's reign agree, is the supreme power wielded by the fortunate Minister who was helped by his two brothers. But the aforesaid chronicler of Golkonda suggests at least two different stages in his period of governing; "Rāmraj," he states, "first assumed the office of Protector, and subsequently usurped the throne"³. Is this usurpation of the throne supported by other documents? I have closely examined the inscriptions and grants of Sadāśiva's reign, and discern not two but three different stages in the regency of Rāma Rāya.

During the first period Rāma Rāya is nothing but the Regent on behalf of his Sovereign; even the influence of Sadāśiva's will over his Regent may occasionally be detected through some of the earlier inscriptions. In one of 1546 we read that Sadāśiva "gave orders to Rāma Rāya, saying" etc. and then Rāma Rāya makes a grant according to the king's orders⁴. The same is shown by another inscription of 1547-8, at Podili, Nellore District, in which Sadāśiva is stated to rule Vijayanagara "under the orders of Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Aliyagāmarama Rājayyadeva Mahārajalungaru who bears the burden of the kingdom"⁵. Finally in 1549 "on the orders of Sadāśiva", Rāma Rāya issued an edict for the barbers of Udayagiri⁶.

1 Briggs, *Ferishta*, III. p. 381.

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 302.

3 *Ferishta*, I. c.

4 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk., 110.

5 Butterworth, *Inscriptions in the Nellore District*, III, p. 1195-7.

6 Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, p.

The titles given to Rāma Rāya at this time are '*Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*', 'minister'¹, 'agent of Sadāśiva'² 'agent for the affairs of Sadāśiva's kingdom'³ or at most 'ruler of the great Karpāta kingdom'⁴. No other trace of higher authority may be gathered from the records of the first year of his governorship.

In the meanwhile, Sadāśiva resided in the capital as a general rule. This is frequently stated in the inscriptions⁵. In 1548 he made the Kanuma grant and in 1551 the Bevinahalli grant in the vicinity of the god Viṭṭhaleśvara, on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, i.e. in Vijayanagara⁶.

From the very beginning, the wise activity of the Regent in conducting the state affairs surpassed all expectations. A grant of Sadāśiva of 1558 exalts the virtues of Rāma Rāya as a ruler saying that he was "possessed of valour, liberality and mercy"⁷; moreover he is noted to be "versed in politics"⁸, or "well-versed in politics"⁹, "skilled in politics"¹⁰, "conversant with politics"¹¹, and to have "studied politics"¹². One of the prudent steps he took in connection with the rule of the vast empire was the division of responsibility. Couto relates that he at once secured the co-operation in his ministership of his two brothers: the administration of justice was granted to Tirumala, while Venkaṭādri took over finance¹³. Several inscriptions justify this statement. Early in 1545, according to an inscription of Hampi, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Tirumalarāyadeva Mahāārāsu granted to some person the village of

1 472 of 1906; 5 of 1900.

2 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tp, 126; Rangacharya, o. c., II, pp. 1073, 199.

3 *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Tk, 13.

4 Sadāśiva's grant, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.

5 Butterworth, o. c., II, pp. 921-2.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, v. 43; p. 231, vv. 43-45.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.

8 Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, o. c., I, p. 29.

9 Dalavay Agrahāram plates of Venkata I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 13-40.

10 *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mg, 60.

11 Kuniyur plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 13.

12 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Cy, 39.

13 Couto, *Decadas*, VI, p. 383.

Kotanahalli together with its hamlets¹. In another inscription at Hampi, bearing the same date, mention is made of "Jaṅgāmāyya, the *dalavay* or general of Timmārāja, younger brother of Rāma Rāya"².

As chief minister of the Regent, Tirumala was given the most important province of the Empire to rule ; this was Udayagiri, called the chief fortress under the royal throne of Vijayanagara³, owing to its proximity to the Muhammadan frontiers. Formerly it was almost always governed by princes of the Royal family as Viceroys, on behalf of the Emperor. In 1543 Tirumala was governor of Udayagiri⁴, and in 1551-2 we find him fulfilling the same office⁵ ; however he did not stay at Udayagiri, because in the same year 1551, according to an inscription at Saṅgam, the Governor of Udayagiri was Civvakkaturi Bayaca Rājayya who ruled on behalf of Tirumala⁶. Was this the same Tirumala who was governor of Udayagiri in 1535-6 ?⁷ His appointment was not due at that time to his brother, but either to Acyuta or to the ministers of the latter.

In spite of the great power which the governorship of Udayagiri naturally gave him, his subordination to Rāma Rāya was at this time exemplary : an inscription of Kalamalla records the remission of taxes on the barbers of this place by Tirumala, with the permission of Rāma Rāya⁸.

As to Venkaṭādri, the *Rāmarājyamu* of Venkayya mentions the town Kandanol, Karnul District, as the seat of his government⁹. Accordingly in 1547 he exempted the tax on the Brāhmaṇas in the villages of Kānāla¹⁰, Damagatla¹¹ and

1 *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39. 2 *Ibid.*

3 Butterworth, o. c., II, pp. 536, 542. 4 *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 242.

5 Butterworth, o. c., II, p. 867.

6 Rangacharya, o. c., II, p. 1113, 477.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 95. 8 380 of 1904.

9 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

10 Rangacharya, o. c., II, pp. 964, 532.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 947, 395.

Bannūm¹. These places are all situated in Karnul District. This was probably in the first stage of Rāma's governorship, for we find him governing the Chola country during the following one.

Rāma Rāya shortly after Sadāsiva's coronation showed his prudence as well as his decision in an event related by Correa. When going once against the Sultan of Bijapur, a number of captains and nobles, discontent with the Regent's rule, proposed to him to abdicate in order to proceed to a new election. Rāma Rāya apparently agreed and invited them to return to Vijayanagara where the election was to be made. Then he convoked them into the Royal Palace, which was secretly defended by his relations and adherents. When the rebel nobles were inside, all the gates to the palace were closed ; the insurgent nobles were then caught by the partisans of Rāma Rāya. Many of the poor prisoners were slain ; others suffered the amputation of their feet or the extraction of their eyes².

After some years, probably shortly after the king was old enough to be capable of assuming the government of the Empire, Rāma Rāya put him in prison³ and thus a new era was inaugurated. Frederick says that the three brothers were responsible for this, but Couto imputes the action to Rāma Rāya alone. Couto's statement seems to give foundation to the rebellion of Tirumala and Venkaṭādri to which reference will be made later. Sadāsiva's prison, according to Couto, was a strongly fortified tower, with iron doors and surrounded by sentries ; his treatment nevertheless, while there, was such as befitted a king⁴.

1 Rangacharya, *o. c.*, II, pp. 945, 385.

2 Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, IV, p. 439.

3 Purchas *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 93 ; Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani*, p. 289 ; Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques, Description Historique*, II, p. 165.

4 "E como era muito poderoso, e gran capitao metteo-se na Corte, e lancou mano do Rey meso, e o metteo em huma torre fortissima, com

Couto does not say where this tower was situated. Several inscriptions of the time affirm that Sadāsiva resided at Vijayanagara. But this is not a satisfactory proof, because even supposing he was imprisoned in Penukonda, his subjects could readily have been led to believe he was still in Vijayanagara. Nevertheless we are inclined to think he remained in his capital for the reason we shall now give and on account of the events subsequent to the disaster at Talikota. All the records say that Tirumala after the battle ran to Vijayanagara to fetch king Sadāsiva where he was 'kept prisoner', as Frederick states, and then fled with him to their final refuge.

Anquetil du Perron says that this *coup d'état* took place somewhere between 1550 and 1552, and since he subsequently states that Sadāsiva remained in this prison thirteen years¹ before the starting of the third stage of Rāma Rāya's government, we may suppose that the opening of the second was in 1550, and lasted until 1562 or 1563. The unfortunate sovereign was shown to his subjects only once a year². This was the only occasion for them to realize that there was still in Vijayanagara, a representative of the old Tuluva Dynasty, seated on the jewelled throne. But, as a matter of fact, Sadāsiva was only the nominal ruler. He was no more than a mere tool in the hands of Rāma Rāya, who was practically the emperor of Vijayanagara.

During this second stage the inscriptions put the power of Rāma Rāya on an equality with that of Sadāsiva. In 1551 a private grant is made 'for the merit of Sadāsiva and Rāma

grandes vigias, e portas de ferro, aonde o teve em quanto viveo, como huma estatua com o nome so de Rey; mas com todas as despezas, gastos, e apparatus que pudera ter, se fora, e estivera livre". Couto, VI, p. 383. Anquetil du Perron l. c., after relating the imprisonment of the king says: C'est la conduite des Peschwahs de Ponin, a l'egard des descendants de Sevaji renfermes a Satara, et d'Heider Ali Khan envers le Roi de Maissour".

1 Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

2 Frederick, *Purchas*, o. c., p. 93.

Rāya¹. Another inscription of Dasanḍoddi, dated 1554, states that "Badme Maluka Oḍeya granted one village which had been favoured to him by Sadāśiva and Rāma Rāya"². The Bevinahalli grant of Sadāśiva (1551) gives both genealogies, that of Sadāśiva and that of Rāma Rāya, in detail³. This illustrates the importance of the powerful Regent. Three years later, in 1554-5, Maṅgala Timmoja Kondojugāru, having done service to Rāma Rāya and having made a request to the king, obtained a grant according to his petition⁴. In 1557 the same Maṅgala Timmoja made grant to the god Bhire in order that merit might accrue to Rāma Rāya⁵.

But, although the power of the Emperor and that of his Minister are on the same level, the influence of Sadāśiva is no longer felt. The only rulers of the Vijayanagara empire are three members of the Āravīḍu family : Rāma Rāya and his two brothers. "They ruled at their pleasure as they liked", says Frederick ⁶. Nevertheless Tirumala and Venkaṭadri rebelled against the authority of their brother in the beginning of this stage, say about 1551, presumably because they disliked Rāma Rāya's treatment of his legitimate sovereign. No other reason can be given for this disagreement between Rāma Rāya and his brother. Precisely one year before, 1549-50, Terumala had requested and obtained from Sadāśiva the Mamidipuṇḍi grant⁷ : his gratefulness towards the sovereign could not stand the audacity of his brother.

(*To be continued*)

H. HERAS

- 1 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gd, 54. 2 *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39.
 3 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 210. 4 Butterworth, o. c., III, p. 1195-7.
 5 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk 1. 6 Purchas, o. c., p. 93.
 7 Butterworth, o. c., I, pp. 102, v. 62.



Seniya Bimbisāra

Seniya Bimbisāra is justly entitled to a place in the front rank of the great rulers, not only of Magadha, but of India. No monarch endowed with so much vigour and ability appeared on the throne of Girivraja since the days of the legendary Jarāsandha, and few will dispute his claim to be regarded as the founder of that imperial power which in the time of the Nandas probably spread as far as the Godāvari¹ and under the Mauryas dominated almost the whole of Non-Tamil India from the Hindukush to the Venkaṭa Hills. Unfortunately the history of this king is still obscure and even the name of his dynasty is not known for certain. No Bāṇa or Sandhyākara has left a faithful account of the king's pedigree and no Harisena or Ravikīrti has left a genuine record of his military exploits. A few facts regarding this monarch may, however, be gleaned from Buddhist literature, the credibility of which, in the present state of our knowledge, must remain an open question.

We have already stated that the very name of Bimbisāra's family is not known for certain. The old orthodox view based on Paurāṇic evidence is that Bimbisāra was a descendant of a king named Śiśu-nāga, and belonged to what is known as the Śaiśu-nāga dynasty. But this view has been combated by scholars like Geiger and Bhandarkar on the ground that the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon clearly distinguish the royal line of Bimbisāra from that of Śiśunāga, and represent the latter as a late successor, and not as an ancestor of the first named sovereign.

1 The extension of the Nanda Empire as far south as the Godāvari appears probable from the evidence of the Hathigumpha Inscription and the existence on the Godāvari of a city called "Nau Nand Dehra" (Nander ; Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, V, p. 236).

The inclusion of Bārāṇasī and Vaiśālī within Śīśunāga's dominions seems also to suggest that he came after Bimbisāra and his son Ajātasatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in those regions, and thus tends to confirm the evidence of the chronicles. The Paurāṇic statement that Śīśunāga destroyed the power of the Pradyotas of Avanti, and the tradition recorded in the *Mālalaṅkāravatthu* that the city of Rājagṛha lost her rank of metropolis from his time, point to the same conclusion.

A welcome light on the problem of Bimbisāra's lineage comes from an unexpected quarter. The *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of Kaṇiṣka, informs us that when "Sreṇya", the lord of the country of the Magadhas, visited Buddha on the Pāṇḍava Hill¹, the latter addressed him as a scion of the *Haryaṅka Kula* (*Jātasyaharyaṅkakule viślāe*, xi. 2), the family whose ensign is *Hari*. Cowell takes the word *Hari* to mean "lion". But the word has also the sense of "snake" and the latter interpretation would be in keeping with the theory of Professor Bhandarkar who finds in the name of Nāga-Dāsaka, a descendant of Bimbisāra, proof of the fact that these kings belonged to the "Nāga" dynasty. Whatever be the right interpretation of the term "*Haryaṅka Kula*", it cannot be denied that it was the traditional name of Bimbisāra's dynasty in the first century of the Christian era, and, in the absence of earlier and more reliable evidence to the contrary, should be preferred to designations found in Paurāṇic chronicles of the Gupta period.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

1 It is not altogether improbable that the name of the Hill is derived from the Pāṇḍavas who are known to have come to Girivraja in the time of the legendary king Jarāsandha.

Sumerians in India

In my recent book on "The Phœnician Origin of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons", I have tried to establish by a mass of new historical evidence the unsuspected facts that the "Sumerians" were the long lost Early Aryans, in race, speech and script; that their chief sea-going and colonizing branches were the Bhārat Kuru-pañcāla or "Syrio-Phœnician" Kṣattriyas—the *Khattiya* of the older Pāli, and identical with the *Khatti* or "Hitt-ites" of Asia Minor, that they had established themselves in Mesopotamia at the head of the Persian Gulf by 3100 B. C. and that the Indo-Aryans who conquered, colonized and civilized India as well as the Western Aryans who colonized and civilized the Mediterranean, British Isles and North-Western Europe were these leading sea-going branches of the Sumerians.

These conclusions are now dramatically confirmed as regards India by the recent discovery of a large number of ancient seals inscribed with Sumerian writing and associated with buildings and cultural objects of the Sumerian and Phœnician type in the Indus Valley.

I was led to these discoveries, whilst in India during my search for the lost origin of the Home-land of the authors of Indo-Aryan civilization, and have spent the past years since my retirement in pursuing the clues and in establishing the discoveries. On analysing the Indo-Aryan civilization in regard to its culture, social structure, customs, folklore and religion, and the traditional topography and climate, of its ancestral homeland as described in the Vedas—descriptions wholly inapplicable to India apart from the Indus Valley—I was led by numerous clues to trace the Āryas back to Asia Minor and Syria-Phœnicia.

I then observed that the old ruling race of Asia Minor and Syria-Phœnicia, from immemorial time was the great

imperial people generally known as "Hitt-ites", but who called themselves "*Khatti*". And the early ruling race of Aryans who first conquered and civilized India called themselves *Khattiya* in the older Pāli, afterwards Sanskritized into "*Kṣattriya*". I further observed that these ancient Khatti (or Hitt-ites) also called themselves '*Ari*' or '*Arri*' with the meaning of "noble ones", which was thus literally identical in name and in meaning with the *Ariya* of the Pāli and the *Ārya* of the Sanskrit, from which our modern term "Aryan" is derived. And the civilization of this *Arri* or Aryan race of Khatti was essentially of the "Aryan" type.

The identity of these Khatti-Arri with the eastern branch of the Aryans is now apparent. The name *Khatti* has in the Khatti or "Hitt-ite" language the same radical meaning of "cut or ruler" as the Pāli "*Khattiya*" and the Sanskrit "*Kṣattriya*,"; and I observed that these Khatti and Phœnicians called themselves at times by the patronymic '*Barat*', just as did the "Bharat" Aryans of early India, who have aspirated the 'B'. And I then found that the Khatti language was essentially Aryan in its roots and structure, a fact which has since to some extent been remarked by Hronzy and others.

Turning to the traditional king-lists of the ancient Aryan kings preserved in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata I found that many of the names of these kings were substantially identical with the names of ancient Khatti kings as found on their still extant monuments and cuneiform documents of Asia Minor and Syria-Phœnicia.

On further scrutinizing the earlier dynasties of these Indian Epic king-lists I observed that several of the leading kings in these lists bore substantially the same names with the same records of achievements, and occurred in the same relative positions in the lists as several of the leading early kings of Mesopotamia—the so called "Sumers and Akkads"—as recorded in their still extant monuments and in the fragmentary ancient chronicles of that land dating back to the

fourth millennium B. C. Further examination fully confirmed this discovery and disclosed complete lists of Sumerian dynasties of kings bearing substantially the same names and in the same relative order as in Indian Epic king-lists. I further found that the leading dynasty of the early Sumerians at the seaport of Sirlapur or Lagosh on the Persian Gulf about 3100 B. C. bore the identical names and in the same relative order as the first *Pañcāla* dynasty of the Indian Epics; and that these "*Pañcāla*" or "the able *Pañc*" were the world-famous Phœnicians, the *Panag*, *Panasa* or *Fenkha*, Syrian mariners of the ancient Egyptians, the *Phoinik*-es of the Greeks, and the *Phanic*-es of the Romans and a people who, Herodotus tells us, were settled on the Persian coast before about 2500 B. C. when they founded Tyre in Syria-Phœnicia, the old Kuru-*pañcāla* land.

I further found that the Father God of these Sumerians and Phœnicians was called by them "Induru", the "Indara" of the Khatti or Hittites, and was the source in both name and attributes of the *Indra* of the Indo-Aryans. And after over fifteen years' devotion to the study of the Sumerian language and its script, I found that the Sumerian language was radically Aryan in its roots and structure, with identical word-forms and meanings as in Sanskrit and other members of the Aryan family of languages; and the Sumerians were in race and speech Aryans, and were the long lost early Aryans, and that the Kuru-*pañcāla* Bharat Khattiya who first civilized, colonized and aryanized India were a leading branch of the Sumerians, just as were the western Barat Catti who first civilized and colonized Britain and gave it their patronymic of "Burat-ana" or Britain, and stamped their "Khatti" clan title on the coins of the pre-Roman period, and carved it on their pre-historic monuments of Britain. These discoveries, which I have recorded in considerable detail in my book, the greater portion of which is devoted to establishing the Sumerian origin of Indian civilization, language and religion, are now strikingly confirmed as regards India by the dis-

covery of the Sumerian seals of about 3000 B.C. and associated buildings in the Indus Valley.

L. A. WADDELL

Some observations on Puṣyamitra and his Empire

It is related in Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* that the Maurya emperor Bṛhadratha was, while engaged in reviewing his army, murdered by his general Puṣpamitra¹. This tradition finds a sort of corroboration in the accounts of the *Purāṇas*. Thus according to the *Viṣṇu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, Bṛhadratha is the last Maurya king, and *Vāyu* gives the name of the last Maurya in a slightly changed form as Bṛhadaśva, while all of them agree in naming as his immediate successor, Puṣpamitra or Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. Similar accounts of Puṣpamitra's succession to the imperial power of the Mauryas is also to be found in the Jaina tradition. From all these it has been generally accepted that Puṣyamitra established himself on the throne of Pāṭali-putra by killing his master, and founded the dynasty known as the Śuṅgas. I do not know on what authority Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri has added the following details :—"At first he (Puṣyamitra) led the Maurya armies against the Greeks, who advanced year after year to the very heart of the Maurya empire. After a successful campaign he returned to Pāṭali-putra with his victorious army, and the feeble representative of Aśoka on the throne accorded him a fitting reception. A camp was formed outside the city and a review was held of

1 The forms Puṣpamitra and Puṣyamitra are both correct. Cf. G. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 362.

a large army. In the midst of the festivities an arrow struck the king on the forehead. The king expired instantly." (*JASB.*, 1910, p. 261).

There are some points which may be taken to signify that even before this tragic event, Puṣyamitra had long been *de facto*, if not *de jure*, king of Magadha. This seems to follow from the Jaina accounts of the chronology of the period as preserved by Merutuṅga in his *Therāvali* (genealogical or succession-table of the kings of Ujjayinī). This work is written in the form of comments on some of the old *Gāthās* containing chronological and historical data. For our present purpose we need only quote the statement relating to Maurya dynasty. Says Merutuṅga, "Then (i. e. after the Nandas) the Mauryas ruled for 108 years. After the Mauryas, Puṣyamitra ruled for 30 years." The Purāṇas all agree in assigning a duration of 137 years to the Maurya dynasty. The Jaina tradition splits this up into two periods, and assigns the last period of 30 years to Puṣyamitra, rather than to the Mauryas. It must be remembered that the Jaina accounts of kings and dynasties relate to Avantī in very much the same way as the Imperial dynasties described in the Purāṇas relate to Magadha. It is natural to suppose therefore that Puṣyamitra had already exercised independent power in the west, although he did not throw off the mask in the capital, retaining a nominal allegiance to the titular emperor of Magadha. This assumption is strengthened by the statement in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇas*, that Puṣyamitra ruled for 60 years. The sixty-year-rule of Puṣyamitra is in utter conflict with the general statement of all the Purāṇas regarding the duration of the dynasty which is stated "by *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, and by *Viṣṇu* generally, to be 112 years; by 7 Mss. of *Bhāgavata* and one of *Viṣṇu*, 110; and by *Bhāgavata* generally 'over 100 years'¹. The mistake may be explained away by supposing that the duration of the Śuṅga dynasty was counted from after the

murder of Brīhadratha, but the reign of Puṣyamitra included the years in which he was *de facto* if not *de jure* king of Magadha. The 36 years assigned to Puṣyamitra in the *Mātaya-purāṇa* may be taken to be the number of years he had actually ruled after murdering Brīhadratha. I may refer also in this connection to the significant fact that in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Puṣyamitra is styled *Senāpati*¹ while his son is spoken of as king. Both Śaṅkar Pandurang Paṇḍit² and Wilson³ have concluded from this that Puṣyamitra usurped the Maurya kingdom in favour of his son. Apart from the unnaturalness involved in the supposition, the theory is directly contradicted by the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas that Puṣyamitra was the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty which was founded by him, and that he was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. Nay, even the drama itself bears testimony to the fact that Puṣyamitra himself was then ruling at Pāṭali-putra. For how else could he be initiated into the Aśvamedha sacrifice and send 100 royal princes with Vasumitra at their head to protect the horse? That this sacrifice was certainly not in favour of Agnimitra is quite clear from the expression “soham idāṇīm Aṃśumateva Sagarah pautreṇa pratyāhṛtaśvo yakṣye” Thus Puṣyamitra, though really the king, styled himself *Senāpati*. This can only be explained by supposing that though king *de facto*, he had not yet become king *de jure*, and it may not unfairly be concluded that the Rājasūya sacrifice was instituted precisely with this end in view. The fact that Agnimitra assumes the title of king while his father is still a *Senāpati* presents greater difficulty. I can only suggest that in the last days of the Mauryas, Puṣyamitra had consolidated his power in the empire by managing to have provinces and kingdoms conferred upon himself and his rela-

1 Act V, passages 5, 118, 121 (Śaṅkar Pandurang Paṇḍit's edition).

2 *Ibid.*, Notes, p. 220.

3 “*Theatre of the Hindus*,” p. 348.

4 Canto V, passage 125.

tions, even while he remained in name the Commander-in-Chief of the Maurya king.

From all the facts mentioned above, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Puṣyamitra, the generalissimo of the empire, grew to be too powerful, and while nominally retaining allegiance to the Maurya empire, he and his sons managed to rule over different provinces and kingdoms subject to the empire. He himself however still retained the title of *Senāpāti*, till in an opportune moment he killed his master, and after celebrating an Aśvamedha sacrifice assumed the title and dignity of an Imperial autocrat. His son was already a king though at first subordinate to the Maurya emperor, and hence the curious anomaly of the titles we have noticed in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

(*To be continued*)

R. C. MAZUMDAR

Politics and Political History in the Mahābhārata

A critical examination of the *Mahābhārata* shows that it is far from being homogeneous as regards its composition. It seems that the work grew out of an older nucleus, to which successive additions were made. Thus some chapters of the work are very old and undoubtedly belong to that very remote literary period, which saw the rise of the earliest Buddhist canonical literature. Other sections again seem from an examination of their contents to have existed during the 4th century B. C. if not earlier.

A large number of them records the social and political thoughts of the period preceding the age in which the great author of the *Arthasāstra* compiled his treatises on the art

of government. Indeed we are often struck not only by the similarity of ideas, but by the method of enquiry, the way of enquiring into great social problems, and finally by the exact similarity in language. Many of the verses quoted in the *Arthasāstra* are found in the *Mahābhārata*.

While this is the case with a large number of sections, the major portions of the work appear to be of later date, as may be easily inferred from the evidence advanced to us. Words of foreign origin later on grafted into our vocabulary, names of foreign tribes, which invaded India from the 1st century B. C. to the 4th or 5th century A. D., occur in them. We may mention a few of these. Thus e. g. *Dīnara*—a word of Latin origin and most probably borrowed by the Hindus after their intercourse with the Græco-Roman world. Of the names of foreign tribes we have the *Hūnas*, *Yavanas*, *Śakas*, *Tuṣāras*, *Pāradas* etc.

Consequently it is very difficult to fix any date as to the composition of this work and the safest conclusion for us would be to hold that the *Mahābhārata* took centuries to be reduced to its present form. The period may be taken to extend from the 6th or 7th century B. C. to the 5th century A. D. The earliest part of the work is that dealing with the history of the great war and the circumstances leading to it. Tradition preserved in different localities or with different families was the main source of the material utilised.

As we have said, the *Mahābhārata* is regarded as an historical work and at the same time an encyclopædia of moral and political wisdom. As regards the historical value of the accounts in the *Mahābhārata* and of the age to which it refers, it is of great service to us inspite of the fact that certain chapters are very late and certain chapters show signs of subsequent handling and that the accounts in some of the chapters often contradict each other.

All these take away indeed much of its value, and bring in perplexities to the mind that ventures with its

help to penetrate the mist of ages, and to have a glimpse of a remote past of which every thing else is lost. In spite of these defects however they present us with something tangible as regards the history of the past. They give us an account of Northern India, its peoples, its ruling families, their wars, their political and social life, which cannot be found elsewhere.

This account of the great war and the events preceding it are based on traditions. We must utilize these traditions which present us with the account of the political condition of Northern India for yielding materials for the reconstruction of the history of the time.

Now the question arises, to which period the traditional account may be taken to refer. If we trace back the great names of the Mahābhārata we find them mentioned in works of the later Vedic period. In some cases they go earlier. Thus Devāpi and Śantanu are names occurring in the R̥k hymns.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra is an historical personage and his name is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, who plays so prominent a part in the Epic, is a name that occurs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* where he is described as a disciple of Ghora Āṅgīrasa. Arjuna, too, is mentioned both in the *Vājsaneyi Saṃhitā* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Janamejaya Pāriksita finds place both in the 11th and the 18th kandas of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in connection with his Āśvamedha to expiate for brahmahatyā.

From all these we may infer that the account of the Mahābhārata refers to a portion of the later Vedic age. This view gets confirmation when we compare the social and political condition found in the Epic with that found in the later Vedic hymns. In both we find the existence of a comparatively archaic society. In both we find social customs which became obsolete in subsequent ages. In both we have pictures of simpler political institutions—the small city-state, the ruling tribe or state of moderate size—both speaking

of the supremacy of the popular will. All appear to tally with this difference that the account of the Mahābhārata is a little more tinctured with poetic imagination.

That such a traditional account of the Vedas existed in very early times is proved by subsequent evidence furnished by our literature. We have repeated references to the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas of which the Mahābhārata is the pre-eminent representative. Next the *Āvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* mentions the Bhārata and Mahābhārata. Again the Sūtras of Pāṇini speak of Vāsudeva, Arjuna, Yudhiṣṭhira and the Vṛṣṇis; as also of Droṇa, Hastināpura and the word Mahābhārata though its meaning is disputed (see Weber, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, p 185).

In the 4th century B. C. we find mention in the *Arthasāstra* of all the principal personages and the heroes of the great Epic. Thus the *Arthasāstra* speaks not only of Janamejaya, Yudhiṣṭhira, Duryodhana but refers also to the dice-play between Yudhiṣṭhira and Duryodhana and also reminds one of Nala and his downfall caused by his addiction to same. It accords it a high place and probably gives it the high position of a fifth Veda—the Itihāsa Veda. (*Sāmargyajurvedāstrayastrayī. Atharvavedetihāsa-vedaūca vedāḥ*).

It refers to the downfall of the Vṛṣṇi-saṅgha¹ through the arrogance of the Yādavas towards Dvaipāyana, and mentions in the chapter on *indriya-jaya* some more names which are found in the great Epic.

From a consideration of the above facts we may come to the conclusion that a traditional account of the happenings on the eve of the Great War existed and by the

1 In regard to the downfall of the Vṛṣṇis, Kauṭilya mentions Dvaipāyana as the offended sage. This account does not tally with the names of the insulted sages given in the Mahābhārata. Kauṭilya's account thus agrees in this respect with the tradition recorded in the Ghaṭa Jātaka.

sixth and seventh centuries, this traditional account had received a shape which did not materially differ from the account which we now have.

The main outlines of this traditional history centered round the Great War, which took place approximately about the 15th century before the Christian era. This date is obtained from the general testimony of the Purāṇas, which are almost unanimous in holding that a period of 1000 years (1013 according to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*) elapsed between the birth of Parīkṣit and the inauguration of the Nandas. The same date is obtained from the calculations based on the astronomical data furnished by the *Udyoga-parva* and some other portions of the epic and also from similar calculations. The late Mr. U. C. Vāṭavyāla calculated the date of Vyāsa Pārāśara on this basis, and taking the Mahābhārata to represent the traditional history of the Vedic period, he made approximate calculations about the dates of Śaunaka and Sudās.

The traditional accounts underwent modification at the hands of the later compilers. In spite of all this, however, the state of political condition or social condition depicted in it has not undergone any considerable modernisation, and anyone who carefully goes through the Mahābhārata is sure to find in it a picture of an archaic society as it existed in the days to which they are supposed to belong.

The object of this paper is to study the Mahābhārata from the point of view of the political condition described in it, the constitution of the various states, and the general state of Indian politics in those days, with a view to an enquiry into the nature of early Indian constitutions and the share of the people in politics.

The instances which will be cited from the epic will go to prove the extent of the share of the people in the government of those days. The evidence cited will clearly show (1) that all the kings of the Kuru line from the father of Śāntanu to Janamejaya ascended the throne with the

approval of the people ; (2) the people interfered in matters of succession, and we have in the Epic at least two instances of succession being changed at the instance of the people ; (3) one instance of a king being exiled by the citizens who approach another prince and wish to choose him ; (4) that even when a king handed over his regal authority to another, it required the approval of the people ; (5) that kings feared to commit arbitrary acts lest the people brought him to book.

Other states of the central region.

So far for the Kuru state. We have no account of the other states which existed in Northern India, but we may at least infer that a similar state of affairs existed in some of the states in the Madhya-deśa—at least in the kingdoms of Virāṭa and Drupada, where the sabhā met regularly¹.

(To be continued)

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJEE

1 No details are found about the other states. In the case of Virāṭa we have the story (*Virāṭa parva*, Ch. VI) of his sabhā, where we find the Jānapadas assembled at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira's entering it. After Yudhiṣṭhira gives out that he was a brāhmaṇa and an expert in dice-play, the king of the Matsyas gives him protection and he is appointed a companion of the king. Curiously enough this is proclaimed to the Jānapadas in the following terms :—

Virāṭa uvāca,—

Hanyāmavaśyaṃ yadi te'priyaṃ caret pravrajayeyam viṣayād
dviḥstathā.

Śṛṇvantu me jānapadāḥ samāgatā kaṅko yathāhaṃ viṣaye
prabhustathā.

The same thing happened elsewhere. The Sabhā existed and there the people had free access and expressed their opinion.

Etymologies of *kubhā*, √*lagh*-, √*cagh*-, *gevayā*, and *Lāghulo* (in the inscriptions of Aśoka)

The etymologies proposed for *kubhā* (Bar. I, 2 ; II, 3 ; III, 3), *laghamti* (DS. IV, 8 ; R. IV, 17 ; M. IV, 20 ; RM. IV, 15) and *caghamti* (DS. IV, 10 ; DM. IV, 2 ; R. IV, 18 ; M. IV, 21 ; RM. IV, 16), *caghati* (DS. IV, 11 ; R. IV, 18 ; M. IV, 22) and *caghattha* (Dh. Border Edict II, 11 ; *ibid.* Edict I, 19 ; J. Border Edict II, 16), as also for *gevayā* (DS. I, 7 ; A, I, 3 ; R. I, 3 ; M. I, 5 ; RM. I, 4) and *Lāghula* (Bhabra 5) do not seem to be satisfactory. *Kubhā*=*guhā*, according to Senart (*Inscr. Piya-dasi* II, 33, 403). This derivation seems to have been accepted by all perhaps on the ground of the similarity of meaning. The derivation of Pāli and Prākṛt 'bh' from Skt. 'h' is impossible. Where we find 'bh' in Pāli and Prākṛt in place of Skt. 'h', it either represents an original old Indic 'bh'¹ or 'gh'². Then there is the change of Skt. 'g' to 'k'. Though this is not impossible, there is no other instance in the Aśoka inscriptions. *Kubhā* may be derived from an old Indic *guhā*, whence Hindi *guphā*, Old Bengali *gophā*, Oriya *gumphā*, or it may be an Old Indic word

1 Wo im Innern eines Worts zwischen vocalen für h des Skt. eine Aspirata erscheint ist darin keine "Vergrößerung" des h zu sehen, sondern der ältere Lautbestand (Pischel, *Gram. der Pkt. Sprachen*, para. 266). H sometimes returns to its original medial aspirate and this gives us Pāli forms which are older than the corresponding ones in Sanskrit (Müller, *Pāli Gram.* p. 34).

2 Bh verhält sich zu ursprünglichem gh, gh wie v zu k, g, d, h, es liegt. Wandel von Guttaralen in Labiale vor (Pischel, para. 266). I, however, differ from Pischel in deriving *bubbhāi*, *dubbhāi*, *libbhāi*, from √*vabh*-, √*dubh*-, √*libh* (for Skt. √*vah*-, √*duh*-, √*lih*- ; IIr. √*vazh*-, √*dujh*-, √*lizh*- ; IE √*uagh*-, √*dhugh*-, √*ligh*-). They may be derived from *uvhvate*, *duhvate*, *lihvate*, popular forms for Skt. *uhyate*, *duhyate*, *lihyate*. Müller derives Pāli *dubbhate*, from Skt. √*druh*-. It may be derived from Skt. √*dabh* through contamination with √*druh*-.

cognate with Old Eng. *cofa* 'a cave', Old Persian *kaufa* 'a mountain', representing i. e. *khubhā*. Skt. *kuhara* for *kubhara* (Cf. Vedic *kakuha* and *kakubha*, \sqrt{grbh} and \sqrt{grh} , \sqrt{bhr} and \sqrt{hr}) may be a doublet of this *kubhā*. Cf. also *sikhā* and *sikhara*.

Senart's suggestion to read *caghamti* for *laghamti* has been rightly rejected. Bühler derives it from Skt. \sqrt{ramh} . But in that case the form would have been *langhamti*. It comes from Skt. $\sqrt{lakṣ}$ 'to aim at'. Thus *lakṣ* $\sqrt{lakṣ}$ *laggh*, which last would of course be written in the Aśoka Inscriptions as *lagh*. From *lakṣ* to *lagh*, there are two stages of sound change; first, from 'kṣ' to 'kh' and secondly, from 'kh' to 'gh'. This is similar to the change of Skt. 'kṣ' to 'h' through 'kh' in Ardha-Māgadhi and Jaina Māgadhi; e. g. AMg. JM. *seha*—Pāli *sekha*—Skt. *śaikṣa*¹. We may also compare Skt. *ākhyāpayati*—Pāli *akkhāpeti*—AMg. *āghāvei*; Skt. *nikāṣa*—Pkt. *nikhasa*—M. *ṇihasa*—AMg. *ṇighasa*². As for Skt. 'kṣ' = 'kh' in the Aśoka Inscriptions, we may compare *palikhā* (=Skt. *parīkṣā*, Pillar Edict 1), *cakhu* (=Skt. *cakṣuṣ*, *Ibid.* 11), *pakhi* (=Skt. *pakṣi*, *Ibid.*), *pakhā* (=Skt. *pakṣā* *Ibid.* 14). As for the change of earlier 'kh' to 'gh', we have in the inscriptions instances of mediae for Skt. *tenuis*; e. g. *logam* (J. Border Edict 1), *ajalā* (Dh. Border Edict 11), *vaḍikā* (Queen's Edict 3), *dose* (Khalsi 14, 19) *hida*—(Khalsi 5, 15), *lilī* (Delhi VII-VIII, 10, 11). In the Monumental Prākṛt we have specific instances of 'gh' for Skt. 'kh'; e. g. *sugha*³ (=Skt. *sukha*, Karle 22, Kanheri 15, 28), *mugha* (=Skt. *mukha*, *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, p. 29, Nos. 4, 6), *Magha-deva* [Plate XLVIII (2) of Bharhut stūpa] for *Makhā-deva* (Jātaka no. 9 etc.).

As for \sqrt{cagh} Senart conjectured its derivation from

1 Pischel, *Gram. der Pkt. Sprachen*, para. 323.

2 *Ibid.* paras. 202, 203. 3 *Inscr. de Piyadasi*, II, 489.

jāgrati (*Inscr. Piyadasi* II, 33). He, however, is not satisfied with the derivation. He says, "S'il bien = jagr, ce qui est douteux" (*Ibid.* p. 375). Kern compared it with Hindustani *cāhnā*. But he could not give any earlier form. I propose to derive *√cagh-* from Skt. *cakṣ-*. From this *√cakṣ-* is derived Hindi, Bengali, etc. *√cāh-* 'to look, to desire'. We may compare Pkt. *dāhiṇa*, Bengali *dāin*, Hindi *dāhnā* etc. from Skt. *dakṣiṇa* through Pkt. *dakkhina*. Pischel derives *caghati* = *cakhati* = *cakati* = Skt. *takati* from *√tak-* 'to bear' (*Gram.* § 465). But this meaning can hardly suit *caghati*. Wackernagel believes *√cagh-* to be original and compares it with Greek *tekhnā* (*Altindische Gram.* note 9, p. xx).

Burnouf derives *gavaya* from Skt. *grāmya*. Senart approves of this etymology (*Inscr. Piyadasi* II, 7). But phonetically it is impossible to accept it. It may be derived from Skt. *gavaya*. In Skt., *gavaya* means 'an animal like the cow'. But Bengali *gabā* which is clearly derived from Skt. means 'a dullard'. This meaning fits here.

As for *Lāghula*, though it is well-known to be equivalent to Pāli *Rāhula*, no etymology seems to have been attempted to explain it. Of course we cannot derive 'gh' from 'h' (Vide foot-note 1). I propose to derive *Lāghula* from popular Skt. *Rāghula* a doublet of Skt. (Classical) *Rāghila* derived from *Rāghava* with the suffix 'ila'¹ 'to denote pity'. *Rāghila* and *Rāghula* seem to have been forms of pet names for one whose name was *Rāghava*. Pāli *Rāhula* is a later formation than *Lāghula*. Cf. Pāli *Vāsula-dattā* for Skt. *Vāsava-dattā*. *Rāhula* is explained by *bandhana*, a 'bond fetter, impediment' (Anderson's *Pāli Glossary*, p. 219).

M. SHAHIDULLAH

¹ Ghan-ilacau ca. *Pāṇini*, v, 3, 79.

² Anukampāyām, *Pāṇini*, v, 3, 76.

The Bhāsa Problem

I. Introduction

The publication of a drama under the title *Svapnavāsavadatta*, and the consequent resuscitation of the ancient dramatist, Bhāsa, the illustrious predecessor of Kālidāsa, burst upon Sanskritists like a flash of lightning. So glorious and dazzling the so-called discovery appeared that it was everywhere looked upon as the greatest literary find of the century, and scholars, with the one honourable exception of Dr. L. D. Barnett, London, eagerly accepted the fundamental conclusions of Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, the learned editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. If they have not subjected his conclusions to a critical evaluation, it is probably because they could not command the requisite materials for same. For these materials can be had only from a critical study of the nature and sources of the Kerala Sanskrit theatre and of the dramas as preserved in Kerala manuscripts. And these a non-Malayalee cannot easily gain access to, since the custodians of these, the cākhyārs, the local professional actors, guard them so jealously that they are not prepared to show them, either for love or for money, even to their intimate friends, and since the temple theatre, where alone is the Sanskrit drama acted in the orthodox fashion, forbids entry to all but caste Hindus. An eloquent proof of the general inaccessibility of these materials is furnished by the editor himself; for, otherwise, he could not have set up such a theory and maintained it so consistently, unless one is prepared to argue that he is suppressing evidence for the sake of his theory. Such being the case, there is nothing to be wondered at, if scholars outside Kerala have silently accepted the editor's main conclusions. As a Malayalee who has had many opportunities to witness the staging of the Sanskrit dramas in the orthodox method and to gain a few

peeps into the sources of our stage, as a student of Sanskrit literature, who has facilities to study the more important Sanskrit dramas, and especially those, now included in the famous *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra* in original Malayalee manuscripts, I have been able to gain some materials to clear up this riddle. The more important of the conclusions I have arrived at from these materials are presented in this paper.

II. *The Bhāsa theory*

The acquisition of a drama, later published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series under the title *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, led the editor to postulate the Bhāsa theory. This theory and all that it stands for rest upon two fundamental conclusions : (1) that Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa, has written a drama, named *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* ; (2) that the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* referred to and quoted from by ancient writers is identical with the text published under that name. The validity of the theory, therefore, depends upon the validity of the materials from which these conclusions have been drawn.

A. Bhāsa's authorship of a Svapna-Vāsavadatta

The only evidence, brought forward by the editor and his adherents in support of the ancient Bhāsa's authorship of a *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, is the statement of Rājasekhara, as contained in the verse :

Bhāsanāṭakacakre'pi chekaiḥ kṣipte parikṣitum,
Svapnavāsavadattasya dahako'bhūn na pāvakaḥ.

This statement by itself and detached from its context may be held to prove that Bhāsa is the author of a *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. But, when read with the context, the authorship of the drama is to be assigned *not to the Bhāsa but a Bhāsa*. To elucidate discussion the context¹ is given below :

1 The verses are found in *Kavi Vimarṣa*, which is ascribed to Rājasekhara.

“kāraṇaṃ tu kavitvasya na sampan na kulīnatā,
Dhāvako’pi hi yad Bhāsaḥ kavīnām agrimo’bhavat.
ādau Bhāsenā racitā nāṭikā Priyadarsīkā,

... ..

tasya Ratnāvalī nūnaṃ ratnamāleṇa rājate,
Daśarūpaka-kāmīnyā vakṣasyatyantaśobhanā.
Nāgānandaṃ samālokyā yasya Śrīharṣavikramaḥ,
amandānandabharitāḥ svasabhyam akarot kavim.
Udāttarāghavaṃ nūnaṃ udāttarasagumphitam,
yad vīkṣya Bhavabhūtyādyāḥ praṇinyur nāṭakāni vai.
śokaparyavasannāsyā navāṅkākiraṇāvalī,
mākandasyeva kasyātra pradadāti na nirvṛtim.
Bhāsa-nāṭakacakre’pi chekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum,
Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako’bhūn na pāvakaḥ”.

A study of this quotation will convince even the casual reader that Rājasekhara is by no means quite a reliable authority. He is evidently wrong in assigning the authorship of Priyadarsīkā, Ratnāvalī and Nāgānanda to Bhāsa and so *may be wrong* as regards the authorship of Svapna-Vāsavadatta. Hence the value of a tradition alone can be given to the statement. Secondly, and what is more important in the present discussion, Bhāsa, the illustrious predecessor of Kālidāsa, has no place in this quotation. Rājasekhara explicitly says that his Bhāsa, a washerman by caste, was honoured by Śrī Harṣa of Kanouj and made a courtier of his. He cannot surely be identified with the pre-Kālidāsa dramatist. And according to Rājasekhara, it is this neo-Bhāsa who has written a Svapna-Vāsavadatta. Hence Rājasekhara’s statement, *by itself*, cannot justify the conclusion that the ancient Bhāsa has written a Svapna-Vāsavadatta. If, again, the Bhāsites shift their position and stick to their conclusion on the strength of the authority of the statement, ‘yathā Bhāsa-kṛte Svapna-Vāsavadatte’ found in the Nāṭya Darpaṇa¹,

1 Prof. Syivain Lévi’s analysis of the same. Vide *J.A.*, Oct.-Dec., 1923, pp. 193 ff.

still the conclusion stands on very weak grounds, for the identity of this Bhāsa with the ancient Bhāsa has yet to be established. And since, so far as we know, this has not been done, we are forced to conclude that on the evidence now available, one is not justified to come to the conclusion that the editor has arrived at. Hence the first of his conclusions stands on exceedingly flimsy grounds.

B. The genuineness of the published text

The second of the conclusions that the text represents the genuine Svapna-Vāsavadatta is still less valid. Such is the inference one is forced to draw after a study of the references to, and quotation from the genuine text. These are five in number : (1) Amaraṭīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda ; (2) Locana of Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya ; (3) Nāṭya-darpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra ; (4) Bhāva Prakāśa of Śāradātanaya¹, and (5) Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Ratnakoṣa of Śāgaranandin².

I. Sarvānanda in illustrating the three different kinds of Śṛṅgāra says : trividhaḥ śṛṅgāraḥ dharmārthakāmabhinnah, tatrādyo yathā Nandayantyām brāhmaṇabhōjanam, dvitīyaḥ svadīśamātmasāt kartum Udayanasya Padmāvati-pariṇayo' thaśṛṅgāraḥ, tṛtīyaḥ Svapnavāsavadatte tasyaiva Vāsavadattā-pariṇayaḥ³.

This is the original statement and it is absolutely clear and void of all ambiguity. The drama named Svapna-Vāsavadatta, Sarvānanda explicitly says, deals with the love-marriage of Vāsavadattā. Not satisfied with this straightforward interpretation, the learned editor, moved probably by a desire to find a support in this for his theory, suggests and adopts the transposition of the words 'tṛtīyaḥ' and 'Svapna-Vāsavadatte'⁴. One cannot endorse such an uncalled for pruning

1 An unpublished treatise on dramaturgy, vide p. 108, note 1.

2 Prof. Sylvain Levi, *op. cit.*

3 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p. 145.

4 Introduction to Svapna-Vāsavadatta, 1916, p. 5.

by editorial scissors, even for the noble purpose of reviving the ancient Bhāsa, much less a neo-Bhāsa. Since the editor's text of Svapna-Vāsavadatta deals with the political marriage of Padmāvati, it may safely be asserted that Sarvānanda's and the editor's texts are entirely distinct and different. Hence the published text cannot and does not represent the genuine text of Svapna-Vāsavadatta, referred to by Sarvānanda.

ii. Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya in his *Locana* quotes a verse from Svapna-Vāsavadatta, which runs thus :—

sañcitapakṣmakavātaṃ nayanadvāram iti

The editor is of opinion that this verse cannot find a place in his Svapna-Vāsavadatta and therefore concludes that Abhinava Gupta the most scrupulously careful writer is wrong in assigning this verse to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta. One may concede that he is right in his opinion ; but this does not mean that one must necessarily accept his conclusion. If this verse cannot find a suitable context in his Svapna-Vāsavadatta, it only means that *Gupta is quoting from another Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. Since, according to the editor, this verse can find a place only in the wooing of Vāsavadattā, and since Sarvānanda's Svapna-Vāsavadatta deals with this incident, the legitimate conclusion is that Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya's and Sarvānanda's texts are one and the same. If this inference is correct, then it becomes a further proof that the editor's Svapna-Vāsavadatta has nothing to do with the text of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta known to Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya and Sarvānanda.

iii. Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra refer to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta by a Bhāsa in the following context in their Nāṭya-Darpaṇa :

yathā Bhāsa-kṛte Svapna-Vāsavadatte Śephālikāmaṇḍapasilātalam avalokya Śrī Vatsarājah.

According to Prof. Sylvain Lévi, neither the verse nor the situation can find a suitable context in the editor's Svapna-Vāsavadatta. These authors also may, therefore, be quoting

from the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, familiar to Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya and Sarvānanda.

The references and quotations, found in the three works given above, show that Svapna-Vāsavadatta, known to their authors, is quite distinct from the Svapna-Vāsavadatta edited in the Trivandrum Series.

iv. Sāgaranandin in his Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Ratnakōṣa refers to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta in the following passage :

nepathye Sūtradhāraḥ¹ (utsāraṇam śrutvā paṭhati) aye
katham tapovane'pyutsāraṇā. (vilokya) katham mantri Yau-
gandharāyaṇaḥ Vatsarājasya rājyapratyānayanam kartukāmaḥ.

* * * * *

The Svapna-Vāsavadatta, referred to here, evidently has something in common with Trivandrum text. But since what is quoted is not found in the latter, it cannot be said to represent the genuine text.

v. Śāradātanaya refers to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta in his Bhāva-Prakāśa.² The context in which the reference occurs is given below :

1 Evidently there appears to be an omission. Before Sutradhara there must be some sentence.

2 The author of the work Bhāva Prakāśa is Śāradatanaya, son of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla whose grandfather is mentioned to have written a Veda Bhāṣya, named Veda Bhūṣaṇam. A resident of Benares, he was like his father a staunch devotee of the goddess Śāradāmbal. During one Caitra festival he happened to witness thirty different kinds of plays staged. Being then moved by a desire to study Nāṭya Veda he became a disciple of one Divākara, the then master of the concert hall, and studied under him all the ancient works of dramaturgy, by Śiva, Gaurī, Brahmā, Hanumān, and Bharata and his disciples. Then he wrote Bhāva-Prakāśa for the guidance of the actors, which purports to contain the essence of all the works on the subject. The work is divided into ten chapters and a cursory glance through it has enabled me to come across themes of certain unknown dramatists, such as Kohala, Drauhiṇi, Maṭṛgupta, Śakuka, and of some dramas, so far unheard of, such as Mārīca Vañcitam in five acts; Naṭavikramam, in eight acts; Devī Pariṇayam in nine acts ; Menaka Nahuṣam in nine

praśāntarasabhūyīṣṭam Praśāntam nāma nāṭakam,
 nyāso nyāsasamudbhedo bijoktir bijadarśanam.
 tato' nudiṣṭasamhārah praśānte pañcasandhayah,
 sātvati vṛttir atra syād iti Drauhinir abravīt.
 Svapnavāsavadattākhyam udāharanam atra tu,
 ācchidya bhūpāt samyak sā devī Māgadhikā kare.
 nyastā yatas tato nyāso mukhasandhir ayam bhavet,
 nyāsasya ca pratimukham samudbheda udāhṛtaḥ.
 Padmāvatyā mukham vīkṣya viśeṣakavibhūṣitam,
 jīvaty Avantiketi jnanam bhūmibhujo yathā.
 utkanṭhitena soḍvegam bijoktir bijadarśanam,
 ehi Vāsavadatteti kva yāsityādi drśyate.
 sabhāvasthitayor ekaprāptyā nyasya gaveṣaṇam,
 darśanasparśnā¹ chāpār etat syāt bijadarśanam.
 ciraprasuptaḥ kamo me vīṇayā pratibodhitaḥ,
 tām tu devīm na paśyāmi yasyā ghoṣavati priyā
 kiṃ te bhūyah priyam kāryam iti vāg atra nocyate,
 tato' nudiṣṭasamhāram ityā hur Bharatādayaḥ.

The text of the Trivandrum edition has much in common with the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, referred to by Śaradātanaya. But yet the two, it is evident, are not identical. Thus Padmāvatī's adorning herself with a beautiful *tilaka*, the king seeing it, his exclamation, 'alive is Vāsavadattā,' his ravings in the excess of love sickness, 'come, Vāsavadattā,' 'where dost thou go?' these are not found in the published text. This is enough evidence to prove that the latter is not genuine. If

acts; Rāmānanda; Sītāpaharaṇam; Kṛtya Rāvaṇam; Gauri Gṛham; all regular Nāṭakas. Amongst Prahāsanas are mentioned Saubhadrika, Śāgar Kaumudī, Kalikeli; amongst Dimas, Tripuradāham, Vṛtroddharaṇam and Tārakodddharaṇam. Other names of works and persons also there are in the work which shall be set forth on a future occasion. The work is written throughout in poetry, simple and elegant, and touches upon every department of dramaturgy. Since the author quotes from Mammāṭa, he could not have lived earlier than the twelfth century. Probably he may have to be brought down to a still later age.

1 The manuscript reads 'sparśanair etat'. This is evidently wrong.

anything more is needed to justify such a conclusion, that is supplied by Śāradātanaya's remarks on *Prastāvanā*. He says that *Kathā-Sūtradhāra* enters only after the *Nandi-Sūtradhāra* has left the stage, but never mentions of a drama opened by the former. He details the various items to be mentioned in the Prologue, but has no exception to, or deviations from, the general rule to point out. He remarks that *Prastāvanā* may as well be termed *Āmukha*, but does not suggest *Sthāpana* as an alternative. The dramaturgist who is so familiar with the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, as the above quotation shows, cannot surely pass over its *Prastāvanā*, if it had any peculiarity. This absence of comment eloquently confirms the fact that the genuine *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* and the Trivandrum text are not identical. Hence the evidence of *Bhāva-Prakāśa* also is against the editor's contention that his text is genuine¹.

Thus the references to the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, made by Śāgaranandin and Śāradātanaya, show that while the Trivandrum edition has much in common with their *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, the two cannot be said to be identical. We incline to the opinion that the Trivandrum text of the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* is only a playwright's adaptation of the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* known to Śāradātanaya.

On the strength of the evidence furnished by the five works, quoted from, in the preceding paragraphs, it can be asserted that the second of the editor's conclusions also is invalid.

The consideration of this aspect of the problem has revealed the fact that there are two well-known *Svapna-Vāsavadattas*, one referred to in *Amara-ṭikā-sarvasva* and *Nāṭya Darpaṇa*, delineating the love-marriage of *Vāsavadattā*, and the other, referred to in the *Bhāva-Prakāśa*, describing the political marriage of *Padmāvatī*. It has already been

1 The same conclusion has been arrived at in the paper 'Bhāsa's Works. Are they genuine?' written in collaboration with Mr. A. K. Pisharoti of Trivandrum and published in *B. O. S.*, London.



Figs. 1, 3, 4. Sāma, Vessantara and Kinnara Jātakas

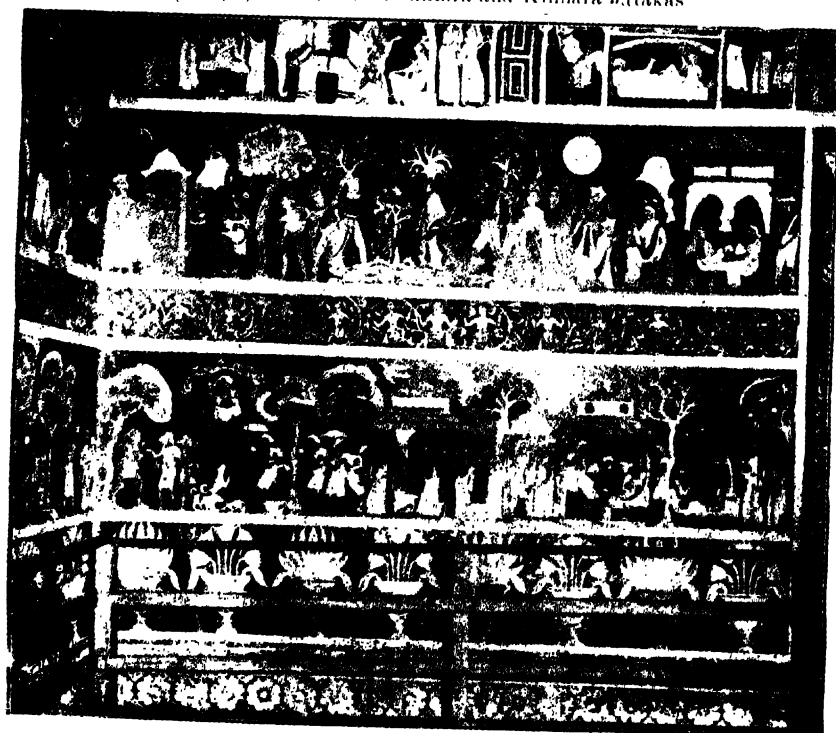


Fig 2. Mahākanha Jātaka

pointed out that there are two Bhāṣas. These and a Bhāṣa's relation to the first Svapna-Vāsavadatta are the interesting literary problems which have arisen as a result of the foregoing consideration.

Going back to the main subject. In view of the fact that the ancient Bhāṣa could not even be supposed to have written a Svapna-Vāsavadatta, much less the Triv. text of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta and in view of the fact that this latter has been proved to be spurious, the theory of Bhāṣa—ancient Bhāṣa—resolves itself into a myth, pure and simple. And, therefore all that has been written about the antiquity of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the other twelve dramas of the series, pompously styled “Bhāṣa-Nāṭaka-Cakra” deserves to be consigned to the limbo of oblivion.

(To be continued)

K. R. PISHAROTI

Some Wall-Paintings from Kelaniya

Ceylon preserved in its wall-paintings the traditions of early Indian art up to the nineteenth century. Its vihāras contain examples of Buddhist paintings which, with regard to their subject-matter as well as their forms, are direct descendants of the practice of art during the Śuṅga period in India, of which apart from the scanty traces of wall-painting in the Jogimara cave, no pictorial rendering has been preserved, whereas the reliefs on the

railing of the Barhut stūpa are the most instructive and serene representations.

Buddhism in Ceylon being a living faith, the Jātakas remain vivid instances of popular appeal and their incidents appear to take place in contemporary buildings, and their heroes and saints are dressed in the Ceylonese fashion and at times also in English uniform, although in no other Vihāra than that in Kelaniya which is only a few miles off Colombo. The Jātakas are arranged in broad, horizontal bands ; they are depicted in continuous narration all along the walls of the Vihāra-halls. They are divided from one another by narrow ornamental designs or by plain stripes of colour on which the names of the Jātakas are inscribed. The selections of these Jātaka scenes, as in olden times, were made by the donor and by the artist. Those painted in Kelaniya are the Sāma-jātaka (fig. 1) which tells how the Bodhisattva, who in a miraculous way was born to his blind ascetic parents, went to the forest to gather food. He was noticed by a king on the shore of the Migasammata, who wanted to make sure whether he was a god or a nāga and for that purpose the king shot him to death. The goddess Bahusodari, who in a former existence had been the mother of the Great Being, determined to bring him back to life, and thus she invisibly appears in the sky over the water, while the king himself leads the blind parents to their dead son. The goddess and the mother bring Sāma back to life, for the gods themselves cure him who honours his parents.

In the Mahākapha Jātaka (fig. 2) Indra changes the god Mātali into a big, black hound, in order to frighten mankind which had fallen into sin. The dog threatens to kill all culprits but Indra with him rises into the air and promulgates Dhamma.

The Vessantara Jātaka (fig. 3) tells of the Bodhisattva's limitless largess ; he gives away the wondrous elephant and later on even his own children, but all ends well and the prince returns at the end from the seclusion of

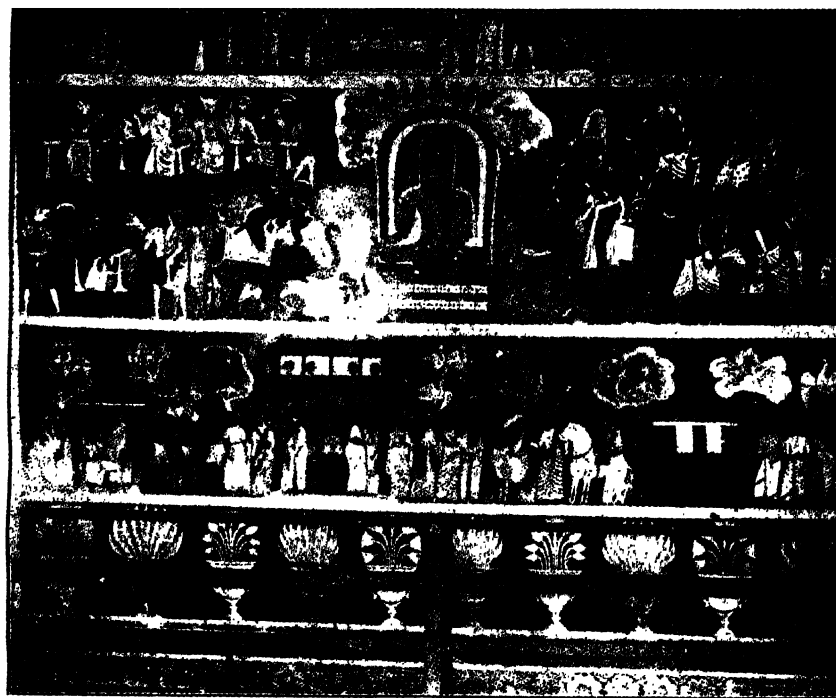


Fig. 5. Māra attacks Buddha



Fig. 6. Ceylonese rulers

the forest into his royal home. The Caṇḍa-kinnara Jātaka (fig. 4) praises the loyalty of the beautiful kinnari, who succeeded in resuscitating the dead kinnara¹.

Belief in miracles, Buddhist self-abnegation and civic virtues are mixed in these child-like legends and are represented as taking place under the heavy foliage of ever-green trees. From the life itself of Buddha, the moment of the temptation and illumination is selected (fig. 5). That the Earth is called to witness is suggested by the figure of Mihikata, who emerges from the ground. In the top-most row the various Buddhas are enthroned, while on the side-walls the figures of rulers (fig. 6) or of monks are to be seen.

The doors of the broad main wall are crowned by Makara toraṇas in relief. One of them (fig. 7) frames the figure of Buddha painted on a ground covered with a pattern "without end". At the sides of the doors Nāgas are painted with floral offerings (fig. 8), and colossal Dvārapālas keep guard in high relief, richly dressed and lavishly decorated. Myth and history appear in the same juxtaposition as sculpture and painting and their union is confirmed by the rhythmic design and the colouring of the walls.

The profuse array of figures in their variegated movements is kept in order by the horizontal ornamental rows. The lowermost fig. 2 places, on the top of a lotus-rosette border familiar in India, flowerpots with lotus flowers and palm leaves, auspicious forms in a sharp alteration of light opening or closing round forms with a dark ground. A peculiarly Ceylonese device is the floral creeper, of which the flower merges into a female figure (nārī latā bhela). This fairy-tale flower is supposed to grow in the Himālayas, where it tempts many a recluse². Other ornamental devices consist of rows of four-petalled lotuses,

1 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 92.

2 Cowell and Rouse, *Jātakam*, 540; 469; 96; 547; 485.

festoons (*Mālā*) and rows of single lotus petals (*palā-peti*), the latter being especially suited for mouldings. Besides these borders, which also occur in the classical art of the West, a leafy creeper (*liya-peta*—fig. 7) frequently fills the panels akin to and most probably derived from the *Akanthus* device. It has predecessors in India from the 2nd century A.D. onwards (Cf. *Amarāvati*). Thoroughly indigenous, however, is the infinite surface-filling pattern with scattered rotating circles consisting of slight suggestions of foliage and flowers on a dark ground (*picca mala*—fig. 7).

The most remarkable representations, from the artistic point of view, are on the rectangular panels of the ceiling. They are surrounded by festoons: Some of them contain the well-known "life-tree" device, with many branches, with birds on them and deer and men beneath, akin to the "life-tree" printed on Palampores at Masulipatam. But of the two remaining rectangular ceiling panels with their partitions marked by painted beams, the one contains the figures of the rulers of the eight directions of the world (fig. 9), which, if read from right to left and in horizontal rows around the central figure, are to represent Agni, the ruler of the South-east, Nairitya of the South, Yāmya of the South-west, Indra of the East, Varuṇya of the West, Īśāna of the North-east, Saumya, of the North, and Vāyavya of the North-west, whereby the southern direction occupies the uppermost third of the picture. The other rectangular panel (fig. 10) contains the signs of the Zodiac (starting from the middle of the lowermost row towards the right), Meṣa, Vṛṣa, Mithuna, Karkāṭa, Simha, Kanyā, Tulā, Vṛścika, Dhanu, Makara, Kumbha, and Mīna, round the figures of sun and moon on a ground of stars.

The technique of these paintings is a sort of tempera. The wall is first covered with a layer of caoline which then is laid over with magnesit. The outlines then are drawn with a thin brush in black colour, the inner portions of the figures are left white, whereas the

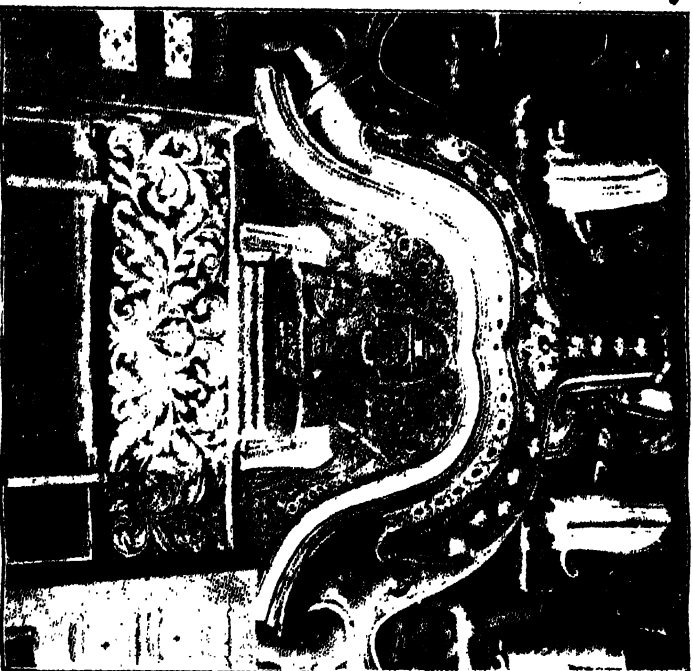


Fig. 7. Alakera Torana—J'ympanum

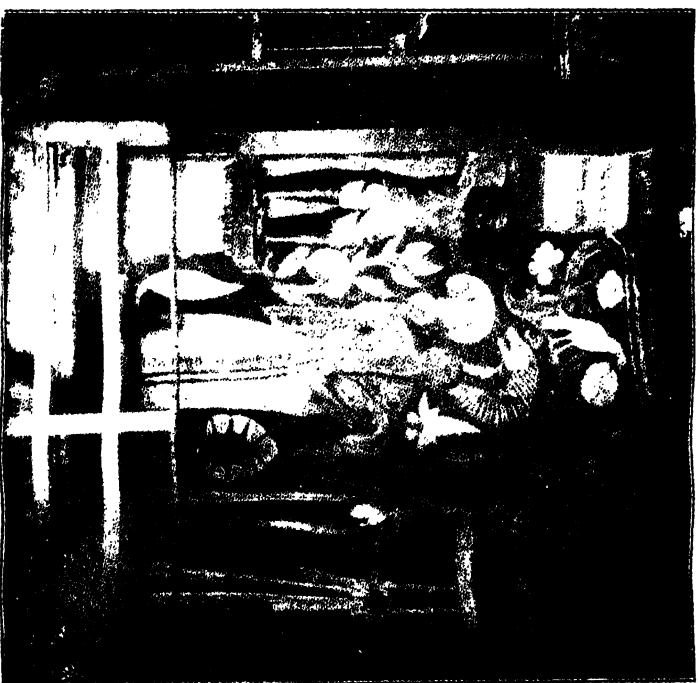


Fig. 8. Nāga and Devārapala

background is touched up with crimson. The outlines finally are filled with yellow colour, whereas the ground is covered with alternate layers of crimson and red, until at last it gets a deep glowing and clear red colour. The colours that produce the saturated yet bright effect of these paintings are cinnabar-red, yellow, magnesit-white and lamp-black. Indigo-blue is rarely used, as well as green and the lighter shades¹ of the colours enumerated, mixed with white.¹

Nowhere in these paintings is a trace of the tradition of painting as practised in Ajanta or in the closely allied Sigiriya. Though of a very late date, they are, as mentioned already, connected with the Śunga period of Indian Art. But although the special formulæ and the treatment of the surface are of early Indian extraction, the pointed angularity within a curvilinear treatment, in its clear cut but also petty orderliness is due to Ceylonese taste. It replaces the heavy flow of the round line of India by curt and decisive outlines. Upright, slender figures appear in shy and short rhythms within and outside the open and thin houses of Ajanta-like dimensions. Their movements, the way in which they go and bend, have a deliberate gracefulness due to courtly refinement, their eyes, wide open and gentle, but glanceless do not betray anything of their inner life. Their tightly fitting garments have a light charm of flowery suppleness. Even the demoniacal retinue of Māra is graceful in its gentleness and we witness an official call instead of a scene of temptation. Carriages of the nineteenth century with their horses are rendered with reserve, so that they almost appear at a historical distance, as little actual and contemporary as the big Hamsas whose flight between the broadly daubed tops of the trees seems once for ever to remain in hovering restfulness. Even today the artistic output of Ceylon, e. g. in Kandy, absorbs impressions of Western civilised life without imitating its artistic means

1 A. K. Coomaraswamy, loc. cit., pp. 164ff.

and introduces into a pageant of Ceylonese forest scenes and processions of elephants some motor cars, which being embossed in brass in a peculiarly Ceylonese mannerism have nothing jarring. This proves how strong the feeling for indigenous "form" is and what potent power tradition is in preserving that feeling. For this reason also, one of the most ancient methods of figure composition, the horizontal arrangement in rows, so well-known from the earliest Egyptian and Mediterranean practice has survived up to this day.

Enriched by the delight in ornaments and decoration the wall paintings appear at their best around the huge figures in relief of colossal *Dvārapālas* (fig. 8). Leaves and flowers, incredibly soft, ramble in a broad and yet almost flaming lassitude weighed down neither by fruits nor birds—suddenly beginning, suddenly at an end and are the frame of the *nāga* figure with its high snake crown and its wide open eyes.

STELLA KRAMRISCH

Pavapuri and its Temple Prasasti

Pāvāpurī (the ancient town of Pāpā) is only a small village of about 300 houses mostly of Bhūmihār Brāhmaṇas. It is situated about 7 miles south of Bihar in the district of Patna. To the Jainas, it is associated with sacred memories. For it was here that their last (the 24th) Tirthaṅkara Lord Mahāvīra cast off his mortal body and attained *Nirvāṇa* nearly 2500 years ago (527 B. C.). The old text tells us that Pāvāpurī was then the capital of a local chief Hastipāla, and Mahāvīra in his 72nd year was passing the rainy season there in an old Writers' Hall. It was towards the last part of the night of the new-moon day of the month of Kārtika that Lord Mahāvīra renounced the world. We learn from the

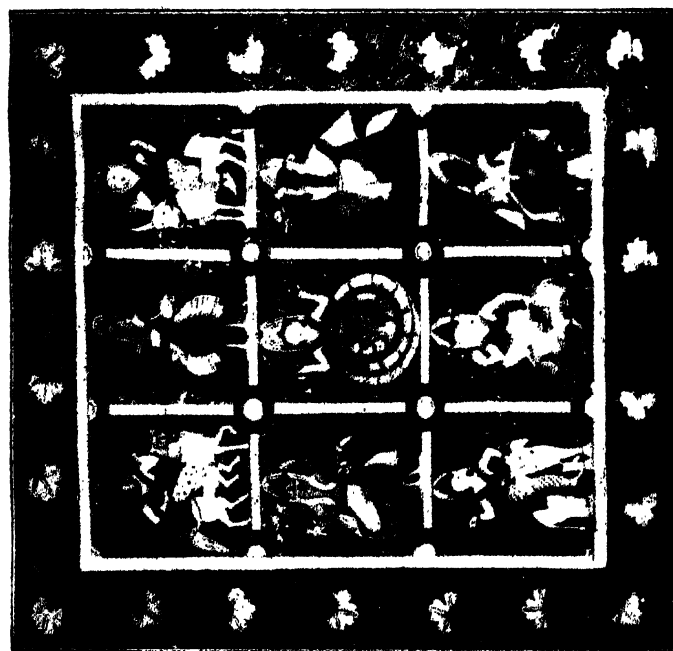


Fig. 9. The Dikpālas, rulers of the eight directions

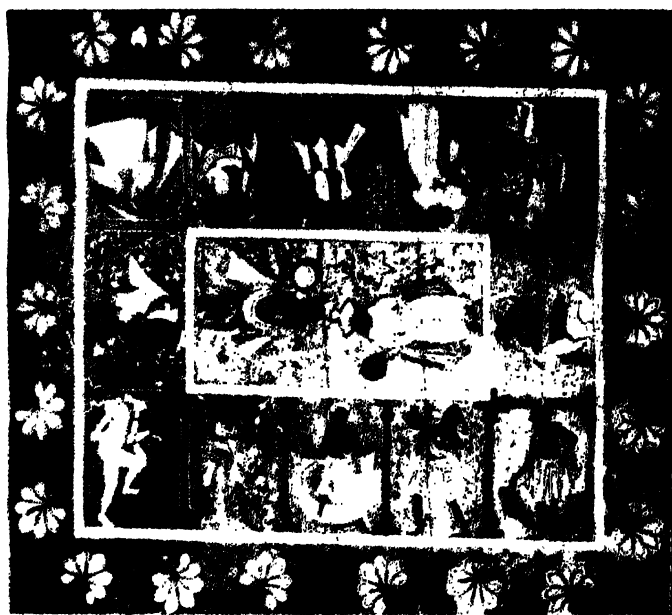


Fig. 10. The signs of the Zodiac

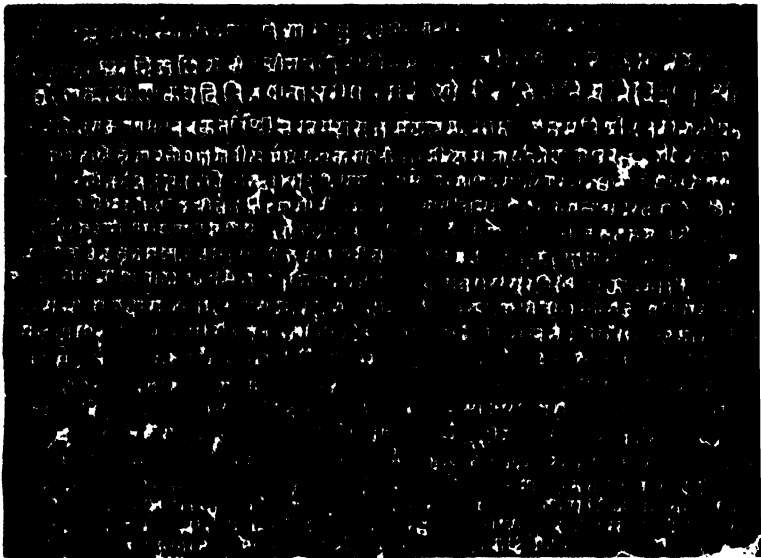
Jaina legends that a *stūpa* was built at the place by the gods who came there to celebrate the event and a temple was also built in commemoration by king Nandivardhana. On the same site stands the present temple which contains both the foot-prints and the image of the Tirthaṅkara which are worshipped by the followers of the sect. Outside the village towards the south lies a big tank, in the centre of which stands the temple known as Jalamandir which marks the spot where he was cremated. According to tradition, the number of people who attended the funeral ceremony was so large that the mere act of taking off a pinch of ashes by each individual created such a big cavity all round that the place soon became transformed into a tank. The foot-prints of Gautama and Sudharma, the first and fifth *gaṇadhakas*, are located in the temple with the foot-prints of Mahāvīra Svāmin in the middle. There is a stone-bridge of about 600 feet across it from the bank to the temple which is built in the shape of a *vimāna*. At the proper season of the year, the lake becomes full of blossoming lotuses making the whole scenery simply enchanting.

The dedicatory stone of Pāvāpurī temple was first discovered by me and only a portion could be deciphered at the time when my "Jaina Inscriptions, part I" was in preparation. I have, of late, been able to restore the entire stone, and the inscription is published below. The stone, which is of rough black colour, is an ordinary variety of local Magadha stone, the surface measuring about 10½ ins. by 15 ins. The inscription consists of 21 lines of Jaina script of which the letters of the first three lines are a little bigger than those of the remaining lines as will be seen in the plate. The inscription on the foot-prints of Mahāvīra in the village temple also repeats the same fact of the restoration of the tirtha and the construction of the present temple during the reign of emperor Shāh Jahān in 1641 A. D. by the Svet-āmbara Saṅgha under the guidance and advice of Jainācārya Jinarāja Sūri of Kharatara Gaccha.



TEXT

1. //Aī// Svasti śrī Saṃvati 1698 vaiśākha sudi 5 somavāsare/
pātisāha śrī Sāhijāṃha sakalanūra
2. maṇḍalādhitavaravijayirājye// Śrīcaturvīmśatitamajinādhirāja
śrīViravarddhamāna svāmi
3. nirvāṇakalyāṇikapavitritaPāvāpurīparisare Śrīvirajinacaityani-
veśah/ śrī
4. Rṣabhajīnarājapṛathamaputracakravartī śrī Bharatamahārāja-
sakalamāṇtrimaṇḍalaśreṣṭhamāṇtri śrīdalasantāntīya ma-
5. hatīāṇa jñātīrṅgārā Coddāgotriya saṃghanāyaka saṃghabī
Tulasīdāsa bhāryā Nihāloputra saṃ saṃgrāma/
6. laghu bhrātṛ Govarddhana Tejapāla Bhojarāja/ Rohadīya
gotriya maṃ Paramāṇḍa saparivāra Mahadhāgotriya viśeṣa-
dharma/
7. karmmodiyama vidhāyaka ṭha° Dulicāṇḍa kādraḍāgotriya
maṃ Madanasvāmīdāsa Manohara Kuśalā Sumdaradāsa Rohadīyā/
8. ṭha° Mathurādāsa Nārāyaṇadāsa Giridhara Santādāsa Prasādi
Vartidī go° Gūjaramalla Būḍaḍamalla Mohanadāsa/
9. Māṇikacanda Būdamalla Jeṭhamalla ṭha° Jagana Nūricanda/
Nānharā go° ṭha° Kalyāṇamalla Malūkakanda Sabhā-
10. canda/ Saṃghelāgotriya ṭha° Siṃbhū Kīrtipāla Bābūrāya
Kesavarāya Sūratasiṃgha/ Kādraḍā go° Dayālā-
11. dāsa Bhovāladāsa Kṛpāladāsa Mīra Murāridāsa Kilū/ Kāṇā-
gotriya ṭha° Rājapāla Rāmacāṇḍa//
12. Mahadhā go° Kīrtisiṃgha Ro° Chabicanda/ Jājtyāṇa go° Maṃ°
Nathamala Nandalāla Nānhaḍāgotriya/
13. ṭha° Sundaradāsa Nāgaramalla Kamaladāsa// Ro° Sundara
Sūrati Mūrati sabala kṛtī Pratāpa/ Pāhaḍiyā/
14. go° Hemarāja bhūpati/ Kāṇā go° Mohana Sukhamalla ṭha°
Gaḍhamalla jā° Haradāsa Purasottama/ Mīṇavā-
15. ṇa go° Bihārīdāsa Bindu/ maha° Medani Bhagavān Garībadāsa
Sāhareṇpurīya Jīvaṇa/ Vajjagarā go°/
16. Malūkakanda Jūjha go° Sacalabandī Santi/ Co° go° Nara-
siṃgha Hīrā Gharamū Uttama Varddhamānapramukha śrī/
17. vihāravāstavya Mahattīyāṇasīsaṃghena kārīṭah tatpratīṣṭhā ca
śrībhaṭ Kharatara-Gacchādhīvara yugapradhāna śrī/
18. Jīnasīṃha Sūri paṭṭaprabhākara yugapradhāna śrī Jīnarāja
Sūri vijayamāna gururājānāmādeśena kṛta/



Pāvāpurī Temple Prasasti

Dated V. S. 1698 (1641 A.D.)

19. pūrvadeśavihārair yugapradhānaśrīJinacandraSūriśiṣya śrī
Samayarājopadhyāya śiṣya bā° Abhayasundara Ga-

20. ṇi vineya śrī Kamalalābhopādhyāyair śiṣya paṃ° Labdhakīrti
gaṇi paṃ° Rājahamṣa gaṇi Devavijaya ga-

21. ṇi Thirakumāra Caraṇakumāra Meghakumāra Jivarāja, Sāṃ-
kara Jasavaṃta Mahājalādi śiṣyasamṭati saparivāryair/ Śrīh/

PURAN CHAND NAHAR

The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and the Gaudapāda Kārikās

It is generally known that the *Māṇḍūkya* forms one of the ten principal Upaniṣads, and Gaudapāda has explained it by his Kārikās or the explanatory verses, and these Kārikās together with the original Upaniṣad have again been commented upon by Śaṅkarācārya, the great commentator of the *Brahma-sūtras*. This popular view must be either abandoned or modified to a great extent.)

For the sake of convenience we shall first take up a question regarding the real extent of the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad. In the present day we all know that it comprises only the prose passages, twelve in number¹, and the kārikās of Gaudapāda² are mere explanation of the former, and thus these two works are different from each other. But this fact is not admitted on all hands. It is maintained by some that the Upaniṣad is composed not only of the prose passages referred to but also of the first book (*prakaraṇa*) of the of the kārikās. This view dates back at least from the time of Madhvācārya, the founder of the Dvaita school of the Vedānta philosophy (1199-1278). According to him and

1. Beginning with "om ityetaḍakṣara°" and ending in "ātmānaṃ ya evaṃ veda".

2. From "bahispṛajño vibhurviśvaḥ°" to "durdarśam iti°" I, 1—IV, 100.

his followers, viz., Vyāsatiṛtha and Śrīnivāsa, both the prose passages and the kārīkās included in the first book have been handed down by Varuṇa in the form of a *maṇḍūka* "a frog"¹, the kārīkās, however, being regarded as *mantras* which are said to have been seen by Brahman, the creator², as the *Rṣi*. I have already pointed out elsewhere³ that the commentator of *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya* Upaniṣad who is also known by the name of Śaṅkarācārya and identical with the author of the *Prapañcasāra*, a tāntrik work, is also of the same opinion, though he does not give any particular as to whether the *Rṣi* or the seer of the whole Upaniṣad is Varuṇa or whether the kārīkās are seen as *mantras* by Brahman, the creator. Kūranārāyaṇa, another commentator of the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad belonging to the Rāmānuja school of Vedānta maintains⁴ the same view taking the kārīkās of the first book as *mantras*, which, in his opinion, too, together with the prose passages form the original Upaniṣad. Appaya Dīkṣita⁵

1 The commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* by Madhvācārya with *Śrīnivāsiya*, Kumbhakonam, pp. 2-3. In support of this he quotes the following :—

"Dhyāyan Nārāyaṇaṃ devaṃ praṇavena samāhitāḥ

Maṇḍūkarūpi Varuṇas tuṣṭāva Harim avyayam." *Padmapurāṇa*.

"Iti Maṇḍūkarūpi saṃ dādarśa Varuṇaḥ śrutim". *Harivaṃśa*.

These two ślokas are not found in the printed editions. See also (*Ibid.*, p. 2 "maṇḍūkarūpiṇā Varuṇena catūrūpo Nārāyaṇo'tra stūyate".

2 *Ibid.* p. 8 :—

"Brahmadṛṣṭān ato mantran pramāṇaṃ salileśvaraḥ,

Atra ślokā bhavanti cākāraināṃ pṛthak pṛthak."

This, too, is not found in the printed editions. It is to be noted that the *Vyāsatiṛtha-tīkā*, too, introduces the kārīkās under the name of mantra.

3 My paper entitled "*Śaṅkara's Commentaries on the Upaniṣads* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*."

4 Ānandāśrama ed. 1910, p. 199 "Upaniṣat svayaṃ pramāṇaṃ api dārḍhyāya svokter mantrān udāharati"

5 A different person from the renowned author of the *Siddhānta-leśasāṅgraha*.

a commentator of the one hundred and eight Upaniṣads seems to subscribe to the same view, for his commentary on this Upaniṣad extends only to the prose passages and the kārīkāś of the first book¹. A large number of Mss. of this Upaniṣad in different libraries contains only these prose passages and the kārīkāś of the first book².

Thus it is perfectly clear from the above that by a considerable number of writers the first book of the kārīkāś in their present form was taken as a part of the original Upaniṣad. Not only this, on the evidence of a large number of Mss., each of the four books of the kārīkāś is also regarded as a separate Upaniṣad³.

Be it as it may. It is however evident from what is said above that according to those authorities the last three books of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkāś* form quite a different book or books with which the *Māndūkya* Upaniṣad has not any connection. It cannot be said that these three last books were not known to them or in their times, for their priority to those authors can very satisfactorily be proved by the very simple fact that the great Śaṅkara who flourished long before them has quoted in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* (1. 4. 14) a kārīkā from the third book (III. 13). Here a question may be put as to why they did not explain the last three books of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkāś* which they had before them. The answer might be twofold. First, it might be their honest belief that those books had no connection with the original *Māndūkya* Upaniṣad which, according to them, comprises only the twelve prose passages and the first book of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkāś*. And secondly, it might be said that they could not explain

1 & 2 See *Sanskrit Manuscripts* (The Adyar Library), Vol. I, Upaniṣads, pp. 116, 287-288.

3 Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, 1895, p. 161; Jacobi, *Concordance to Principal Upaniṣads*, Preface, p. 8. For *Advaita-prakaraṇa Up.* and *Alātaśānti-prakaraṇa* see the Mss labelled ZZE of the Bombay Branch R. A. S.

them, for, the dominant thoughts therein, viz. absolute 'monism' (*advaitavāda*) and idealism (*vijñānavāda*) would go against their own views, viz. dualism (*dvaitavāda*) or qualified monism (*viśiṣṭādvaitavāda*). The first answer seems to be more reasonable than the second, for had they known that the last three books were really included in or connected with the original Upaniṣad they would have undoubtedly explained them, as has been done by Purusottama, the grandson of Vallabha (1479-1531 A. D.) the great teacher of the pure monism (*Śuddhādvaita*) school¹.

That the first book of the *Gauḍapāda kārīkās* was not regarded as an Upaniṣad or a part of it in the time of Śaṅkara can be safely asserted, for as we have just now seen in the preceding foot-note, he quotes a *kārīkā* from this book (I. 16), too, in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* (II. 1. 9), and in doing so he does not say it to be a *śruti*, as he clearly states that it is a saying of those teachers who know the tradition of Vedānta². On another occasion in quoting from this work he uses almost the same words³. From such statements of Śaṅkara it is quite clear that the *kārīkās* are composed by a great teacher (*ācārya*), and thus they cannot be regarded as an Upaniṣad nor can they partly or wholly form a portion of it.

We shall now try here to examine as clearly as possible the true relation between the prose passages and the first book of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkās*.

As Madhvācārya says⁴, the twelve prose passages of

1 In the same work (II. 1. 9) he has cited one *kārīkā* more from the first book (I. 16). In the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* (Vani Vilas Press, p. 109) a work assigned to him, one *kārīkā* from the second book (II. 32) has also been quoted though without mention of doing so.

2 "atroktaṃ Vedāntasampradāyavidbhir ācāryaiḥ".

3 "tathā ca sampradāyavido vadanti" Com. *Brahmasūtra* I. 4. 14. The *kārīkā* referred to here is III. 15.

4 Com. on *Māṇḍūkya Up. Śrīnivāsaśāstrīyavivṛtti*, p. 8.

the Upaniṣad are divided into four parts¹. Just after each of them² there is a line, viz. "*Atraite ślokā bhavanti*" 'here are the ślokaś'. These introductory lines compared with similar sentences³ in the different Upaniṣads strongly suggest that the ślokaś are quoted there only to support what is being discussed. And we have already seen that Madhvācārya and others, and specially the former, say the very thing quite clearly. Thus it follows from it that the ślokaś or kārīkāś were already in existence and the prose passages came into being afterwards.

A question may, however, arise here as to whether these introductory lines ("*Atraite ślokā bhavanti*") are in fact included in the Upaniṣad. In some of the Mss.⁴ used for the preparation of the second and third edition (1900 and 1910 respectively) of the *Māndūkya* Upaniṣad with the kārīkāś and the *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara and *Tīkā* of Ānandagiri in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, there is a short line apparently in the *bhāṣya* just at the beginning of "*Atraite ślokā bhavanti*" (p. 25) which introduces it saying "Now, here is the sentence of the author of the Vārtika (i. e. the kārīkāś)." ⁵ This shows that the introductory lines are not included in the original Upaniṣad. This view is supported by

1 Part I, passages 1-6 ; Part II, passage 7 ; Part III, passages 8-11 ; Part IV, passage 12.

2 I. e. before kārīkāś 1, 10, 19, 24.

3 "tadeśa ślokā bhavanti", Bṛhad. Up. 4. 3 ; II, 4. 4. 8 ; "tadeśa śloko bhavati", Bṛhad. Up. 2. 2. 3, etc. ; "tadeśa ślokaḥ", Ch. Up. 2. 11. 3 ; 3. 11. 1 ; etc. ; "tadapyeśa śloko bhavati", Taitti. Up. 2. 1. 1 ; cf. "tadetad ṛcābhyuktam". Ch. Up. 3. 12. 5, Bṛhad. Up. 4. 4. 23 ; Praśna Up. 1. 7 ; Maṇḍūkya. Up. 3. 2. 19, etc.

4 Viz., kha ga 3.

5 "atha vārtikakāroktam vākyam." That the kārīkāś were known to some as a *Vārtika* is evident also from at least other two Mss., viz., 'gha' and 'ṇa' : "iti Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadam vārtika" p. 155, note 1 (2nd ed.). We shall come to this point later on. The *Vārtikakāra* is therefore here Gauḍapāda himself.

the following lines of Ānandagiri 'The teacher (i.e. Gauḍapāda) having read the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad (up to that portion) introduces the ślokas which are its exposition by the words beginning with 'Here.' And the author of the bhāṣya (i.e. Śaṅkara) explains it, quoting it by the word 'Here'¹". Thus according to Ānandagiri, too, these introductory lines do not constitute the original Upaniṣad.

But this can hardly be accepted on the following grounds : First, we have already seen that among those who hold that the kārīkās of the first book are included in the original Upaniṣad, Madhvācārya is the foremost. He expressly says that the introductory lines in question are also the parts of the Upaniṣad. For he writes in his commentary (pp. 7-8) :

"Brahmadr̥ṣṭānato mantrān pramāṇaṃ salileśvaraḥ

Atra ślokā bhavanti cākāraivāṃ punaḥ punaḥ".

"Therefore, Varuṇa took the *mantras* as authority quoting them separately with the words 'Here are the ślokas'." Madhvācārya says this couplet is in the Garuḍa-purāṇa². If it is so, it would follow from it that this fact was known to the people long before him.

Secondly, as has already been shown, the manner in which these lines are introduced if compared with that in similar cases in the Upaniṣads and other works, would strongly indicate that the introductory lines are included in the main work.

Thirdly, it is found in Sanskrit works that whenever an introductory phrase, such as "atrāyaṃ ślokaḥ" etc., is used, only two things are possible there : (1) either the whole work including both the phrase and the śloka is by the same author,³ or (ii) the śloka introduced by the phrase

1 "ācāryair Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadaṃ paṭhitvā tadvyākhyānaśloka-vatāraṇaṃ atretyādinā kṛtaṃ. Tad atretyanupya bhāṣyakārau vyākaroti", p. 25.

2 Not found in the printed edition.

3 For instance, let us take Śāyaṇa's commentary on the *Rgveda*

are by one and the other portion of the work by another¹. In the first case the whole of the first book including both the prose passages and the kārīkāś should be accepted as written by one, i.e. the teacher, Ācārya Gauḍapāda; but Ānandagiri would not admit it. And in the second, the introductory phrases must be included in the main Upaniṣad as is the case with other Upaniṣads, but this would also not be admitted by him.

Fourthly and finally, as we shall presently see that the twelve prose passages of the Māndūkya Upaniṣad are based on the Gauḍapāda-kārīkāś in the first book and not the latter on the former, it is quite certain that the former should have the introductory line and the quoted kārīkāś referred to by them, as the case is with other Upaniṣads.

(To be continued)

VIDHUSHEKHAR BHATTACHARYA

(Max Müller's 2nd ed. Vol. I, p. 6; see also pp. 10-11) where he introduces two ślokaś saying "Tatra saṅgraha śatakan". 'Here are two collecting verses', and then quotes them and these are his own and taken from his *Jaiminiyanyāyamālā* (1. 2. 4.).

1 See the passages of the Upaniṣads referred to in the foot-note no. 3, p. 123.

Lakṣmana Sena's Flight from Nadia

The story of the way in which Bengal came under the Muhammadan rule is the most marvellous that has been recorded by historians. The ousting of the Hindu ruler was made by Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khilji, and not by Qutbuddin. This account is found not in the contemporaneous *Tajul-Maasir* but in the *Tabaqat-i-Nāsirī* written admittedly from hearsay reports.

We give the account as given in the *Tabaqat* with remarks of my own. Muhammad Bakhtiyar was a Khilji (not a Turk but an Afghan) adventurer who sought employment and fortune under the expanding power of Shalabuddin Ghori. When a victorious people establishes its rule in a new country, turbulent spirits belonging to the nationality of the rulers come forward in numbers to advance their fortunes as Maratha cavaliers did under Sivaji or Baji Rao. Bakhtiyar was a hair-brained adventurer of this type. He obtained an employment as Governor of Mirzapur. Collecting an army of Turks and Afghans, he first attacked Bihar, plundering both town and country. He is said to have seized a Buddhist settlement described as Bihar and massacred all the defenceless shaven-headed 'Brāhmaṇas' (i.e. Buddhists) and thrown away their sacred books, which none was left to read or explain. This event happened probably in 1199 A. D. as Bakhtiyar is described by *Tajul-Maasir* as appearing before Qutbuddin with presents obtained by the occupation of Oudh and Bihar. He was honoured with a robe and again sent to Bihar.

"He then planned the conquest of Bengal and secretly prepared an army and suddenly made a raid on Nadia the capital of Bengal. In his impetuosity, he reached the city with only 18 horsemen with him and entering it in an inoffensive manner, looking as if he were a dealer in

horses, reached the palace, and at once drawing swords attacked the guards. The palace was in consternation and none opposed him. The aged king Lakṣmaṇasena heard the uproar, as he was about to sit to dinner, and knowing the reality fled by the back-door. He escaped and went to the Jagannāth. The palace and the city were taken possession of by the army which soon arrived. It is needless to say that there was no resistance, and the city was plundered and even destroyed". Bakhtiyar made Gauḍa or Lakhnauti his capital as this had been a capital of the Sena kings.

Doubts have been expressed about the truth of the account given above. That the political government of Bengal should have been so lax and supine as not to know of the advance of an army over such a great distance (Bihar to Nadia), or that there was no preparedness to resist the dangerous enemy when the whole country was talking of the fall of Delhi and Kanauj, or that there was actually not a single blow struck in defence of Nadia or the kingdom, is strange indeed. It appears to me to be a sheer exaggeration of the Muhammadan informants of the author of the *Tabaqat*, if not of the historian himself. The absurd story that the birth of the king Lakṣmaṇa was delayed for the arrival of the auspicious moment of birth by tying up the feet of the pregnant queen as told in the *Tabaqat* is proof enough of the absurd nature of the whole story. The occupation of Bengal is placed by the *Tabaqat* in 1099, the 80th year of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena era, but it probably happened after his death and in about 1202 A. D. The account tries to explain the entire absence of defence by the king by attributing it to the supposed superstition of the old king's Brāhmaṇa councillors, who had told him that the kingdom was fated to be taken by a Turk according to their astrological calculations. It is even added that when the king enquired what the mark of the conqueror would be, it was stated by the learned astrologers that the conqueror would have long arms reaching below the knees. The king sent men to

ascertain whether any Turk had that mark and Bakhtiyar was found to have such long arms. There may be some truth in the fact that the resistance of the Hindus was weakened to some extent by the foretelling of the *Purāṇas* that 'Bhāratavarṣa was fated to be conquered by the Mlecchas', or the absurd and fearful prognostications of the astrologers. But the story is on the face of it too absurd to be true and we at once set down this account of the fall of Bengal as exaggerated.

For this account of the *Tabaqat* written about 1250 A. D., distorted as it must have been by the desire of the adventurers who accompanied Muhammad Bakhtiyar to exaggerate the courage of the invaders or to have a hit at the Hindu belief in astrology, this account should be tested by the evidence of a contemporaneous Indian record, viz. the Bakerganj Inscription of Keśavasena (*JASB.*, vol. VII, pp. 40-50). It no doubt exaggerates the prowess both of Lakṣmaṇasena and his son the grantor Keśavasena, and thus errs on the other side. But it makes no mention whatever of this ignominious defeat of Lakṣmaṇasena, coming as it does several years after that event. It may be urged that its omission was natural, as no inscription records the defeats of the inscripitor. But we should take into consideration the fact that Lakṣmaṇasena is herein rightly praised as a valiant king who had raised three victory columns at Allahabad, Benares, and Jagannāth, and that Keśavasena was still a powerful king ruling in eastern Bengal. It is certain that the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena ruled in Eastern Bengal for a long time after the event. It is even possible that Nadia may have been attacked after the death of Lakṣmaṇasena during the reign of Mādhavasena whose name appears to have been erased from this Bakerganj copper plate (*Ibid.*, p. 42). We, therefore, think that if we put the two records together, the reasonable inference would be that Bengal fell after resistance, and not as ignominiously as depicted in the account.

Even if it be conceded that the story in the *Tabaqat* represents facts, they should be seen in connection with their particular setting. In the first place, it must be noted that Nadia was not the chief capital of the Senas. It was a newly made Brāhmaṇa settlement and Lakṣmaṇasena resided there only occasionally. The guards at the palace must have been few and the army in the city only nominal. Secondly, a sudden raid on such a place is not impracticable. Indeed such raids are often recorded in history. Alauddin made such a sudden and wily raid on Devagiri in the Deccan. A hundred years later, Shahabuddin Ghori was surprised in his tent on the eastern bank of the Indus by a few Ghakkars who by eluding the guards reached the place through water and murdered Shahabuddin. Thirdly, to escape from such an attack and start fresh resistance from a new capital was not at all dishonourable but on the other hand proper and creditable. This was what Rājyapāla of Kanauj or Bhīma of Gujarat did against Mahmud, or Rajaram did against Aurangzib. And this is what is done in modern days. They give up the attacked capital and making another town the base of operations carry on the resistance from there. This is exactly what Lakṣmaṇasena and his descendants appear to have done. They established themselves at Vikramapura and appeared to have ruled for nearly a century more in Eastern Bengal, continuing their resistance to the Muhammadans. The *Tabaqat* records that when Nasiruddin marched against Lakhnauti, the Khilji had marched his forces from Lakhnauti "with the intention of entering the territory of Bang" meaning against the Sena king. Why such resistance eventually failed to re-establish the Hindu power not only in Bengal but also in the other parts of Northern India is a problem, which we shall attempt to solve by a later opportunity.

C. V. VAIDYA

Rasātala or the Under-World

(*A forgotten country*)

Is Rasātala a myth, a creation of the poet's brain ? Have the seven spheres of Rasātala below the earth been invented as a counterpart of the seven *Lokas* or worlds¹ above the earth. The name of Rasātala, or its synonym Pātāla, occurs in almost all the ancient Hindu works of importance, professing or pretending to give an account of historical events of ancient times. If Rasātala be an idle phantasm or a mere figment of the poet's imagination, the writers of different periods would not have tried to keep it alive. Rasātala has been peopled with serpents, demons, birds, and animals, invested with the physical and mental qualities of a human being. Śeṣa Nāga, the king of the serpents, is described² as seated upon a throne with all the paraphernalia of royalty about him. His head is bedecked with a crown, his ears have pendants, and his arms extend up to his knees. He is clothed in black, and has, on his two sides, attendants waving the fly-whisks. He is also surrounded by his ministers and courtiers. He does not hiss, but talks like a human being, and talks wisdom like a veritable Veda-Vyāsa³. There were demons fearless, warlike, and generous. Bali, for instance, was so generous that he gave everything he possessed to the poor and the Brāhmaṇas⁴. They lived in cities, which in beauty could vie with any "city of heaven", containing houses, gardens and palaces ; and Hiranyapura, the capital of the Daityas has been described as

1 *Padma Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa, ch. 22 :—*Bhūloko'tha Bhuvarelokaḥ Svarloko'tha Mahar Janah Tapah Satyañca Saptaita Devalokāḥ prakīrtitāḥ.*

2 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 82.

3 *Padma P.*, Pātāla-kh., ch. 1.

4 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 220.

looking beautiful with roads and gateways specially prepared by Brahmā for the Dānavas¹. The demons did not wander in forests and live in caves like the primitive man, but they possessed various amenities of civilisation. The Suparna (or Garuḍa) birds were human beings to all intents and purposes, except for their beaks and wings². The Surabhis or the cow-tribe lived in Rasātala, and they could speak like human beings and prophesy future events³. In spite of paucity of information we have enough evidence to conclude that Rasātala is a reminiscence of a primeval age when the Indo-Aryans lived with the Iranians in their ancient home in Central Asia called Ariana by Strabo, which is the Airyana-vīja of the *Avesta*⁴. This Airyana-vīja, which means the "Aryan seed," is evidently Azerbaijan or Azerbijan which was originally a province of ancient Media or "mad", as it was called the Uttara (north) Madra of the Purāṇas, and now a province of Persia. The river Daitya which flowed through it is the river Aras which divided Media from Armenia. Some authorities consider Media to be the original home of the Aryans.⁵ Herodotus also says, "These Medes were called in ancient times by all people Arians⁶." Azerbaijan and the countries to the north were therefore known as Ārya of the R̥g-veda and Hara of the Bible. In later times, the boundaries of Ariana were extended to the north of the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and on the east, as far as the Indus⁷, by conquest from the Scythians or Hunnic tribes who belonged to the

1 *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, ch. 172. 2 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 100.

3 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 101; *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 21.

4 "The first of the good lands and countries, which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Airyana-Vīja by the good river Daitya" *Vendidad*, ch. 1; see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. IV, p. 4; Max Müller's *Science of Language* (1873), vol. I, p. 227.

5 Dwight's *Modern Philology*, vol. I, p. 30.

6 *History of Herodotus*, translated by Rawlinson, vol. II, p. 145.

7 Hamilton and Falconer's *Geography of Strabo*, vol. III, p. 119 (Bk. XV, ch. II, 1).

Turanian race. There can be no doubt that either difference of opinion about religious matters perhaps when the schism regarding the supremacy of Varuṇa in the hierarchy of the gods originated as indicated by the promiscuous application of the words Sura and Asura to Varuṇa in the earlier portions of the *R̥g-veda*¹, or the frequent inroads and depredations of the neighbouring barbarous tribes, or perhaps both, impelled the Indo-Aryans, the ancestors of the Hindus and the Pārsis, to migrate to the Punjab in India. They brought with them the memory of these invasions, wars, and oppressions, to which they were frequently subjected by the barbarous tribes surrounding the place where they lived with the Iranians. Daityas, Dānavas, Asuras, and Nāgas² are mentioned in the works of the Vedic period and in subsequent works down to the latest Purāṇa. Though the word "Rasātala" does not appear in the Vedas, yet the word must have been handed down by oral tradition, like the hymns of the Vedas, as the abode of the people called "Demons" and "Serpents". The word *Rasā* appears in the *R̥g-veda*³, and the word *Rasātala* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁴. In the latter work, it is described as the abode of the Daityas, Dānavas, Surabhi cows, and Nāgas (Serpents) situated below the earth. But though placed below the earth, Rasātala does not appear then to have been divided into seven spheres, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* describes it as a flat country containing cities, palaces, lakes and mountains. In the *Mahābhārata*⁵ and in subsequent works, we see it divided into seven spheres. The story of Rasātala has a substratum of truth, around which, has grown up a body of

1 *R̥g-veda*, IV, 42; viii, 51, 9; Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 119.

2 For Nāgas, see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 2, 7, 12; *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra*, iii, 41.

3 *R̥g-veda*, I, 112, 12; V, 53, 9; X, 75, 6.

4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 24, 25.

5 *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga, ch 101:—*Idaṃ Rasātalaṃ nāma sapta-maṃ pṛthivītalaṃ yatrāste Surabhir mātū gavām amṛtasambhavā.*

fiction in course of time. The real signification of the word has been lost, and the facts and concepts connected with the country and its people have been forgotten. A whole country has been turned into a visionary land peopled by creatures of fantastic shapes, and uncouth descriptions.

The lexicographical meaning of Rasātala is *adhobhuvana* that is "below the world". The place has evidently been divided into seven spheres in imitation of the seven spheres above the earth peopled by beings of different descriptions.

But in order to ascertain which country was meant by Rasātala, we must examine the word itself. *Rasātala* consists of two words *Rasā* and *Tala*. *Rasā* is mentioned in the *R̥g-veda*¹ as the name of a river. It is the same as the *Raṅghā* of the *Avesta* which has been identified by Profs. Keith and Macdonell with the *Jaxartes*². This identification is correct, as *Rasā* is evidently a corruption of *Araxes*, the classical name of the *Jaxartes*. Its identification with the *Indus* by Windischmann does not appear to be correct, as the river *Indus* was too well-known at the time of the *R̥g-veda*³ by the name *Sindhu* to be called by the name *Rasā*. The word *Tala* is the Sanskritised form of *Tele* which is another name for the Huns. Dr. J. J. Modi in his *Early History of the Huns* says, "the Huns were called *Te-le* or *Til-le*"⁴. The compound word *Rasātala* therefore means the country on the banks of the *Jaxartes* where the Huns resided. According to the Hindu works *Rasātala* has both a general and specific signification. In its general

1 *R̥gveda*, I, 112, 12 ; V, 53, 9 ; X 75, 6.

2 *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 209 ; *S. B. E.*, Vol. IV, p. 3 ; Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 5.

3 *R̥gveda*, i, 122, 6 ; iv, 54, 6 ; iv, 55, 3 ; x, 64, 9.

4 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv (1916-17), p. 565. Instead of *Til-le* Deguignes has *Tie-le* in his *Histoire des Huns*, Tome I, p. 282. *Til-le* therefore is a typographical mistake for *Tie-le*.

sense it means the whole region called "Rasātala" which is below the earth, and in its specific sense it means one of the seven spheres into which it is divided. As *Rasā* means the world, Rasātala in its general sense means the "world" or the country of the Huns, that is Tartary or Central Asia, including Turkestan; and as the name of a particular "sphere" or province of that country, it is the valley of the Jaxartes where the Huns resided. There can be no doubt that Rasātala originally meant the country of the Huns.

The identification of Rasātala with Central Asia, including Tartary and Turkestan, is confirmed by the very works which place it below the earth. The *Rāmāyaṇa*¹ says that Rāvaṇa

Confirmatory evidence from the Hindu works.

after conquering the Nāgas and Dānavas of Rasātala, emerged through the very hole through which he had entered it, and passed the night on the Sumeru mountain; in other words, Rasātala was close to the Sumeru mountain. The

*Mahābhārata*² and the *Matsya Purāṇa*³ distinctly say that Meru or Sumeru mountain is in Śākadvīpa. It is also stated in the *Mahābhārata*⁴ that Garuḍa, who lived in Pātāla, having caught an elephant and a tortoise with his nails, wanted to eat them, and accordingly sat upon the branch of a Vata tree (*Ficus Indica*). The branch broke. Some Bālakhilya (pigmy) ṛṣis were performing asceticism on that branch. In order to save the lives of those ṛṣis, Garuḍa took up the branch with his beak and flew to the Gandhamādana mountain where his father Kaśyapa was performing asceticism to ask his advice regarding a suitable place where he could eat the elephant and the tortoise with convenience. At the intercession of Kaśyapa the pigmy ṛṣis left the branch on the Gandhamādana mountain and went to perform asceticism on the Himālaya. Śeṣa, the king of the Nāgas, also started on a pilgrimage from Gandhamādana, and then visited Badarikāśrama in the

1 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 24, 25 2 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. II.

3 *Matsya P.*, ch. 121. 4 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 30; Udyoga, ch. 100.

Himalaya¹. The *Harivaṃśa* also places *Rasātala* near the *Gandhamādāna* and the *Mandāra* mountains². The western portion of the *Himālaya* from *Garwal* was called by the name of *Gandhamādāna*; hence *Gandhamādāna* and the *Himālaya* were situated to the east of *Sumeru Parvata*, and there can be no doubt that *Gandhamādāna* was connected with the *Sumeru* mountain, which, as stated before, is in *Śākadvīpa* or *Scythia*, as one of its seven principal mountains. The *Matsya Purāṇa*³ also says that *Sumeru Parvata* was bounded on the west by *Ketumāla-varṣa*, and according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the *Sakas* or the *Scythians* resided in *Ketumāla-varṣa*⁴. *Sumeru* therefore is the *Hindukush* mountain, the *Mount Meros* of *Arrian*⁵ situated near *Mount Nysa* of *Niṣāda Parvata* of the *Purāṇas* and *Paropamisus* of the *Greeks*⁶. *Rasātala* consequently must have been situated on the north and west of the *Hindukush* mountain, that is, it comprised the valleys of the *Oxus* and the *Jaxartes*.

The seven spheres into which *Rasātala* is divided are :

Sapta Pātāla or seven spheres of Rasātala.	<i>Atala</i> , <i>Vitala</i> , <i>Nitala</i> , <i>Talātala</i> , <i>Mahātala</i> , <i>Sutala</i> , and <i>Rasātala</i> . <i>Rasātala</i> being the country of the <i>Huns</i> , it is natural that its seven 'spheres' or provinces should be named after the names of the <i>Huns</i> or rather of the tribes which dwelt in them. (1) <i>A-tala</i> derived its name from the <i>A-tele</i> or <i>A-telites</i> where the <i>Asura</i> named <i>Bala</i> (<i>Belus</i> of <i>Babylon</i>) resided ⁷ ; (2) <i>Bi-tala</i> from <i>Ab-tele</i> or <i>Abi-tele</i> or <i>Abi-telites</i> , the word <i>Ab</i> being a corruption or abbreviation of <i>Abi-Amu</i> or the "river <i>Oxus</i> " ⁸ , and <i>Ab-</i>
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1 *Mbh.*, *Ādi*, ch. 36.

2 *Harivaṃśa*, chs. 218, 219.

3 *Matsya P.*, ch. 112, vs. 42, 43.

4 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 59.

5 *McCrimdell's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 179, 180.

6 *Lassen's History traced from Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Coins* in *JA SB.*, 1840, p. 469 note.

7 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 24.

8 *Geography of Strabo*, Vol. I, p. 113, note 4; *J"BRAS.*, Vol XXIV, p. 565.

tele means the Huns who lived on the shores of the Oxus. As the river Hātakī¹ or the Zarafshan, which is said to have its source in the Fan-tau mountain to the east of Samarkand near the Great Pamir, is in *Bi-tala*, it must have appertained to Transoxiana (*Māvar-ul-Nahr*) and formed a part of the kingdom of Bokhara. (3) *Ni-tala* from the *Neph-tele* or Neph-telites. In the *Bhāgavata*², the word *Pātāla* (the *Pātāla-tala* of the *Devī-Bhāgavata*) has been used for *Ni-tala*, and therefore the 'sphere' *Pātāla* was the same as *Ni-tala*. *Pātālapura* was originally the name of *Aśina* or *Oxiana*, the capital of *Sogdiana* as we shall hereafter show. (4) *Talā-tala* is from the *To-charis*. The *Asura Maya* (*Ahura Mazda* of the *Avesta*), the Spiritual Guide of the *Māyāvins*, dwelt in this sphere³. *Māyā* and *Māyāvins* are the same as *Maga*⁴ and *Magii* (the followers of the Zoroastrian religion). 'Maya' is a corruption of 'maga' or 'magus' who represents *Ahura Mazda* the architect of the universe, and hence *Maya* was the architect of the *Asuras*. The *Magii* were the "Śākadvīpī *Brāhmaṇas* brought to India by Śāmba⁵ from Scythia. The *Mahābhārata*⁶ mentions that the *Brāhmaṇas* of Śākadvīpa dwelt in *Mṛga*, which has been identified with *Margiana*, the country around *Merv*⁷. This sphere therefore comprised *Margiana*.

(To be continued)

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1 *Bhāgavat*, V, ch. 24.

2 *Bhāgavata*, V, 24, 7 :—*Atalaṃ Vitalaṃ Sutalaṃ Talātalaṃ Mahātalaṃ Rasātalaṃ Pātālamiti*.

3 *Ibid.*, V, 24 ; VII, 10, 53 :—*Māvinām Paramācāryaṃ Mayam śaraṇamāyayuh*.

4 *Kūrma P.*, Pūrva kh., ch. 49 :—*Magāśca Magadhāścaiva mānasā mandagūstathā brāhmaṇaḥ ksatriyo vaiśyaḥ Śūdraścātra krameṇa tu*.

5 *Bhaviṣya P.*, *Brahma Parva*, chs. 73ff.

6 *Mbh.*, *Bhīṣma*, ch. 11.

7 Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV, pp. 25, 26 note : Bretschneider's *Medieval Researches*, vol. II, p. 103.

The Kośālas in Ancient India

In the earliest Vedic literature, the *R̥gveda*, or the other *Samhitās*, no mention is made of Kośāla as the name of a people. It is only in some of the later Vedic works, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Kalpasūtras* that we find Kośāla as one of the countries in Vedic aryandom. Kośāla is also mentioned in the Pāli Buddhist literature as one of the sixteen great countries (*mahājana-padas*) of Jambudīpa¹, or India. Pāṇini too in one of his *sūtras* (iv. 1. 17) mentions Kośāla. In the *Atthasālinī*, (P. T. S., p. 305) Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgani*, mention is made of the Kośālas as one of the great *kṣatriya* tribes in Buddha's time. Kośāla is mentioned as a beautiful place, attractive, pleasant, full of ten kinds of noise, rice, food, drink, etc. It was large, prosperous, wealthy and rich like *Alakanandā* of the *devas*².

References in
early literature.

In Buddha's time Kośāla was a powerful kingdom in Northern India but it had already been eclipsed by the growing power of *Magadha*³.

Kośāla lay to the east of the *Kurus* and *Pañcālas*, and to the west of the *Videhas* from whom it was separated by the river *Sadānīrā*, probably the great *Gaṇḍak*⁴. According to Drs. Macdonell and Keith, Kośāla lay to the north-east of the *Ganges* and corresponds roughly to the modern *Oudh*⁵. According to Mr. Rapson, Kośāla formed a kingdom lying to the east of *Pañcāla* and to the west of *Videha*. It is the modern province of *Oudh* in the *United Provinces*⁶. In the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. 1, p. 178) we read that the northern frontier of Kośāla must have been in the hills in what is now *Nepal*; its southern boundary was the *Ganges*; and its eastern boundary was the eastern limit of the *Śākīyan* territory. According to Prof. Rhys Davids, the Kośālas were the ruling clan in

Location.

1 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, vol. IV, p. 256; cf. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, ch. IV, *Aṃśa* 4.

2 *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary, pp. 110-111; cf. *Papañcasūdanī* (P. T. S.) Vol. 1, pp. 39-60.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, pp. 308-9.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 308.

5 *Vedic Index*, Vol. 1, p. 190.

6 Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 164; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

the kingdom whose capital was Sāvattthī, in what is now Nepal, 70 miles north-west of the modern Gorakhpur. He thinks that it included Benares and Sāketa, and probably had the Ganges for its southern boundary, the Gaṇḍak for its eastern boundary and the mountains for its northern boundary¹. Buddhaghosa, the great commentator of many of the books of the Pāli canon, narrates an anecdote giving a fanciful origin of the name of Kośala. He says in his commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, that the country inhabited by the Kośala princes was technically called Kośala. In ancient times, prince Mahāpanāda of this country (i. e. Kośala) was very grave and did not smile. The king tried to make him smile and proclaimed that he would offer a great reward to the person who would be able to bring a smile on the prince's face. Many from among the subjects of his kingdom came to the capital in order to win the reward but all their efforts were in vain. At last the god Indra sent his own *nāṭakam* (dramatical party) to make him smile and it became successful. Then the people who had flocked to the court to make the prince smile began to return home. The relatives and friends of the people seeing them on the way after a long time asked them, "kacci bho kusalam, kacci bho kusalam" (Are you all right?). From the word 'kusalam', the country came to be called 'Kośala' (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, 239).

In the *Cambridge History of India*², we read that the Kośalans were almost certainly, in the main at least, of the Aryan race. Further, the Kośalans belonged to the solar family and were derived directly from Manu through Ikṣvāku. A family of princes bearing this name is known from the Vedic literature and it is quite possible that the solar dynasties of Kośala and other kingdoms to the east of the middle country were descended from this family. If so, Ikṣvāku must be regarded as an eponymous ancestor; and as his superhuman origin had to be explained, a myth founded on a far-fetched etymology of his name was invented. Ikṣvāku was so called because he was born from the sneeze of Manu³. The Vedic literature points out that the Ikṣvākus were originally a branch of the Pūrus. They were kings of Kośala⁴.

1 Buddhist India, p. 25.

2 Vol. I, p. 190.

3 Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 305.

4 Ibid., p. 308.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (i, 4, 11) the Kośala-Videhas appear as falling later than the Kuru-Pañcālas under the influence of Brāhmaṇism. The river Sadānīrā forms the boundary between the peoples, Kośala and Videha. In the same work (XIII, 5, 4, 4), the Kośala in the Brahmana period. Kauśalya or Kośala king Para-aṭṇāra Hiranyanābha is described as having performed the great Aśvamedha sacrifice. A passage in the Śāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV, I, 9, 13) shows the connection of Kośala with Kāśī and Videha. In the Praśna Upaniṣad (VI, 1), Āśvalāyana who was very probably a descendant of Aśvala, the hotṛ priest of Videha, is called a Kauśalya.

It is in the Epic period that Kośala emerges into great importance. The scene of action of the Rāmāyaṇa is in Kośala, the princes of which country carry Aryan civilisation to the south as far as the island of Ceylon. Mr. Pargiter points out that it is remarkable that in the Rāmāyaṇa the friendliest relations of Kośala were with the eastern kingdoms of Videha, Aṅga and Magadha, the Punjab kingdoms of Kekaya, Sindhu and Sauvīra, the western kingdom of Surāṣṭra and the Dākṣiṇātya kings, for these are especially named among the kings who were invited for Daśaratha's sacrifice and no mention is made of any of the kings of the middle region of Northern India except Kāśī¹. Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that it was under King Dilīpa II and his immediate descendants, that the country had acquired the name of Kośala².

In the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata we read that Janamejaya, one of the earliest kings of the Paurava family, was the son of Pūru and Kauśalyā. Most probably this Kauśalyā was the daughter of a king of Kośala (Ch. 95, p. 105). When Yudhiṣṭhira was going to perform the great Rājasūya sacrifice setting himself up as the paramount sovereign over the whole of northern India, and his brothers went out on their expeditions of conquest all over the country, it is said that Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma started from the Kuru kingdom and reached Mithilā after crossing pūrva (eastern) Kośala (Sabhāparva, Ch. 25, p. 240). Afterwards the second Pāṇḍava brother, Bhīmasena conquered Brhadbala, king of Kośala (Sabhāparva, Ch. 30, pp. 241-242), and this Brhadbala, king of Kośala, attended the Rājasūya yajña (Ibid., Ch 34, p. 245). Karṇa conquered Kośala and after exacting tribute

¹ Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 276.

² Ibid., p. 275.

from the country, proceeded southwards (Vanaparva, Ch. 253, p. 513). Evidently this conquest of Kośala by Karṇa was subsequent in date to that by Bhīmasena, inasmuch as we find the Kośala king, Bṛhadbala led by Duryodhana marched against the Pāṇḍavas (Udyogaparva, Ch. 97, p. 807). Perhaps it was also because the Kośalas were smarting under the defeat inflicted on them by Bhīmasena that they embraced the Kaurava side in the great war. We find, moreover, that in the Kurukṣetra war, ten warriors including Bṛhadbala of Kośala, were fighting in the van of the Kuru army (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 16, pp. 827-828), so that he was recognised as one of the leading heroes on that side. Bṛhadbala, king of Kośala, fought with Abhimanyu (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 45, p. 916), against whom the greatest leaders of the Kuru army led an united attack. King Duryodhana protected the army of Śakuni when the latter was hard pressed by the Pāṇḍavas with the help of the Kośalas and others. (Ibid, Ch. 57, pp. 924-925). Bṛhadbala, king of Kośala, marched with the army of Tripura, Viṇḍa and others in the Kurukṣetra war. (Ibid., Ch. 87, p. 957). In the Karṇaparva we read that Bṛhadbala was killed by Abhimanyu (Ch. 5, pp. 1167-1168). Sukṣetra, who was the son of the king of Kośala, also fought in the great war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas (Droṇaparva, Ch. 22, pp. 1012-1013). After the Great War was ended, we find that Kośala was again attacked and conquered by Arjuna before the performance of the Aśvamedha by Yudhiṣṭhira (Aśvamedhaparva, Ch. 42, p. 2093).

About the extent of the Kośala country in the Epic period we may form some idea from the account furnished by the story of the exile of Rāma. Therein we find that after setting out from Ayodhyā, the Kośala capital, the young princes accompanied by Sītā proceeded in a chariot from the capital so that, as Mr. Pargiter points out (JRAS., 1894, p. 234), there must have been good roads in the Kośala country. This is also corroborated by the accounts in the Jātaka stories where we find that merchants loading as many as five hundred waggons with their merchandise marched from Magadha and the Licchavi countries through Kośala up to the western and north-western frontiers of India. Rāma on his march away from Ayodhyā was followed by a large concourse of citizens until he reached the river Tamasā where he made the first halt in the journey. To get rid of the citizens he had his chariot yoked at night and after crossing the Tamasā or the modern Tons, and reaching the other bank he directed his course northwards in order to mislead the citizens who

Extent of the
Kośala country
in Epic times.

would no doubt follow him in the morning. The Rāmāyaṇa adds that on the other side of the Tamasā, Rāma's chariot reached the mahāmārga or the great road which was evidently a trade-route. Following this they reached the river Srīmatī Mahānadi and passed through the Kośala country. After crossing the river Vedaśruti he turned his course towards the south. After proceeding a long distance he crossed the Gomati and the Syandikā. After crossing the latter river Rāma pointed out to Sītā the wide plain given by Manu to the originator of the family, Ikṣvāku. This region was evidently considered by the Kośala people as the cradle of the race, the country with which Ikṣvāku began his career of conquest. This country is said to be highly prosperous (sphītā) and also very populous (rāṣṭra-vṛtā). Proceeding through the extensive Kośala plains (viśālān Kośālān yātvā), he left behind him the Kośala regions (Kośālān atyavartata) and reached the Ganges up to which river evidently the Kośala dominion extended. Here he arrived at Śṛṅgaverapura which was the seat of the Niṣāda king Guha who was evidently the chief of a non-Aryan settlement. Here he sent back the chariot, and crossing the Ganges at this place, the party entered the forest. Sir Alexander Cunningham has identified Śṛṅgaverapura with the modern Singror or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges and 22 miles to the north-west of Prayāga or Allahabad (Arch. Survey Report, Vols. XI, 62 and XXI, 11). [For further geography of Rāma's exile, see Pargiter, JRAS., 1894, p. 231ff].

As in the Epics, so also in the Purāṇas, the Kośalas are given very great prominence among the aryan Kṣatriya tribes of northern India. We have already referred to the Paurāṇic legend about the origin of the Kośala royal family from Ikṣvāku, the great eponymous ancestor born from the sneeze of Manu, the son of the Sun-god. All the Purāṇas agree in giving this etymological derivation of the name of the great king to whom is traced the origin of many of the ruling dynasties of eastern India including that of the Śākya of Kapilavastu.

The Kośala line of kings derived from Ikṣvāku produced, according to the account given by the Purāṇas and the Epics, a large number of sovereigns who held up the glory of the family very high, and some of them, like Māndhātā, Sagara, Bhagrattha, and Raghu, occupied the highest position amongst the kings of ancient India, so that a short study of this family of great kings is well worth our attention,

Ikṣvāku is credited by most of the Purāṇas (e.g. Viṣṇu-purāṇa,

Kośala in the
post Epic
period.

IV, 2, 3 ; Vāyu-purāṇa, 38, 8-11) with a large number of sons who divided the whole of India among themselves. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa says that Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons of whom fifty with Śakuni at their head became the protectors of northern India (Uttarāpatha-rakṣitāraḥ) and forty-eight established themselves as rulers over southern India (Dakṣiṇāpatha bhūpālāḥ)¹. The Vāyu-purāṇa says that it was not the sons of Ikṣvāku who divided the country among themselves but that it was the children of Ikṣvāku's son Vikukṣi who set themselves up as rulers in Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha. This slight discrepancy, however, is immaterial, and though the number given of Ikṣvāku's immediate descendants is certainly fanciful, yet it seems worthy of credence that the family sprung from Ikṣvāku spread their rule far and wide over India, as many of the ruling families of India trace their descent to him.

The Bhāgavata-purāṇa furnishes greater details about the different parts of India where the sons of Ikṣvāku set up their rule. It states that of the hundred sons of Ikṣvāku, twenty-five established themselves as kings in the front portion, that is, in the eastern districts of Āryāvarta and an equal number in the hind portion, that is, in the west ; two settled in the central region or the Madhyadeśa and the rest in other parts of the country ; these are no doubt the forty-eight who became kings in Dakṣiṇāpatha according to the Vāyu- and Viṣṇu- purāṇas, so that these three purāṇas are quite in agreement with regard to this point.

About the next king Vikukṣi we are told by the purāṇas that he had earned the displeasure of his father, Ikṣvāku, by the violation of some ceremonial rule and hence was forsaken by the latter but after his death Vikukṣi ascended the throne and reigned over the country according to law and custom (dharmataḥ). It is said of Parañjaya, the next king, that his aid was sought for by the Devas who were hard pressed by the Asuras ; but the king imposed a condition that he would do so if borne in the fight on the shoulders of Indra himself. The Devas had to submit and the king thus obtained the name of Kakutstha. Most probably the mythical story was invented afterwards to furnish a plausible derivation for the name.

Sixth in descent from Kakutstha was king Śrāvasta the founder of the city of Śrāvastī² which afterwards became the capital of

¹ Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2, 3.

² Śrāvastāḥ yaḥ śrāvastīṃ purīm nivesayāmāṇa (Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2, 12).

northern Kośala. Śrāvasta's grandson, Kuvalayāśva, is credited with the overthrowing of an Asura, Dhundhu, which however, seems to signify the control of a natural phenomenon. According to the account given in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva. Chs. 201-203) the Ṛṣi Utaṅka complained to the king Bṛhadaśva, the son of Śrāvasta, that his hermitage which was situated in the sands on the sea-coast in the west, was disturbed by the Asura, Dhundhu, who from a subterranean retreat (*antarbhūmi-gataḥ*) caused him much trouble. From time to time when the Asura gave out his breath, the earth trembled, dust clouds were raised and sometimes the tremor of the earth continued for a week accompanied by the throwing out of smoke, sparks and flames, and on account of this it had become very difficult for him to stay at his hermitage and he prayed the king for relief from this source of trouble. It is manifest that the subterranean Asura that troubled the Ṛṣi Utaṅka was nothing but a small volcanic pit near the western sea-coast which occasionally caused earthquakes and emitted smoke, ashes and fire. The old king Bṛhadaśva sent his son Kuvalayāśva to destroy this Asura and the method that this prince adopted for the purpose leaves no doubt that it was a volcanic outburst that he went to control. The prince went to the spot with an army of twenty-one thousand men, who are said to be his sons whom he set to dig up the earth all round. After the excavation had proceeded for a week, the flaming body of Dhundhu became visible to all but with disastrous consequences to the thousands of soldiers ("sons of the king" as the Purāṇa tells us), who perished in the smoke and flames, only three surviving. The excavation, however, appears to have opened a subterranean channel or reservoir of water which rushing into the volcanic pit served to extinguish it for ever, for we are told by the Epic and the Purāṇas, that after Dhundhu had reduced to ashes the twenty-one thousand sons of Kuvalayāśva, streams of water flowed out of his body and the king is credited with having put down the fire by means of the water¹ and acquired the appellation of Dhundhumāra for this achievement.

A few generations after Kuvalayāśva, there was born in this royal family, the great monarch Māndhātā, who according to the Paurāṇic accounts, exercised imperial sway over the whole of the

¹ Vajño Śrāvastako rājā Śrāvastī yena nirmīta (Vāyupurāṇa lxxxviii. xxvii).

¹ Vāyupurāṇa, chap. lxxxviii.

earth with the seven divisions or islands and became a *Cakravartin* or emperor exercising suzerain sway¹. In Māndhātā's dominions, it is said, the sun never set: a verse (śloka) is quoted by the Purāṇas themselves as being recited by those versed in traditionary lore (Paurāṇikā dvijāḥ)—"From where the sun rises to where he stops, all this is the land (kṣetra) of Māndhātā, the son of Yuvanāśva"². As in the cases of Ikṣvāku and Kakutsa, fanciful stories based on a literal derivation of the name are narrated in the Purāṇas which state that the name Māndhātā was due to what Indra said (Māndhātā "he will suck me") when this prince was born. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa adds that Māndhātā also acquired the designation of Trasadasya on account of the fear that he struck into the minds of the Dasyus. Māndhātā is said to have given his daughters in marriage to the Ṛṣi Sauvari. Purukutsa, one of the sons of Māndhātā, is said to have married a girl of the Nāgas who being much troubled by some Gandharva tribes sought for his help and the Nāga princess by her supplications took her husband to the Nāga country (Nāgaloka) and had the Gandharvas defeated by him. The Nāgas who were evidently some non-Aryan tribes are often confounded by the Purāṇas with snakes.

Trasadasya was begot on this Nāga queen and ascended his father's throne on the death of the latter. Trasadasya's son, Anarāya, is said to have been killed by Rāvaṇa when the latter went out on his expedition of conquest. This is hardly possible if we take Rāvaṇa as a historical personage, inasmuch as this ruler of the Rākṣasa tribes was a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathin who lived many generations after Anarāya.

Several generations after this, from the Kośala king Trayyāruṇa was born a prince Satyavrata who for three acts of violence was condemned by his father as well as by Vasiṣṭha, the family priest and was given the name of Triśaṅku. Vasiṣṭha's rival Viśvāmitra, however, embraced his cause, placed him on the throne of Kośala and sent him to heaven. Triśaṅku's son Hariścandra became a very great monarch of the Kośalas: he celebrated a Rājasūya sacrifice and became famous as a *Samrāt* or Emperor (Vāyupurāṇa, chap. 88, verse 118). The story as to how Hariścandra promised to sacrifice his son to god Varuṇa and at last Śunahsepa, a brāhmaṇa

¹ Vāyupurāṇa lxxviii, lxxviii; Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2.

² Viṣṇupurāṇa iv, 2, xviii.

lad, was offered in his stead is told in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, evidently taking it from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa where the events are narrated at great length. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa also adds that there was a long-standing quarrel between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvā-mitra over this Kōśala king Hariścandra. The Mahābhārata (iii, ch. 12) also speaks of the surpassing glories of king Hariścandra of Kōśala; at the court of Indra, he was the only rājarsi who was entitled to sit, as he was a very powerful *Samrāt* to whom all the rulers of the earth had to bow down, and who had by his own arms brought under his sway the whole of the earth with its seven islands. He celebrated the Rājasūya sacrifice on a grand scale distributing the immense treasure that he had accumulated by his prowess and after the Rājasūya was completed he was installed in the sovereignty of the earth as a *Samrāt* by the thousands of kings assembled. Nārada who gives this account to Yudhiṣṭhira urges him to try to rival the glories of this great monarch inasmuch as his father Pāṇḍu seeing Nārada come down to earth had asked him to urge Yudhiṣṭhira to do so. He was so highly respected as a magnanimous donor that a saying of his is quoted in the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (xiii, 65), and his great sacrifices are referred to (xii, 20) including the one in which Śunaḥśepa figured (xiii, 3). In the lists of the ancient kings of India who exercised imperial sway over India, the name of Hariścandra recurs in the Purāṇas and the Epics.

With Vāhu who came to the Kōśala throne several generations after the *Samrāt* Hariścandra, the Kōśala power suffered a great reverse. Vāhu was defeated by his enemies, the confederacy of the Haihayas, Tālajaṅghas and other allied kṣatriya tribes and was forced to abdicate his throne. He repaired to the forest where after his death his wife bore a son who was reared and brought up with great care by the ṛṣi Aurva near whose hermitage the king had taken refuge and built his woodland home.

This young prince had the making of a great king in him and when come of age he sought to revive the glories of Kōśala and place it again in the high position of a suzerain power in India. This was the great Sagara who almost exterminated the Haihayas and it is said that foreign tribes living on the frontiers of India were so hard pressed by the prowess of this young hero that they sought the protection of Sagara's family preceptor, Vasiṣṭha, at whose request the young Kōśala monarch desisted from their extermination on which he was bent. Then the story is told in the Purāṇas

how he got one son Asamañjas by one of his queens and sixty thousand sons by another. Asamañjas was abandoned by his father on account of his bad conduct. Sagara employed the sixty thousand sons to defend against all aggressors the horse of the Aśvamedha in its unbridled career over the earth. The sacrificial horse was secreted by some one at the hermitage of the ṛṣi Kapila down below the earth in Pātāla. Sagara's sons looking about for it could not find it anywhere on earth and then dug up a large portion of its surface and at last discovered it at the hermitage of Kapila. This ṛṣi they insulted and as the result they were reduced to ashes by him. Sagara then sent his grandson, Amśumān in quest of the horse; he appeased the wrath of Kapila, succeeded in bringing back the horse and obtained a promise from the ṛṣi that his uncles would be purged of their sins when his grandson would bring down the heavenly Ganges down below to the pit excavated by them. Thus the sacrifice was completed by Sagara who pleased by the achievements of Amśumān looked over the claims of his abandoned son Asamañjas and made over the Kōśala throne to him.

The grandson of Amśumān was the great Bhāgīratha who after ascending the throne made his prowess felt far and wide and became a Cakravartin as the Mahābhārata (iii, 108) tells us. But coming to know of the great duty that devolved upon him of rescuing his ancestors from the evil fate that had overtaken them, he left the government of his vast empire in the hands of his ministers, and the story is well-known how he by the severest penances succeeded in bringing down the divine river from the Himalayas, and thus filled up the pit excavated by his ancestors to form the Sāgara or ocean, and thus the holy stream acquired the designation of the Bhāgīrathī. The Rāmāyaṇa (i. 39-44) gives the story at great length and so does the Mahābhārata (iii. 106-109).

After several great names in the list of Kōśala sovereigns after Bhāgīratha we meet with R̥tuparṇa who was a contemporary of the celebrated Vidarbha monarch Nala whom he taught the secret art of playing the dice (akṣaḥḍaya) and acquired from him in exchange the science of training horses. The story is told at great length in the Mahābhārata (iii. 71ff) how the Kōśala monarch R̥tuparṇa had employed Nala as his charioteer when the latter was depressed by the reverses of fortune and how the exchange of a knowledge of the sciences was made when Nala as the charioteer of R̥tuparṇa was carrying him from his capital Ayodhyā to Kuṇḍinapura.

Rtuparna's son was Sudāsa who is identified by some with the king of the same name in the R̥g-Veda. Sudāsa's son was Mitrāsaha Saudāsa who became famous afterwards as Kalmāṣapāda. The story of Kalmāṣapāda is told in the Purāṇas and many other works how he owing to the curse of Vasiṣṭha became a rākṣasa for twelve years.

Saudāsa's grandson Vālika requires more than a passing notice. It is said in the Purāṇas that when Paraśurāma was carrying out his terrible vow of exterminating the kṣatriyas on the earth, this Vālika was saved from his wrath by being surrounded by a number of naked women and thus became known as *Nūrīkavaca*, that is, a person protected by women and as he was the *Mūla* or source from which future generations of kṣatriyas sprang up, he also acquired the designation of Mūlaka.

In the fourth generation after Mūlaka in whom the Kōśala royal family was perpetuated after the general massacre of the kṣatriyas by Paraśurāma, we come to a Kōśala sovereign Khaṭvāṅga whose praises are sung by the Purāṇas. He is spoken of as a *Samrāt* whose great prowess led to his invitation by the gods to help them in their fight with the Asuras and an ancient verse is cited in the Purāṇas saying, "On the earth there will be no one that would equal Khaṭvāṅga in merit inasmuch as on coming back from the regions of the gods and learning that he had only *muḥūrta* (about three quarters of an hour) to live, won the three worlds by his good sense and by charity" (Viṣṇu-purāṇa, IV. 4, 39). The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (IX. 9) adds that Khaṭvāṅga, within the remaining short period of his life, devoted himself to the meditation of the supreme spirit with such zeal as to obtain mokṣa. Khaṭvāṅga's grandson was the great Raghu who gave his name to the family, and Raghu's grandson again was Daśaratha, the father of Rāma in whom the glory of the Kōśala royal dynasty reached its culmination, the god Viṣṇu himself has incarnated in him and his three other brothers. It is said that through their regard for these princes, the people residing in the cities and the villages of Kōśala country reached the heaven of Viṣṇu. After Rāma the extensive Kōśala empire is said to have been divided amongst the sons of the four brothers. The sons of the youngest brother Śatrughna ruled at Mathurā which had been established by their father after defeating the rākṣasas. The sons of Lakṣmaṇa established two kingdoms in the far north in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, while Bharata's sons founded the cities of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkarāvati in the Gandhāra country

the Vāyu-purāṇa (88, 189-190) tells us. The Kośala country proper is said to have been divided into two. In southern Kośala, Kuśa, the elder of the two sons of Rāma, became king and transferred his capital from Ayodhyā to Kuśasthali which he built up at the foot of the Vindhya range (Vindhya-parvata-sānuṣu, Vāyu-purāṇa, 88, 198). Lava, the younger, became the ruler of the northern Kośala country and set up his capital at the city of Śāravatī or Śrāvastī which we find to be the seat of the Kośala sovereigns at the time Buddha lived.

Among the kings that followed Kuśa in the main line of the Kośala monarchs we do not meet with any great name until we come to Hiranyanābha Kauśalya who is said to have been a disciple of the great ṛṣi Jaimini from whom he learnt the science of Yoga and imparted it in his turn to the great yogin Yājñavalkya (Bhāgavata-purāṇa, IX, 12). This glory of proficiency in the Yogaśāstra is, however, transferred by some of the Purāṇas to Hiranyanābha's son, whom the Vāyu-purāṇa calls Vaśiṣṭha (Vāyu, 88, 207-8) and Viṣṇu-purāṇa names Puṣya (Viṣṇu-purāṇa, IV, 4, 48). The fifth in descent from the latter monarch was Maru or Manu who is said to be living in the village of Kalāpa in a state of yoga (meditation) and waiting to be the progenitor of the kṣattriyas in the next cycle. Several generations down from this monarch was Bṛhadbala who led the Kośala troops to the great Kurukṣetra fight and was killed there in the battle by Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna. To this we have already referred in a previous section. Many of the Purāṇas and their enumeration of the Kośala sovereigns end with Bṛhadbala, while some others like the Bhāgavata add a few more names who are called the future kings of the Ikṣvāku family. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (IX, 12, 16) observes that the last king of the Ikṣvāku line would be Sumitra and adds that during his reign there will be the advent of the Kaliyuga, and the family will come to an end.

The Vāyu-purāṇa also in a later chapter (Ch. 99) gives a list of the kings in the Ikṣvāku line after Bṛhadbala whom it here calls Bṛhadratha, which is apparently a mistake, because at the end it mentions Bṛhadbala. Five generations after this Bṛhadratha the Vāyu-purāṇa says that Divākara "is at present ruling at the city of Ayodhyā" (Yaśca sāmpratamadhyāste Ayodhyāṁ nagarīm nṛpaḥ) and after Divākara, it speaks of the future kings that will come in the line. This so-called future list comes to a termination with Sumitra and this Purāṇa also like the Bhāgavata quotes a passage which lays down that with the advent of Kaliyuga the family of the Ikṣvākus will come to an

end. The Vāyu-purāṇa list though slightly different is substantially the same as the one in the Bhāgavata, and one peculiar feature of these lists is that they include Śuddhodana and Rāhula in the list of future Ikṣvāku rulers. The kings of the Ikṣvāku line are praised by the Vāyu-purāṇa as "heroic, proficient in learning, established in truth and having their senses under control" (Vāyu-purāṇa, Chs. 99, 291).

The list in the Matsya-purāṇa (Ch. 12) from Kuśa to the Bhārata war is considerably shorter than the lists referred to above and is evidently wrong. It speaks of Śrutaya as the king who fell in the Bhārata war while in most of the Purāṇas, Bṛhadbala is mentioned as the king who did so.

The history of Kōśala in later times is known chiefly from Jaina and Buddhist literature. In the Jaina Kalpasūtra we read that on the death of Mahāvira, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kōśala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis, on the day of the new moon, instituted an illumination on the Pōṣada which was a fasting day (Kalpasūtra, § 128, S. B. E., vol. XXII, p. 266). Prof. Jacobi observes, "according to the Jainas, the Licchavis and the Mallakis were the chiefs of Kāśī and Kōśala. They seem to have succeeded the Aikṣvākas who ruled there in the time of the Rāmāyaṇa". (Jaina Sūtra, pt. II, p. 321, n. 3).

The Pāli-Buddhist literature is full of information about Kōśala which appears to have occupied a very prominent position at the time of Buddha.

We hear of many worthies of Kōśala. The Dīgha Nikāya, for instance, tells us that a famous brāhmaṇa teacher of Kōśala and the teacher of Ambaṭṭha, Pokkharasādi enjoyed the property given by Pasenadi the contemporary of Buddha and that the king did not allow him to come in his presence. Pasenadi used to consult him behind the screen (vol. I, p. 103). Buddhaghōṣa also furnishes some details about this sage, who, as we have seen, is mentioned in the Dīgha Nikāya. Pokkharasādi or Pokkharasādi, says the commentator, was a brāhmaṇa, living at Ukkatṭhanagara given by the king of Kōśala, Pasenadi, as Brahmadeyya (i. e. as a fee given to a brahmin). He was well-versed in the Vedas. He had been brought up and educated by a hermit who taught him many *sippas* or arts. He satisfied the king of Kōśala by a display of his learning. Thus satisfied, the king bestowed upon him Ukkatṭhanagara (Sumaṅgalavilāsini, pt. I, pp. 244-245).

Another eminent man was Poṭṭhapāda. Mallikā, queen of

Pasenadi, built an ārāma at the Kośala capital, Sāvattthī, known as Mallikārāma, where this teacher with many pupils Potṭhapāda, went to live. Buddha in course of his begging tour, came to Potṭhapāda and they had a talk about the means of the cessation of consciousness, observance of precepts, restraint of sense-organs, etc. (Dīgha Nikāya, vol II, pp. 178 ff).

The Jātakas and Vinaya texts are full of details about Kośala. It is related in one of these works that once in Kośala, there was no rain, the crops were withered and everywhere ponds, tanks and lakes were dried up (Jātaka, vol. I, p. 183). It is narrated in another Jātaka story that in Kośala there was a brāhmaṇa who by simply smelling a sword could say whether it was lucky or not (Jātaka, vol. I, p. 277). Gangs of burglars, highway-men and murderers were not unknown in Kośala. (Ibid., vol. II, p. 97). In the Kośala country, the inhabitants were often carried away and killed by them. (Vinaya texts, pt. I, p. 312).

Kośala as described in the early Buddhist texts.

This is not very unlikely as the Kośala country included the forest-clad hills and valleys of the outer spurs of the Himalayas. In the Pabbajjā Suttanta of the Sutta-Nipāta, we read that the inhabitants of Kośala were healthy and powerful (p. 73).

The Dhammapada Commentary furnishes us with some interesting information regarding Kośala. We learn from this work that Pasenadi, son of Mahākośala, was educated at Taxila. Mahāli, a Licchavi prince and a Malla prince of Kusinārā were his class mates. Pasenadi, king of Kośala. (D. C., pt. I, pp. 337-338). He (Pasenadi) ascended the throne of Kośala after the death of his father. Bāvari, who was the son of the chaplain of Pasenadi's father, became Pasenadi's chaplain. Pasenadi bestowed on him honour and wealth.

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Pasenadi, king of Kośala.

him morning and evening with the four requisites. Afterwards Bāvāri with his disciples went to the Dakkhiṇāpatha as he was unwilling to stay in the royal garden any more (S. N. Com. II, pp. 579 foll.). Kośāla was not inhabited by the seṭṭhis previous to Pasenadi of Kośāla who asked Maṇḍakasēṭṭhi and Dhanañjayasēṭṭhi to settle in the country and they did settle there. (Dhammapada Commentary, pt. I, pp. 384 foll.).

Again, we read that Pasenadi of Kośāla was enamoured of a beautiful woman and tried to win her by killing her husband, but he gave up this idea when warned by Buddha (Ibid., II, pp. 1 foll.).

The Kośālan king had a fight with Ajātaśatru for the village of Kāśī. He was thrice defeated. He gave up his food out of shame, for this defeat by a mere boy. In the end he won victory over Ajātaśatru and captured him.

A great hall of the Law (Saddhamma Mahāśālā) was built by king Pasenadi for Buddha. (Ibid., pp. 1-2).

The Śākya became the vassals of king Pasenadi of Kośāla who received homage from them and they treated him in the same way as the king treated Buddha. (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, p. 80). The Tibetan books have preserved a story of the Kośāla king who visited the capital of the Śākya. Once Pasenadi, king of Kośāla, carried away by his horse, reached Kapilavastu alone, and roaming about hither and thither came to the garden of Mahānāman. Here he saw the beautiful Mallikā, a slave-girl of Mahānāman. He noticed the shrewdness and wisdom of the girl, went to Mahānāman and expressed his desire to marry her. Mahānāman agreed and the king took her with him in great pomp to Śrāvastī. In due course a child was born to Mallikā. This child was called Virūḍhaka or the high-born (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp 75-77). This story is a Tibetan version of the famous story of Pasenadi and Vāsabhakhattiyā which is thus told in the Mahāvastu Avadāna :

King Pasenadi had a great admiration for Buddha. He wished to establish a connection with Buddha's family by marriage and wanted to marry one of the daughters of the Śākya chiefs. The Śākya decided that it was beneath their dignity to marry one of their daughters to the king of Kośāla (Buddhist India, p. 11). Accordingly they sent a girl named Vāsabhakhattiyā, a daughter, by a slave woman, of one of their leading chiefs, Mahānāman. In course of time, a son was born to Pasenadi and Vāsabhakhattiyā. This son was named Viḍḍabha who when he became of age found out that the Śākya had deceived his father Pasenadi by

giving him a daughter of a slave woman to marry. He resolved to take revenge upon them. With the help of his Commander-in-Chief Dirgha Cārāyana, he deposed his father and got possession of the throne for himself. After ascending the throne, Viḍūḍabha invaded the Śākya country, took their city and slew many of them without any distinction of age or sex. (vide *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 197-201).

Many are the stories told about Pasenadi's dealings with Buddha and his disciples.

In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* we read that Pasenadi before accepting Buddha's discipleship saw Buddha at Jetavana. Pasenadi asked him thus, "Six heretical teachers e. g., Pūraṇa Kassapa and others, who are senior to you in age and in point of time of ordination, do not care to call themselves Buddhas. How is it that you though younger in age called yourself a Buddha." Buddha replied, "A kṣatriya, a serpent, fire, and a bhikkhu though younger in age should not be disregarded". Pasenadi hearing this became his disciple. (*S. N.*, vol. I, pp. 68-70).

After the death of Mallikā, Pasenadi went to Buddha at Jetavana. He consoled him as he was very much afflicted with grief (*A. N.*, vol. III, p. 57).

In the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary, we read that at Sāvattṭi, there was a householder who was rich and wealthy. He had faith in Buddha. One day he fed Buddha along with the bhikkhusaṅgha. Once when king Pasenadi was in need of money he sent for the householder, who replied that he was concealing the treasures and he would see the king with them afterwards (pp. 216-217).

Once some quarrelsome bhikkhus of Kosambi intended to ask the pardon of Buddha on account of their fault while Buddha was at Sāvattṭi. Pasenadi hearing of their advent, went to Buddha and told his intention of not allowing them to come to Kośala but the king was advised by Buddha not to do so (*Dhammapada Comm.* pt I, p. 64).

The king of Kośala, provided Khaṇḍa-dhāna with all necessities when the latter left the world after hearing the preachings of Buddha. (*Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 19-20).

Pasenadi was famous for his charity. While Buddha was residing at Sāvattṭi in the ārama of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana, the king made gifts for a week on an immense scale, not to be compared with the charity practised by anybody in his kingdom. These gifts were

known as 'asadisadāna' (incomparable charity) (Piṭṭhavimāna, Vimānavatthu Com., pp. 5-6).

Pasenadi of Kośala was convinced of the greatness of the Śākya teacher and it is said he knew that Gotama was excellent and that he had renounced the worldly life from the Śākya family. The Śākyas were politically subordinate to Pasenadi of Kośala and they used to respect, honour, and salute him. Buddha said, "The respect which Pasenadi receives from the Śākyas is shown by him towards me". Though Pasenadi was of the same age as Buddha, yet he used to show respect to Buddha out of consideration for his eminence as a great teacher (Dīgha Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 83-84).

In the Saṃyutta Nikāya, we read that Pasenadi was told in reply by Buddha that lobha (avarice), dosa (hatred), and moha (delusion) themselves arise in a person and trouble him (vol. I, p. 70). Again he was told by Buddha that he who is born must meet with decay and death (Ibid., p. 71), that self is an enemy to him who commits three kinds of sin (Ibid., pp. 71-7), that the self of one who commits three kinds of sin is unprotected (Ibid., p. 73). Buddha further told Pasenadi, "Those who are in possession of great wealth often become attached to the world" (Ibid., pp. 73-74). The king said thus, "Many rich brāhmaṇas and khattiyas speak falsehood on account of kāma" (desire for sensual pleasures) (Ibid., p. 74). Pasenadi performed a great sacrifice in which 500 bulls, 500 calves, 500 goats, etc. were brought for sacrifice. Buddha, when requested to attend, did not like this yajña, and he was against the taking away of life by slaughter (Ibid., p. 76). Pasenadi once paid a visit to Buddha. Then some jaṭilas, nigaṇṭhas, acelakas, paribbājakas were seen going at a distance from the Blessed One. Pasenadi saluted them and told Buddha that these people were arahats. Buddha said, "It is impossible to know one's character, purity, strength and wisdom by seeing him for a moment" (Ibid., pp. 78-79). Pasenadi used to take a pot of rice which was sufficient to hold sixteen seers of rice (Ibid., p. 81). He reduced his meal to one nāti under Buddha's instruction (Ibid., pp. 81-82).

Pasenadi had to fight with Ajātaśatru who was defeated and imprisoned. His four-fold army was defeated and captured by Pasenadi but ultimately Ajātaśatru was set free (Ibid., pp. 83-85). Pasenadi had a daughter born to him by Mallikā. At this news he became sorry but Buddha consoled him by saying that some women are better than men if they are virtuous and faithful to their husbands. Their sons would be brave (Ibid., p. 86). Pasenadi was taught that earnestness is the only virtue which gives happiness in this

life as well as in after-life (Ibid., pp. 86-87). Pasenadi was again told by Buddha that there are four kinds of puggala in this world. (Ibid., pp. 93 foll). He became very much afflicted with grief when his grandmother died, but he was consoled by Buddha (Ibid., p. 97).

The king of Kośala had an elephant named Bhaddaraka. It had great strength. (Ibid., pt. IV, p. 25). Some thieves were caught and brought before the king of Kośala. He ordered them to be bound in ropes and chains. They were thrown in prison. This information was given by the bhikkhus to Buddha who was asked whether there was any stronger tie than this. Buddha replied, "attachment to wives, sons, and wealth are stronger than other ties." (D. C., pt. IV, pp. 54-55).

The Saṃyutta Nikāya also supplies us with further information about Kośala. Buddha spent much of his time at Sāvattthi and most of his sermons were delivered there. From Kośala, Buddha went to the Mallas, Vajjis, Kāśīs, and Magadhas (S. N., vol. v, pp. 349 foll). Buddha delivered a sermon on self to the brāhmaṇa householders of a brāhmaṇa village in Kośala (Ibid., pp. 352 foll).

Buddha and the common people of Kośala.

The story of the conversion of the Kośala country to the Buddhist faith is told in some detail in the Majjhima Nikāya. Here we read that in the course of his journey over Northern India, on one occasion the Blessed One was sojourning in Kośala and went to Sālā, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośala. The brāhmaṇa householders of Sālā went to see him and asked him a question regarding the going of beings to heaven and hell after death, and he answered it fully with reference to adhammacariya (doing misdeeds) and visamacariyā (doing improper deeds) (vol. I, pp. 285 foll). In the same village Buddha had a talk with the brāhmaṇa householders about faith in Buddha, nihilism, karma, non-existence of the consequence of kamma, kāya, vaci and manokammas, arūpaloka, cessation of existence, four kinds of puggala, four jhānas and the six abhiññās. Buddha explained them to their satisfaction and they became his life-long disciples. (M. N., Vol. I, pp. 400 foll). When Buddha was sojourning in Kośala, he smiled at a place a little away from the road. Ānanda asked him about the reason of his smile and he replied that formerly there was a rich town named Vebhaliṅga. Kassapa Buddha used to live there. Kassapa had his ārāma at the spot where Buddha smiled. In this ārāma Kassapa used to instruct the people. Ānanda prepared a seat for Buddha and requested him to sit on it so that the place might be sanctified by the two Buddhas. Buddha sat on the seat and

narrated a long history of Kassapa Buddha and his disciples (Majjhima Nikāya, vol. II, pp. 45 foll).

When the Blessed One was at Kośāla, he went once to Nagaravinda, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośāla. There many brāhmaṇa householders used to live. They came to see Buddha attracted by the stories they had heard of his fame as a great teacher. They are told by Buddha that the Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas who were not free from passion, anger, and ignorance, whose mind was not tranquil and who did evil deeds by body, speech and mind, should not be respected by them. They should respect those who were free from the above mentioned vices. After listening to Buddha, the brāhmaṇa householders became converted to the new faith preached by him (Majjhima Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 290 foll).

The Aṅguttara Nikāya also furnishes information about the Kośāla country. We have pointed out before that the Aṅguttara Nikāya speaks of Kośāla as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa. It had abundance of seven kinds of gems, wealth, food and drink (vol. I, p. 213 ; vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260)

When Buddha was sojourning in Kośāla, once he went to Venāgapura, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośāla ; the brāhmaṇa householders of the village went to pay their respects to him and had a talk with the great teacher regarding high and big comfortable beds. Buddha spoke of the three kinds of bed (Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. I, pp. 180 foll). The Aṅguttara Nikāya also repeats the story of the seat of Kassapa Buddha given in the Majjhima Nikāya. It narrates that at one time Buddha was sojourning in Kośāla. He saw a Sāla forest and smiled there. He told that Kassapa Buddha's abode was at the place where he smiled (Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. I, pp. 214-15).

On another occasion, he was sojourning in Kośāla. He saw there fishermen selling fish after dividing it. With reference to this fact Buddha gave a discourse on the impurities of the body and the evil effect of selling fish and flesh. He said, "those who carry on trade in fish and flesh cannot be happy and wealthy" (Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 301-303).

The Sutta Nipāta (P. T. S., pp 79-86). tells us that when the Blessed One was dwelling in the Kośāla country on the bank of a river, a brāhmaṇa named Sundarika-Bhāradvāja performed fire-sacrifices. He then saw that Buddha went to him and put to him questions thus, "To which caste do you belong ?" The Blessed One replied that he belonged to no caste. Bhāradvāja was afterwards convinced of the worthlessness of caste distinction and offered to

Buddha food which the Blessed One did not accept. The ascetic Bhāradvāja was then converted and took refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha and got ordination from Buddha.

Again, in the same work, we read that a brāhmaṇa of Kośala named Bāvarī who was well-versed in mantras went from Kośala to Dakkhiṇāpatha. There in the kingdom of Assaka, near Mūlaka, he built a hermitage on the bank of the river Godāvarī and used to live on alms. He used to earn much from the villagers living in villages by the side of his hermitage. He performed a big sacrifice and he spent all his accumulated wealth. After performing the act of charity he entered the hermitage and saw a brāhmaṇa who asked for 500 kahāpaṇas which he could not give and the brāhmaṇa cursed him. Both of them went to Buddha who was then in Kośala and put questions to him regarding head and breaking it. Buddha replied, 'muddhā' means 'avijjā' and 'vijjā' is the destroyer of 'muddhā'." The disciples of Bāvarī put several questions to Buddha, which were dealt with in the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta Nipāta and Buddha answered them to their satisfaction (S. N., pp. 190-192).

The Vinaya Piṭaka points out that the bhikkhus of Kośala used to recite the Pātimokkha in an abridged form to avert imminent danger (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, p. 261).

Udena, a lay-devotee of Kośala had a vihāra built for the Saṃgha and dedicated it to the bhikkhūs for their use (Ibid., p. 302). In the commentary on the Sutta Nipāta we read that a carpenter of Benares with his disciples worshipped Buddha's relics and observed the precepts and uposatha. In consequence of this, they were reborn in the devaloka or the region of the gods. Before the appearance of Gotama Buddha they fell from the devaloka and were reborn in Kośala. The carpenter was reborn in Kośala as the son of the chaplain of Pasenadi's father.

In Kośala, a cowherd named Nanda was rich and wealthy. He used to go to Anāthapiṇḍika's house from time to time taking with him five kinds of preparations from cow's milk. He invited Buddha who accepted the invitation. Nanda continued charities for a week. On the seventh day, Buddha delivered a sermon on dāna, sīla, etc. Nanda obtained the first stage of sanctification (D. C., pt. I, pp. 322-323).

Aggidatta was the purohita or royal chaplain of Mahākośala, father of Pasenadi. Pasenadi also accepted him as his purohita. Aggidatta thinking that he might be shown disrespect by Pasenadi became a heretic. He held that one should take refuge in mountain, forest, ārāma (pleasure garden) and tree, and this refuge would lead to the removal

of all sufferings. Moggallāna converted Aggidatta with his disciples (Ibid., pt. III, pp. 241 foll.).

Kośāla in later times came to be known as Śrāvastī in order to distinguish it from South Kośāla. Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the seventh century A. D., says that Śrāvastī i. e., North Kośāla was above 600li in circuit. Although it was mostly in ruins yet there were some inhabitants. The country had good crops and an equable climate, and the people had honest ways and were given to learning. They were fond of good works. There were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, most of which were in ruins. The brethren who were very few were Sammatiyas. There were a hundred deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. Close by there was a preaching hall built by Pasenadi for Buddha. There were topes (Watters on Yuan Chwang, vol. I, p. 377). Further, the pilgrim records that there were many Buddhist monasteries and many brethren were Mahāyānists. There were Tīrthikas (heretics) whom Buddha had vanquished by his supernatural powers (Ibid., vol. II, p. 200).

From the accounts that we have got in Buddhist literature about the Kośāla kings and princes we observe that the Kosalan kings and princes received good education. In the Brah̥chatta Jātaka we read that a son of the king of Kośāla named Chatta fled to Taxila when his father was taken prisoner and there he mastered the three Vedas and eighteen vijjās. We are told that at Taxila he learnt the Nidhi-uddharaṇamantram or the science of discovering hidden treasure. He found out the hidden treasure of his deceased father and with the money thus acquired he engaged troops and reconquered the lost kingdom of his father (Jātakas, vol. III, pp. 115-116). We have also seen before in the accounts of Kośāla in the Nikāyas, that some Kośāla princes received their education at Taxila.

T. W. Rhys Davids points out that a conversational dialect based probably on the local dialect of Sāvattthī, the capital of Kośāla, was in general use among Kośāla officials, among merchants and among the more cultured classes, not only throughout the Kośāla dominions but east and west from Delhi to Patna, and north and south from Sāvattthī to Avanti (Buddhist India, p. 153). Prof. Jacobi points out that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed in Kośāla on the basis of ballads popularly recited by rhapsodists throughout that district. But the very centre of the literary activity of the Buddhists was Kośāla (Ibid., p. 183).

Dr. Keith is right in pointing out that the brahmanical civilization doubtless centred in the region of Kurukṣetra or the middle country especially among the Kuru-Pañcālas, but it spread beyond these limits to the land of the Kośalas and Videhas as well as to even more remote regions (Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 9-10). It must be admitted that although the extension of Brahmanism from the land of the Kurus and Pañcālas to Kośala was comparatively late, the Aryan occupation of the country went back to an earlier period (Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 308-309).

From the discussions held by the Kośalans with Buddha and the stories related about them in the Petavatthu and its commentary, it is evident that the Kosalans believed in the existence of soul after death. They had the notion that people had to suffer tortures after death in consequence of the sinful deeds done by them while on earth. The Paramatthadīpanī on the Petavatthu records many instances which go to show how people of Kośala underwent various torments after death in consequence of the sinful deeds done while alive. For example, we are told that the two sons of a king of Kośala who were handsome in their youth committed adultery. They were re-born as petas (spirits) residing on the moat surrounding Kośala and used to make terrible noise at night. (See also the stories of Pañcaputtakhādakapeta, Akkharukkhapeta, Goṇapeta, in my work 'The Buddhist Conception of Spirits,' pp. 44-45).

Once Dīghāvu, prince of Kośala, found the king of Benares lying in a forest. He captured the king who murdered his parents.

But remembering the advice of his parents, he simply frightened the helpless king who appealed to him and the prince after being assured that there would in future be no dissension or anything of the like nature, forgave the king. The king swore an oath and gave his daughter in marriage to the prince and established him in the kingdom that belonged to his father. (Ibid., III, pp. 139-140). Mahākośala, father of king Pasenadi of Kośala, married his daughter Kośalā to king Bimbisāra of Magadha and gave her a village in Kāśī yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money (Jātakas, II, p. 164; Ibid., IV, p. 216). Pasenadi of Kośala took Ajātasattu prisoner and afterwards gave him his own daughter Vajirā in marriage. (Jātakas, Cowell, vol. IV, pp. 216-217). Vajirā was given the village of Kāśī which was for a long time the bone of contention between

Brahmanic
influence.

Spirit-belief of
the Kośalans.

Matrimonial
alliances with
neighbouring
powers.

the two families. (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 77). Thus we see that the royal houses of Kāśī, Kośala, and Magadha were inter-related through matrimony.

In Kośala the form of government was monarchical (Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, vol. I, p. 131 ; cf. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 114). The inhabitants of Sāvathī, the capital of Kośala, used to assemble together and form a gaṇa or guild (Buddhist Conception of Spirits, p. 40).

It is interesting to note as the 'Cambridge History of India' (I, p. 190) points out that India appeared as a number of kingdoms and republics with a constant tendency towards amalgamation. This process had proceeded further in Kośala than elsewhere ; that great kingdom was by far the most important state in northern India in the sixth century B. C.

The first important state to be absorbed by Kośala was Kāśī. The kings of Kāśī and Kośala were from the beginning constantly at war with each other. In one of the Jātaka stories an account is given of the constant warfare carried on between these two neighbouring monarchies. Sometimes victory lay with one side and sometimes with the other. At times they were evidently united, most probably by conquest as is shown by the phrase *Kāśī-Kośala* in Vedic literature. We read in a Jātaka story that once the king of Benares marched against the king of Kośala, killed the king and carried off his queen to make her his own wife. When the king was killed, his son escaped and shortly afterwards collected a mighty force and came to Benares with the object of fighting with its reigning king. Information was sent to the king of Benares to this effect. The king of Benares was ready for the fight. But the mother of the young prince sent words to her son advising him not to fight but to blockade the city so that people would be worn out for want of food and water. The young prince did so. The citizens could not bear starvation and on the seventh day they beheaded their king and brought the head to the prince of Kośala. The prince entered the city and made himself king (Jātakas, Cowell, vol. I, p. 243).

Again, in another Jātaka story we read that on the death of his father Prince Goodness ascended the throne of Benares. One of his ministers committed sin in the king's harem. The king came to know of this, found the minister guilty and drove him out of his kingdom.

Thus driven, the minister came to the king of Kośala and became his confidential adviser. The minister requested the Kośalan king to attack the kingdom of Benares because the king of that country was very weak. Thus advised the Kośalan king twice sent his men to massacre the villagers of Benares and they came back with presents. At last the king of Kośala, determined to attack the kingdom of Kāśī, set out with his troops and elephants. The king of Benares had gallant warriors who were ready to resist the march of the Kośalan king but they were not permitted to do so. The king of Kośala asked pardon from the king of Kāśī and gave back the kingdom of Kāśī which he took. The Kośalan king punished the slanderous traitor and went back to his kingdom with his troops and elephants (Jātakas, vol. I, pp. 128-133).

Further, we read in the same work that once the king of Benares was seized by Dabbasena, king of Kośala and was fastened by a cord and hung with head downwards. The king of Benares, however, did not entertain any malicious feeling towards the rebel prince, and by a process of complete absorption, entered upon a state of mystic meditation and bursting his bonds sat cross-legged in the air. The rebel prince felt a burning sensation all over his body. The minister told the king that he was thus suffering for tormenting the king of Benares who was a holy man. At last Dabbasena begged pardon and restored his kingdom to the king of Benares (Jātakas III, p. 202).

The Jātakas further inform us that on one occasion the king of Benares attacked the Kośala country and took the king prisoner. There he set up royal officers as governors and himself having collected all the available treasure returned with his spoil to Benares. The king of Kośala had a son named Chatta who fled while his father was taken prisoner. He came to Taxila and educating himself went to a wood where he met some ascetics from whom he learnt all that the ascetics could teach him. Gradually the prince became the leader of the ascetics. He came to Benares with the ascetics and spent the night in the king's garden. The next morning the ascetics came to the door of the palace. The king saw them and was charmed with their deportment. The king asked them to sit on the dais and put to them various questions. Chatta, the leader of the ascetics, answered them all and won the king's heart. The king asked him to stay in the garden with the ascetics. Chatta knew the spell by which he could find out where the hidden treasure was. He came to know that it was in the

garden. He then introduced himself to the ascetics. Then Chatta with the ascetics fled to Sāvattī with the hidden treasure. There he had all the king's officers seized, and recovering his kingdom, restored the walls and watch-towers. He made the city invincible against alien invasion and took his residence there (Cowell, *Jātakas*, III, pp. 76-78).

The Sonananda Jātaka records a fight between Manoja, king of Benares and a king of Kōśala. Manoja pitched his camp near the city of Kōśala and sent a message to the king asking him either to give battle or to surrender himself. The king was enraged and accepted the challenge. A fierce fight ensued. The king of Kōśala was advised to submit to king Manoja of Benares. The king of Kōśala agreed and was taken to Manoja who was thus entreated, "the king of Kōśala submits to you, Sir, let the kingdom still belong to him". King Manoja assented. (*Jātakas*, Cowell, vol. V., pp. 166-167).

From the Jātaka stories of the two neighbouring countries of Kāśī and Kōśala, it is evident that there was mutual jealousy between the two kingdoms, and a constant spirit of hostility actuated the rival royal houses. Each was looking out for an opportunity for inflicting a defeat on the other and of annexing either the whole or at least part of the other's dominions. Sometimes they also appear to have been connected by matrimony and it is probable that the two countries were united sometimes by conquest and sometimes perhaps by a common heir succeeding to the throne of both the countries.

As we have already said that king Mahakośala, father of Pasenadi, married his daughter Kōśaladevi to Bimbisāra king of Magadha and granted her a village of the Kāśī-country yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand as her *nahāna-cuṇṇa-mūla*, i.e. bath and perfume money. When Ajātaśatru put his father Bimbisāra to death, Kōśaladevi died of grief. For some time after her death, Ajātaśatru continued to enjoy the revenues of the village, but Pasenadi, king of Kōśala, resolved that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance, and so confiscated it. Thus there was a war between Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit with the result that Ajātaśatru was at first victorious but he was afterwards taken prisoner by the Kōśalan king and was bound in chains. After punishing him thus for some days he was released and was advised not to do so in future. By way of consolation he was given by the Kōśalan king his own daughter Vajirā in marriage.

Kōśala and
Magadha.

He was afterwards dismissed with great pomp (Car. Lec., 1918, pp. 76-77; and Cowell, Jātakas, vol. IV, pp. 216-217).

Dr. Bhandarkar points out that some parts of Kośala were annexed to the kingdom of Magadha during the reign of Ajātaśatru. (Car. Lec., 1918, p. 79).

Annexation of
Kośala by
Magadha.

We have already seen that Ajātaśatru married a princess of Kośala. His mother was a lady of the famous Licchavi tribe. He waged successful wars against both the Licchavis and his consort's kingdom. Kośala disappears from history as an independent kingdom and evidently was absorbed by Magadha. (Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 46).

In the north the Kośala country bordered on the region occupied by the Śākya and there were mutual jealousies between the two peoples that often developed into war. Thus we are told that the Śākya became the vassals of king Pasenadi of Kośala who received homage from them and they treated him in the same way as the king treated Buddha (Dialogues of Buddha, pt. III, p. 80).

Kośala and
Śākya.

The capital cities of Kośala were Sāvattī and Sāketa. Many fanciful theories have been started to explain the name Sāvattī.

According to one view Sāvattī is so called because it was resided in by the sage Sāvattā. In the Papañcasūdanī the commentator holds that everything required by human beings is to be found there; hence it is called sabba+atthi = Sāvattī. In answer to a question by some merchants as to what the place contained, it was told 'sabbam atthi' (there is everything). Hence it is called Sāvattī. (Papañcasūdanī, I, pp. 59-60).

According to the Purāṇas, Śrāvastī is said to have been built by king Śrāvasta, eighth in descent from Vivakṣu, son of Ikṣvāku (Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Ch. 2, Aṃśa 4; cf. Bhāgavata-purāṇa, 9th skandha, Ch. 6, śl. 21). Again in the Matsya-purāṇa, we read that king Śrāvasta of the Kakutsa family built in the Gauḍa country a city named Śrāvasta (Ch. 21, śl. 30; Kūrma-purāṇa, Ch. 23, śl. 19; Liṅga-purāṇa, ch. 95). Sāvattī was situated in what is now the province of Oudh (Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, p. 290). It is now known beyond all doubt as Maheṭh of the village group Saheṭh-Maheṭh on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces (Carmichael Lectures, 1918 p. 51).

Śrāvastī in the
Purāṇas.

The Pāli-Buddhist literature is full of facts regarding Sāvattī

and her glories. Many of the most edifying discourses were delivered by Buddha at the Kośāla capital which was the place of residence of two of the most munificent donors of the Buddhist saṃgha, viz., Anāthapiṇḍika, the great merchant and Visākhā Migāramātā, the most liberal-hearted of the ladies about whom the Buddhist literature holds any record.

Sāvattthī in the Buddhist literature.

In the *Vimānavatthu* we read that the Kośalans and specially the Sāvattthians were remarkable for their charity which, they believed, was one of the many principal ways of acquiring heavenly bliss.

Kośalans—charitable.

Again we hear that when Buddha was at Sāvattthī, there was a woman who was very faithful and obedient to her husband. She had patience and was not subject to anger, never used harsh words even when she was irritated, was truthful, and had faith in Buddha. She used to make offerings according to her means. After death she was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven and enjoyed heavenly bliss (*Patibbatāvimāna*, V. Com., pp. 56-57). Again in the *Suṇisāvimāna* we read that at Sāvattthī an arahat went to a house for alms. The daughter-in-law of the family, seeing the arahat, was filled with joy and ardour, and with great devotion offered some portion of the cakes which she had got for her own use. The thera accepted the offering and went away blessing her. In consequence of this religious merit she after death was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven (V. C., p. 61). There lived in the town of Kimbila a householder's son named Rohaka who was a believer in Buddha, and there was in another family of equal status, in the same town, a mild and gentle girl who on account of her merits was called Bhaddā. Rohaka married the girl Bhaddā. One day two chief disciples of Buddha, in course of their tour, came to the town of Kimbila. Rohaka invited the two disciples with their followers, offered them good food, drink and various other things, with his wife served them in every way, and listening to their discourses embraced Buddhism and received the five sīlas (V. Com., pp. 109-110). When Buddha was at Jetavana in Sāvattthī, there was at Nālakagāma a family of two daughters named Bhaddā and Subhaddā. Bhaddā went to her husband's house. She was faithful and intelligent but barren. She requested her husband to marry her sister whose son, if born, would be like her own son and the family line would be continued thereby. Persuaded by her, the husband married Subhaddā who was always ins-

trusted by Bhaddā to offer charity, to observe the precepts and to perform other meritorious deeds diligently and in consequence of this she would be happy in this world and in the next. Subhaddā acted according to her advice and one day she invited Revata. The therā, however, in order to secure comparatively great blessings for her, took it as an invitation to the Saṃgha and went to her house accompanied by eleven other bhikkhus and Subhaddā offered good food and drink to them. The therā approved of her charity and as a result of feeding the saṃgha, she, after death, was reborn in the Nimmānarati heaven (V. C., pp. 149-156).

The Dīgha Nikāya informs us that immediately after Buddha's parinibbāṇa, Ānanda was dwelling at Jetavana. Subhā, son of Todeyya came to Sāvattthī on some business. Subhā invited Ānanda who accepted the invitation. He had a talk with Ānanda about the dhammas preached by the Blessed One e.g. ariyasīlakkhandha, ariya-samādhikkhandha and ariyapaññākkhandha (Dīgha Nikāya, I, pp. 204 foll).

There were many merchants at Sāvattthī (Buddhist Conception of Spirits, p. 26). Sāvattthian merchants used to go to Videha with cartloads of merchandise to sell their wares there. They used to take commodities from Videha. Some merchants of Sāvattthī went to Suvarṇabhūmi in a ship (Ibid., p. 38). Again we read that some merchants of Sāvattthī went to the northern regions (Uttarāpatha) taking with them five hundred cartloads of merchandise (Ibid., p. 76).

Sāvattthī, was visited by the two famous Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang, but the glories of the once splendid capital of the Kośala had departed at the time of their visit. When Fa-Hien who visited India in the fourth century A. D. went to Srāvastī, the inhabitants of the city were few amounting in all to a few more than two hundred families. The pilgrim refers to Pāsenajit of Kośala, and saw the place where the old vihāra of Mahā-pajāpati Gotamī was built, the wells and walls of the house of Anāthapiṇḍika, and the site where Aṅgulimāla attained arahatship. Topes were built in all these places. Envious brāhmaṇas who cherished bitter hatred in their heart wished to destroy them but in vain (Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, pp. 55-56).

Anāthapiṇḍika built a vihāra at Sāvattthī famous as Jetavanavihāra which was originally of seven storeys. This vihāra was dedicated to Buddha and the Buddhist Church by Prince Jeta (Ibid., pp. 56-57).

Commercial
importance of
Srāvastī.

Chinese
travellers.

History of
Sāvattthī.

Cunningham points out on the authority of Hiuen Tsang that five centuries after Buddha or one century after Kaniṣka, Vikramāditya, king of Śrāvastī, became a persecutor of the Buddhists, and the famous Manorhita, author of the Vibhāṣāśāstra, being worsted in argument by the brāhmaṇas, put himself to death. During the reign of his successor, the brāhmaṇas were overcome by Vasubandhu, the eminent disciple of Manorhita. In the third century A. D. Śrāvastī seems to have been under the rule of its own kings as we find Khīradhāra and his nephew mentioned as rājās between A. D. 275 and 319. Still later Śrāvastī was only a dependency of the powerful Gupta dynasty of Magadha as the neighbouring city of Sāketa is especially said to have belonged to them. From this time Śrāvastī gradually declined. In A. D. 400 it contained a few families and in A. D. 600 it was completely deserted.

Sāketa.

Another important town of Kośala was Sāketa which was certainly the capital of Kośala in the period immediately preceding Buddha (Car. Lec., 1918, p. 51). The road from Sāketa to Sāvattthī was haunted by robbers who were dangerous to passers-by. Even the bhikkhus who had very little in their possession were robbed of their scanty belongings and sometimes killed by the robbers. Royal soldiers used to come to the spot where robbery was committed, and used to kill those robbers whom they could arrest. (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, pp. 220-221).

Other towns
of Kośala.

Besides Sāvattthī and Sāketa we find mention of other towns in the Kośala country e.g. Daṇḍakappaka, Nalaka-pāna, Setavya and Paṅkadhā. Once Buddha went to Daṇḍakappa, a town of Kośala. He gave a discourse to Ānanda on Devadatta's fall into the Avici Hell (Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 402 foll). Buddha once visited Nalakapāna, a town of Kośala. There he dwelt at Palāsavana. He gave religious instructions to the bhikkhus on an uposatha night. After giving a long discourse, he requested Sāriputta to continue it (A. N., IV, pp. 122 foll). Once Kumāṇakassapa with a large number of bhikkhus went to Setavya. Pāyāsi was the chief at the place. He enjoyed enormous wealth given by Pasenadi, king of Kośala. He was a false believer but his false belief was dispelled by Kumārakassapa. Many brāhmaṇa householders together with Pāyāsi went to Kumārakassapa and held discussions with him about the next world, beings not born in mother's womb, and the result of good and bad karmas (D. N., II, pp. 316 foll).

Buddha went to Paṅkadhā, a town of Kośala. Kassapagotta,

a bhikkhu, was dwelling there. Buddha gave him instructions about precepts but he did not like his instructions (A. N., vol. I, p. 236).

In the Saṃyutta Nikāya (vol. IV, pp. 374 foll), we find the mention of a village named Torāṇavatthu, a village between Sāvattī and Sāketa. In this village, Khemā bhikkhūṇī observed the lent; and here Pasenadi, on his way from Sāketa to Sāvattī, spent one night. He was informed of Khemā bhikkhūṇī. He went to her and put to her questions regarding life after death; and she answered them to the king's satisfaction (S. N., vol., IV, pp. 374 foll).

BIMALA CHARAN LAW

MISCELLANY

Oriental Studies in Russia

The difficulties of the Russian language always place a serious obstacle in the way of those foreigners who for one reason or another are, or might be, interested in a more intimate knowledge of Russia. Diffusion of first-hand information would be all the more desirable for mutual understanding, as the country, always living separated by long distances and difficult communications, has long since become one, concerning which many imaginary and fabulous stories are told. It is remarkable how many misconceptions are firmly established in the public opinion of Western Europe, so that even educated and well-informed people often repeat these ridiculous inventions as truth itself.

Of late the mutual acquaintance of Russia and Western Europe has been growing, since the Great War has given it a strong impetus. Of the greatest importance was the last revolution, which compelled something like three millions of Russians, mostly belonging to the better and more educated classes, to seek refuge abroad from the untold brutality of the Socialists. Intentionally or unintentionally these large numbers of exiles were making Russian matters more widely known all over the world, and the people who used to repeat fantastic stories about Russia had an opportunity to learn the reality. But still there are many sides of Russian life which are not sufficiently well-known.

One such obscure aspect of Russian activities is its large and important contribution to Oriental research. This must be very interesting to every student of Oriental subjects. If research in scientific and other matters of universal interest has long become an international institution rather than a domestic affair of a particular nation, this is still more so in matters of Oriental research. The facilities for work are much limited, because a study of Oriental philology and literature cannot be regarded as a paying occupation, and therefore only a few scholars can devote themselves to this arduous work with the help of patronage from the state. Naturally, these studies on an extensive scale can be patronised only by those states which have permanent and important interests in the East. Such states are not numerous and the literature on Eastern matters, in its different subdivisions, is so small that every new serious work is of great importance, in whatever language it may appear.

Russia has always been one of the countries with very extensive interests in the East, and has produced a great number of most important works on Oriental subjects. The interest in this branch of literature gradually rose in the Western centres at the end of the last century. Already August Müller, an eminent German Arabist, had studied Russian and recommended the study of this language to the younger Orientalists. Of the latter there are many brilliant scholars who have done this. It is sufficient to mention the names of Prof. Pelliot in France, Sir E. Denison Ross, and Sir T. Arnold in England. But what is accessible to such eminent specialists cannot have become as yet the possession of wider circles, and an average Oriental student in Western Europe, especially in England, knows very little as to what is going on with regard to his special subject in Russia.

In India, where there is very small contact with the foreign centres of Oriental research, or with the different institutions in the foreign countries, some information as to the general character of Oriental studies in Russia may be interesting. This note attempts to supply such information in a very summary form, because the subject would require a volume to be treated adequately and in detail.

Whilst the majority of the Western nations first became interested in the various Eastern countries from the view-point of commerce, the matter was quite different in Russia. Its geographical position made it a sort of what nowadays is called a "buffer-state" between Western Europe, and at that time, the turbulent, East. So it became a kind of wall behind which western civilisation could thrive. During the whole of a thousand long years of Russian history, there was almost no serious struggle with the West, but a continual strife against the invaders from the East. Mediæval Russia with her extensive Eastern policy and frequent embassies to and from the different Oriental courts was much better informed about the geography and political life of the East than Western Europe. Special records were kept in the foreign office of that time ; people who knew Oriental languages were employed ; and maps were drawn up. All this activity received a great development by the end of the XVIIth century, when there appeared at the head of Russia one of the greatest organising geniuses the world has ever known namely Peter the Great.

It was then that the study of the East was set on a firm basis and organised into a system. In 1727 the Russian Academy of Sciences was founded, and it was its duty to carry on this research, which since that time has given rise to an extensive literature on Oriental subjects, rich collections of manuscripts, books, ethnological collections, coins, and

other matters connected with the East. In course of time, the collection became so extensive that it was found necessary to accommodate them in separate institutions. In 1818 the books, manuscripts, etc., were brought together in a special library the so-called Asiatic Museum. The ethnological and anthropological collections were concentrated in the Ethnological Museum in 1837. Recently, under the special patronage of Alexander III, a new ethnological Museum, dealing only with Russia, was established in 1897, and called the Russian Museum. It contains also a great many materials concerning Asia.

The study of Oriental languages was originally introduced on the same lines as other disciplines in the different Russian universities. Special faculties were created when in 1858 all the studies concerned with the East became centralised in the so-called 'Oriental faculty', or the Faculty of the Oriental languages, literatures, and history, in the University of St. Petersburg. It has not only given Russia a great number of good specialists, but also considerably promoted a general interest in the study of the Eastern subjects amongst those who though not scholars had, for different reasons, to come into contact with it.

Afterwards special needs, or occasional opportunities, led to the establishment of different secondary institutions for the study of particular groups of languages, Oriental archæology, etc., from different points of view and for different (chiefly practical) purposes in St. Petersburg itself as well as in Moscow, and in many provincial cities. Libraries, museums, etc., were also started in different parts of the Empire.

A considerable share in such research was always taken by the Russian Oriental Society, and also to a certain extent, the Geographical Society. The former was established in 1846. Its real title was "The Oriental section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society." Its "Zapiski" or Bulletin has gained general recognition in all circles of Orientalists.

The Russian Imperial Geographical Society, founded in 1845, did not, naturally, limit its activities to Oriental geography but its Journal contains treasures of information concerning ethnological problems of Asia. The character of Russian Oriental research has always been different from that peculiar to such work in some other countries. Russians have done well chiefly as explorers and pioneers in different directions rather than as those who combine the materials, brought by others, into admirable works of great finish.

In Oriental research Russia has chiefly contributed to the knowledge of the Far East, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. In Sinology, and the study of the Palcoasiatic languages of Siberia, Russian work takes a

most important place. The same is true with regard to the studies of Mongolian literature and the Mongolian dialects.

That most important branch of Oriental research, Turkology, has chiefly developed in Russia where there always has been a considerable number of good specialists in that subject.

Much has been done for the studies of the Iranian languages. The researches into Kurdish and Persian dialects, the study of the Iranian population of the Oxus valley, etc., have been most important.

The whole group of most different languages, spoken in the Caucasus, such as the tongues of the hill-men, Georgian, Armenian, etc., have always formed a prominent part of the studies.

To this may be added a large amount of work done in the direction of investigation of the literatures in all these languages, a deep study of the history of Central Asia and the connected countries, their archæology, etc. All these results constitute a large inheritance, and it is a matter of national pride that a large proportion of what has been written consists of works of permanent value which have been useful since the time of their first appearance and will not entirely lose their importance for at least a long period to come.

Indian studies in Russia have always been in a peculiar position. The absence of direct interests in the country, which might be of any practical concern, could not make this branch of research very popular. Sanskrit, however, and other Indian languages were studied not only for purely philological purposes, but also for the exploration of Buddhistic literature. The Russian government had a large number of Buddhist subjects, in fact, several millions of Qalmuqs, Qirghizes, Yaquits, Buryats, Mongols, etc. It was in order to learn more about their customs and religions that Buddhistic studies were encouraged.

For studying the Buddhistic literature of the Mongols, the Chinese, the Tibetans, etc., the Russian scholars had naturally to refer very often to the Sanskrit and Pāli originals. This circumstance has brought about this state of things that almost all eminent Russian Indianists were exclusively interested in the Buddhistic literature. In 1897 even a special series was started by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences for the publication of Buddhistic works called the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*.

These studies began fairly early in the beginning of the XIXth century. The first press possessing a Nāgari alphabet was founded in St. Petersburg in the middle of the reign of Alexander I, who died in 1825. One of the greatest achievements was the famous dictionary of Prof. Böhtlingk, about the middle of the last century.

Since that time there have been many people who have studied Pāli and Sanskrit for the needs of comparative philology, etc. But the real specialists were Vasiliev and after him Minayev ; the latter chiefly studied Pāli. His pupil, Prof. Stcherbatski, is an eminent specialist in Buddhist philosophy, and has published several large works on the system of the Buddhist theory of knowledge by Dharmakīrti and others. It is most regrettable that his very talented pupil, O. Rosenberg, quite a young man, died in 1919.

Another very eminent Indianist, S. Oldenburg, was chiefly interested in Buddhist art. He undertook an interesting expedition to the ruins of various sand-buried cities of Central Asia, and has brought home much new material. His important post as Secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences takes far too much of his time to allow him to concentrate his labours on some definite subject of research in which he has specialized. There is a number of other, less eminent, specialists in Sanskrit and Pāli who either lecture on these languages, or study them from the purely philological point of view.

Everybody would naturally like to know what has become of Oriental studies in Russia during the recent cataclysm. It would be indeed difficult to expect that amidst the terrible events which took place, the Orientalists should have been able to quietly continue their work.

Research and the publication of new works have certainly been paralysed to a great extent ; only a few works which had been in the press at the time of the revolution have appeared after a long delay. At present, all the surviving specialists have to suffer hard times because they have to earn their livelihood with great difficulty.

Judging from what is going on in St. Petersburg, much has been done in the way of renaming the old institutions, or splitting them up into several independent bodies. There may perhaps have been special reasons for this, God knows. But the measure has not added to the number of active workers. It has fallen disastrously owing to death and other causes. Those who remain are doing their best to preserve the high standards established by the previous, more lucky, generations.

It will indeed be a very great loss to the civilised world if Oriental research in Russia remains long in its present condition. The tradition in scholarly matters, the true spirit of research are plants which require long years, even centuries, to grow. They can be easily destroyed, but cannot be improvised. There is still so much to be done in the way of research all over Asia. Even in India, where much has already been achieved there still remains almost boundless field for research.

Progress of Historical Research in the Madras Presidency

The Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in the course of his Report for the year 1921-22 notes the discovery of a few Jaina monuments in the Ganjam District, a cavern containing a standing Jaina image at Sailada, a village near the Chicacole Road Railway Station, and a huge seated image of a Jaina *Tirthaṅkara* close to the tank of Mandasa. These are finds in addition to the Buddhist stūpa at Sāli-huṇḍam discovered in 1919. Moreover there are some Kaidumba records of the 7th and 8th centuries; and one record of an early Eastern Chalukya king Indravarman commonly called Indra Bhaṭṭāraka which proves that this king who ruled only for a few days did ascend the throne.

The Sanskrit inscription engraved in very archaic Telugu characters of about the 5th century A. D. discovered at the Poḍāgaḍa Hill in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam District is important. It belongs to the so-called dynasty of the Nalas who were among the early opponents of the expansion of the dominions of the early Western Chalukyas. It is surmised that this Nala dynasty is different from the Nalas of the Konkan destroyed by the Chalukyas, for whom indeed we have had no direct evidence. These Nalas were in the Kaliṅga country and lost their dominion through the expansion of the Chalukyas. The present inscription records the foundation of a *satra* (feeding-house) by the son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family in the 12th year of his reign. The name of the son could not be made out definitely. This record and another of the 11th century referring possibly to a chief of the Gajapati line, found also in the Jeypore Agency, show that the Circars Agency tracts were not the deserted and backward regions as they are now—a conclusion which is strengthened by the numerous architectural remains of the wild Bastar State on the North.

Two records of the Cholas, both of Rājarāja the Great (985-1013 A. D.) give us instances of the royal audit of temple accounts; and one of them notes how the Brāhmaṇas who misappropriated the temple lands were punished. Two other inscriptions (Nos. 240 and 241 of Appendix C) of Rājarāja which come from Tenneri

record that the village assembly of Uttama Chola Āturvedimaṅgalam met in the temple and laid down that only those who were capable of reciting the *Mantra-brūhmaṇa* could be elected as members of the village supervision committee (Ūr-vāriyam). A record of Rājakeśavivarman, *alias* Udaiyār Rājādhirājadeva (No. 239 of Appendix C.) says that the *adhikūrin* (superintendent) convened a general meeting of the great assembly of Uttama Chola Āturvedimaṅgalam in the hall called *Rājārājan* and after giving a patient hearing to the representation made by the village assembly that the original survey and classification of village lands was in a chaotic condition, "re-classified these lots, re-assessed them properly and instructed the assembly to have this order engraved on the walls of the temple".

Yet another inscriptional find of the year belonging to the 48th year, of Kulottuṅga I (the Chola-E-Chalukya Emperor (1070-1118)) informs us that of one of his army captains presented some women of his family as *Devaradiyār* for service in the temple after branding them with the trident-mark as an indication of their dedication to a life of service and devotion. This shows that this class had not degenerated into the immoral level that it represents in society now. We have also an inscriptional reference to *Periya-koil-Nambi Tiruvarambattamudanar*, a pupil and convert of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānuja in an inscription of Kulottuṅga Chola III of A. D. 1180. The very popular work of this convert is a poem of one hundred stanzas called *Rāmānuja-Mūrtanādi* expressive of the gratitude which he felt for his *guru* and which has now become so famous that it is called the *Prapannasāvitri* of the Vaiṣṇavas.

Kopperunjiṅgadeva, a Chola feudatory of the 13th century, figures in this year's finds both as a Chola subordinate and later an independant sovereign who issued grants in his own name. An inscription of his is found in the Kurnool District; and we know of his northern advance as far as Draksharam (in the Godavari District). He was one of the chief factors that contributed to the decline of the Chola power in the 13th century; and he claimed to have won supremacy over the Chola, Karnata and Pandya kings. He was also called *Khaḍgamalla* and *Kalbalapperunal* skilful with sword and his other *birudas* *Bharatamalla* and *Sāhityaratnākara*, connote, if they are not mere poetic fancy, his culture and refinement. It has also been suggested that there might have been two *Kopperunjiṅgas*, father and son; for "from the 8th year of the reigning Kulottuṅga

Chola III (A. D. 1185) wherein *Avaniālappiranḍān Kāḍavarayan* figures to be an independent Kopperunjiṅga whose highest regnal year as hitherto discovered is 35, corresponding to A. D. 1277 or the calculation that he ascended the throne in A. D. 1243. there is an interval of over 90 years which is an impossibly long reign for a single sovereign." The inscriptions which appear in the name of Kopperunjiṅgadeva have therefore to be interpreted with great caution.

Among the records of the Vijayanagara rulers discovered, one belonging to Virṇpākṣa I (Śaka 1301 to 1322 according to the genealogy furnished in p. 72. of the Epigraphist's Report for the Southern Circle, 1906-7) is very useful as it mentions the several taxes and duties realised from a village now made over to a temple, among which are included dues paid to the village watchman, contribution to the military captain, taxes on garden-lands, oil-mills, pay of the royal order-carrier and a number of other payments not familiar to us. Inscription No. 335 of 1921 dated Saka 1337 details also the several sources of revenue in the village, *Kadamai* and *Kudimai*. A record of Sriranga II of Vijayanagara (the Aravīdu Dynasty) registers the undertaking given by the people of the *Nādu* to the official committee of management (*rājakārya bhāṇ-dāra*) that they would allow certain privileges to the three classes of artisans, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters, in accordance with the practice obtaining in the neighbouring regions.

The report contains a good note on Śrīperumbudin, the birth place of Rāmānuja which has become epigraphically important only from the 13th century, as well as a good essay on the typical South Indian temple which served as a powerful centre of social and economic life.

In the annual report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year ending March, 1923 is a note as to how the sculptures on the walls of the Tiruvāttur temple near Arcot, give us a picture of the intense cruelty of the mediæval Śaivites and of the grim side of their religious fanaticism, especially in the matter of Jain persecution. Inscription No. 666 of 1922 found on the entrance to the Varāha cave at Māmallapuram (Seven Pagodas) is dated in the 65th year of Nandipotavarman of the Pallava family. There has also been unearthed a copper plate record of the 61st year of Ko-Vijaya Nandivikramavarman and it is surmised on the basis of the high regnal years in the above records, that Nandipotavarman and Vijaya Nandivikramavarman must be identical with the Ko-Vijaya Nandivikramavarman

III) of the Tandantottam plates and the Tiruvallam rock inscription. The date given in the Māmallapuram (Mahābalipuram) record is the highest known till now; and the Tamil alphabet of the second record closely resembles that of the Tandantottam plates.

We have records, to prove that more than one Pāṇḍya kings ruled together at a time. In the age of these Pāṇḍya and Chola kings (10th to 13th centuries) a large number of *mathas* grew in wealth and popularity; and it became a common feature to attach *mathas* to temples. In numerous cases these *mathas* held control over the affairs of the temples. They were generally very hospitable to pilgrims and maintained teachers for the expounding of the Vedas and the śāstras and for reciting the Purāṇas. These *mathas* provided lodging and boarding to devotees and were "important centres of educational activity and moral and spiritual instruction". (See inscriptions No. 546 of 1922, No 357 of 1916, No 667 of 1916 and No 671 of 1916).

The following will prove to be of some interest to South Indian numismatists. The inscriptions discovered in the year referring to 10 rulers of the Kongu country give us the relative values of *varāhan*, *paṇam*, *acchu* and *kalanju*. For burning one twilight lamp we find ten *varāhan* being provided for in seven of the inscriptions and 10½ *paṇam* in one. There are also nearly ten records which provide one *kalanju* and a quarter for one twilight lamp; while an inscription (No. 581 of 1922) provides 2½ *acchu* for two lamps. Thus taking the amount deposited for one twilight lamp to be more or less constant, "we may tentatively suppose that *kalanju* and *acchu* were almost equal in value and about eight times that of *varāhan-paṇam*".

We come across a poetess of the later Vijayanagara days one of whose verses commemorating the royal gift of *Svarṇa-meru* is inscribed in the Viṭhalasvāmi Temple at Hampi. It is conjectured that this poetess, by name Koduva Tirumalamba is perhaps identical with Tirumalamba, the author of a *Kāvya* (*Varadāmbikū-pariṇayam*) which describes the marriage of Varadāmbā with king Acyuta Rāya or with Mohanāṅgi the daughter of the great Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and the wife of the powerful Rāmarāja. This Koduva Tirumalamba is the second lady of the Vijayanagara ruling families gifted with poetic talents, the first being Gaṅgādevī the wife of Kamparāya II (Kumārakampa) who wrote the *Virakamparāya-caritam*.

An inscription of Acyutarāya of this year, dated Saka 1454, records the installation of the image of the god Yoga-Varada-Nṛsiṃhasvāmin in the courtyard of the Viṭhalasvāmi temple by the

great Mādhva teacher Vyāsātīrtha, the author of several works on Dvaita philosophy ; e. g. *Tātparyacandrikā* ; *Nyāyāmṛta* and *Tarkatāṇḍava*. The fact that the teacher was highly honoured by the Vijayanagara ruler Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya is borne out in the introduction to Vol. VIII of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* ; and a paper was read at the recent Oriental conference held at Madras that Vyāsātīrtha, the disciple and Śrīpāda Rāja his preceptor, were so highly honoured that they were even allowed a brief occupation of the throne itself. From a 16th century work we are told that "at a meeting held at the court of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and presided over by Vyāsayati (Vyāsātīrtha), a mendicant of the Mādhva sect. Vallabhācārya defeated the opponents of the Vaiṣṇava religion." The *saṁādhi* of this teacher is shown in an island in the Tuṅgabhadra river about half a mile to the east of Aneṅondi.

The report closes with a summary of the epigraphical references to the construction and maintenance of village tanks and channels and of the Jain vestiges discovered in Conjeeveram and its neighbourhood.

C. J. SRINIVASACHARI

Recent Discoveries in Sind and the Punjab

The archæological discoveries recently made at Mohen-jo-Daro in Sind by Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji, and at Harappa by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni form an epoch-making event in Indology which has been compared, in its far-reaching importance in extending our knowledge of the history of human culture, with the discovery of the pre-Hellenic culture of Greece by Schliemann at Tiryns and Mycenae, and of the remains of Central Asian civilisation by Stein in the desert of Turkestan. Absence of ancient remains had hitherto made Indian archæology come to an abrupt stop in the 3rd century B.C., which had long remained the upper limit of the historical period of Indian antiquity as illustrated by contemporary objects and documents. Pre-historic antiquities

of the usual type, illustrating the Stone, Copper, and Bronze Ages, were not wanting; but the gap between the rude culture of the pre-historic burial sites and the highly advanced civilization of the Mauryan age was a very serious one. Before 300 B. C. the sole authority, and often a very unsatisfactory authority for the story of civilization in India was the various strata of Indian literature the *Vedas*, *Brūhmaṇas*, and *Upaniṣads*, Buddhist literature in Pāli, and in Gāthā and other dialects, and traditions in Jaina literature. All the fundamental questions of the origin and early history of Indian culture are shrouded in the darkness of an impenetrable mystery, which has left wide scope for guess-work and imagination of all sorts. The discoveries in Sindh and South Punjab, which have disclosed the relics of a high culture in its successive phases from the sub-neolithic dawn to what comparatively is the full light of the day in the 2nd century A. D. have directly increased our vision from centuries to millennia. We have received materials, specially from Mohen-jo-Daro,—remains of buildings and temples, pottery and terracotta, beads and glass-ware, crude porcelain, bronze and iron articles, and what is more, inscribed seals and copper coins and tokens—which solidly demonstrate the existence of a high culture of ancient India, comparable in antiquity and extent with those of Anon and Susa, of Babylon and Crete. There has been the greatest interest among scholars both in India and in Europe in these finds even within the short time that they have been made known. The discoveries were at first announced in small communications to the Indian press in 1923 and 1924, but the public and the scholastic world could not be sufficiently impressed by its importance. In September, 1924, Sir John Marshall, Director of Archaeology in India, formally announced to the scientific world the discoveries, with a well-illustrated note on their importance, in a paper to the *Illustrated London News* (September 20, 1924). There he compared these discoveries with those of Schliemann and Stein. This announcement attracted attention from the proper quarters. Prof. A. H. Sayce wrote to the *Illustrated London News* of Sept. 27, 1924, pointing out striking resemblances between some of Mohen-jo-Daro finds and those of Susa, which he thought indicated a very ancient contact between Indian and Susian cultures; and Messrs C. J. Gadd and Sydney Smith in the *Illustrated London News* of October 4, 1924, demonstrated, by placing pictures of Indian and Babylonian objects side by side, how even more striking were the resemblances of

the Indian objects to the Sumerian ones, and how the characters on the seals, together with the device of the bull which they mostly bear, resembled in a remarkable manner the Babylonian linear characters of 3000-2400 B. C. and the figures of bulls in the Sumerian cylinder seals.*

These papers drew the attention of scholars and the general public in India, and the Mohen-jo-Daro finds now form the most important topic in Indology. The Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa culture, from the burial customs found there, would, according to Mr. R. D. Banerji and others, seem to be non-Aryan, and the older strata of this culture are, according to the same opinion, pre-Aryan. The presence of the Brahuis in Baluchistan lends very considerable support to the view that the people who built up this culture were primitive Dravidians. Mr. Banerji himself is inclined to connect the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa culture with that of Crete rather than with that of Babylon. The position in this connection as well as the Cretan argument has been outlined by me in a paper in the December number of the *Modern Review* of Calcutta. There I have suggested an equation *Tamil-Damil-Dramila-Dravida* and *Termilai-Trmmili* (the national name of the ancient Lycians of Asia Minor who were a people migrating from Crete whence they brought this name which he thinks may be supported from philological and other considerations. Possibly, this equation according to him offers a clue to the origin of the Dravidians, which might be Cretan.

We are waiting for further finds before a definite conclusion can be reached. All discussion of this question is now at the incipient stage. We are glad to hear that the excavations have been taken up seriously at Mohen-jo-Daro, and we are particularly pleased to learn that Sir John Marshall himself is directing the excavations, and Mr. R. D. Banerji, who was for sometime on leave owing to ill-health after his first excavations and was then placed in charge of the Eastern Circle has again gone to Sind to help in the excavations he had inaugurated. We are reading in the papers about further important finds at Mohen-jo-Daro and some other sites in the neighbourhood obtained by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent of Archæology in the Western Circle. The

* One of these seals has been reproduced on the cover of this Quarterly as its device with the kind permission of the Director General of Archæology—Ed.

number of inscribed seals so far discovered, we gather, has come up to several hundreds, showing a large variety of characters which are tantalizing us with their mystery. These characters have a unique resemblance to those of Babylon as Messrs. Gadd and Sydney Smith have shown. Their resemblance to the Cretan hieroglyphics and to the Cretan linear script is no less striking. It seems the whole problem is enclosed in these little inscriptions. Before they are read, nothing can be known. We are eagerly waiting for a Prinsep or possibly for another Champollion or Rawlinson to clear up their mystery and thus to bring in the light that does not exist now. Competent scholars, we may be sure, have already taken the matter in hand, or will take it in hand when sufficient material is published and placed at the disposal of scholars in Europe and America.

The next few months, or the next few years perhaps, it may be confidently said, have thus in store for us the unravelling of one of the most intricate problems in the history of India and in the history of human culture in general.

S. K. CHATTERJEE

The All-India Oriental Conference

(THIRD SESSION)

There can no doubt that the Third Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held last December in Madras, is one of the most important, if somewhat unassuming, gatherings in these days of conferences and congresses. To an outsider, the conference may appear as intended only for "antiquated fossils" and "dry-as-dust bookworms" who, like Browning's Grammarian, apparently waste their lives on things of no practical utility ; but to one who is interested in things other than what is merely "practical" and narrowly utilitarian, it would be surely too late in the day to emphasise the importance of such an all-India conference of orientalists, now that the old Oriental Congress has been discontinued in Europe since the war. As a delegate of an humble Provincial university, the present writer greatly appreciated the opportunity that was thus given of meeting distinguished fellow-workers in

the field of oriental studies ; for such a meeting not only furnishes the much needed contact of mind with mind and enlarges one's outlook, but is often an inspiration to meet scholars hitherto known only by name or from their books.

No one can speak of the Third Session of the Conference without referring at the outset to the deep feeling of sorrow and the sense of irreparable loss to scholarship felt by all at the untimely death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, to whose interest and effort the Conference itself owes so much for its existence and who was to have presided over its deliberations in this very session. A fitting tribute was paid to that great man's memory by H. E. the Governor of Madras who opened the Conference. One could not but notice with regret, however, the absence of any representative from the University of Calcutta, now that Sir Ashutosh is not there to direct its policy.

The Conference sat for three days. It was in the fitness of things, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee pointed out, that one of the early meetings of the Conference should be held in Madras which, apart from Western influences, is one of the great centres of Dravidian culture in the history of Indian civilisation. Dr. Ganganath Jha, who worthily filled the chair occupied on the two former occasions by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. Sylvain Lévi, declared with a modesty befitting that great scholar, that he had no pretensions of delivering a magnificent oration ; but one cannot but admire his wisdom in refraining from a purely academic speech and giving his audience the results of his mature and earnest thinkings on some problems of great practical importance, connected with oriental studies, to which attention could not be more forcibly drawn.

In his Presidential speech he rightly laments the lack of a central organisation for oriental research, and want of public sympathy for it. The ample earnest already given by the Bhandarkar Research Institute at Poona of the work that we may expect from such an organisation fully justifies all that Dr. Jha says on the subject ; and one need only add to this the splendid work done in Bengal by the Varendra Research Society, accidentally overlooked by him. But both these institutions are not sufficiently endowed, and are not centrally situated enough for the proverbially impecunious scholar to take full advantage of them. He suggests that the Universities, of which we have now nearly fifteen in India, should take this question up seriously, as is done in its own way by the Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University. There are indeed great difficulties in the way, but they are not insurmountable. Referring to the question of funds, the President remarks that it need

not discourage any University in this laudable enterprise, for "we do not want any expensive apparatus ; We only want brains, a quiet place to work in, and a few books and manuscripts within our reach—all of which means comparatively little cost but "it does mean organisation.". The most serious handicap, however, is the want of public sympathy in the matter. The Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University, which is cited by the President in support of his proposal, has not so far received that amount of public support and sympathy which is its due ; and this institution would have been killed by now but for the resourceful personality of Sir Asutosh.

The President then made some sound and practical suggestions on the question of the acquisition, preservation, and restoration as well as of utilisation and publication of manuscripts, with which any one who has thought over the subject will entirely agree. He reminded his audience that "this country is subject to such ravages of fire and water that each year we are losing in the shape of manuscripts burnt or washed or crumbled away an amount of treasure which could not be replaced in the future even at the expenditure of millions of rupees ; and the callousness which the public displays towards this would be appalling anywhere else except in this unfortunate country". There has been enough search of manuscripts and cataloguing of them, but the question of acquiring them either by purchase or transcripts has not received as much attention in this country as it deserves. Excellent work has been done in this direction by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and lately by the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library ; but many scholars have learnt with regret the proposal of discontinuing the Government grant to the latter institution. Even a small University like the one to which the present writer has the privilege of belonging has thought it fit to make a grant for starting a collection of manuscripts and has invited public support in this direction.

The President also makes a very wise suggestion of starting under the auspices of the Conference "a Book-bulletin" or register (with a note of prices and publishers) of all oriental publications made from year to year. In his own words, "At present we do not know what works have been printed ; much less do we know what works are in the course of publication ; and we are seriously handicapped by this want of information". The President has not also forgotten to refer to the importance of vernacular research, and has done well in combating the opinion of some people that these researches are on a lower level, requiring inferior attainments and weaker equipment.

He refers in this connexion to the excellent work done by the Nāgarī Pracārīnī Sabhā and by the numerous organisations in South India ; but he might have also referred to the work of the Calcutta University and of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, both of which institutions, besides encouraging a scientific study of the vernaculars, also possess excellent collections of Bengālī manuscripts.

One very important and eloquent feature of the President's address was the appeal made by him for a proper recognition of the indigenous Paṇḍits and Maulavis as occupying an important place in the scheme of oriental study. As early as 1883 Peterson acknowledged obligations to "the accuracy, learning, and energy, so ruthlessly deprecated" of the indigenous scholar ; and what he said more than forty years ago may be repeated even today. The evils of "title-examination," a cheap pass-port to recognition, have already laid the axe at the root of traditional oriental scholarship and its method of specialisation ; but even today scholars of the old type, who may be regarded as the variable store-house of traditional learning, have not altogether disappeared from this country. It is possible that people still realize the value of such scholars ; but they do not realize the danger of their best qualities disappearing under the so-called reforms through which they are now forced. The President, combining in himself, as he does, the virtues of the traditional and the modern methods of scholarship, made a vigorous appeal "not to try to modernise the Paṇḍit and the Maulavi." "If you try to modernise him" he warns "he will disappear. He does not possess perhaps the wide outlook of the modern scholar ; but he more than makes up for that by his depth of learning. His outlook you cannot enlarge, at least, to the extent of benefiting him. Why then make an attempt to deprive him of his distinguishing characteristics,—characteristics by which alone he has in the past commanded respect and whereby he can command respect in the future ?"

We have tried to give in some detail some of the important questions dealt with by the President in his address, because we think that those questions deserve careful consideration by all interested in oriental study. Some of those questions (e.g. the question relating to manuscripts) have, no doubt, been emphasised more than once before, but very few will doubt that they would bear authoritative repetition, over and over again, until more organised attempt is made to solve them.

The second day of the Conference and a part of the third day were taken up with the reading of the papers contributed. In this connexion we have a few remarks to make, which, we hope, will not be misunderstood by our friends in Madras who accorded to us such a cordial

welcome and whose courtesy and kindness we all appreciated. The arrangement for the reading and discussion of these papers was not all that could be desired. The number of papers was more than 150. A volume containing summaries of these papers was indeed distributed among the members on the first day of the Conference ; but the total bulk of the contribution was enormous, and the summaries (which should have been circulated, if at all, much earlier) could never be adequate for a proper discussion of the problems raised in some of them. It must not be forgotten that while a paper can be printed and published* one of the most important features of such conferences should be the discussion, formal or informal, the interchange of thought, the comparison of experiences. Opportunities for such discussion were hardly allowed in the Literary Section at least by an indiscriminate reading of all the papers within the time-limit of ten minutes to each paper. One can understand that to discriminate between important and unimportant papers (from the point of view of scholarship as well as of general or technical interest) presented difficulties ; but these difficulties were not solved by allotting the papers to three or four sections and allowing all papers to be read indiscriminately without any particular order or principle within a fixed time-limit. We understand that this time-limit and this arrangement were not followed in some sections, but in the Literary Section it led to a great deal of confusion and loss of interest. The hall in which this particular section was held was unfortunately too big to make the papers that were read audible even to the listeners on the third row of seats ; and one need not express any surprise that there was no discussion on any paper in this section, nor could one blame those contributors who wisely refrained from reading their papers under such conditions. One, however, must not lose sight of the fact that the number of the papers was somewhat unmanageable : it is, however, an index of the great interest taken in the Conference, which has tempted scholars from all parts of India to make its deliberations imposing and worthy of its name by varied and weighty contributions.

Indeed, one must admit that there was no lack of intellectual ministrations in the conference ; there was also no dearth of recreation and amusement for the diversion of the scholars after their scholarly labours. Much credit is due to the organisers of the Conference for the various entertainments and social functions that were arranged for the

* We understand that the papers will be published by the Conference.

delegates and visitors. Of these, the *vāda* held in the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā, the clever enactment of the *Mṛcchakatika* by the students of the Madras Presidency College, the interesting lantern lecture on Indian Architecture, the musical afternoon devoted to a fine display of skill in South Indian music—not to speak of the “parties” given to the delegates—have been greatly appreciated.

The success of the Third Session of the Conference as well as the experience gathered in the previous sessions has amply justified the hope of all its well-wishers that the Conference has now come to stay. The number of papers contributed, the importance of the subjects dealt with, as well as the fairly large attendance of delegates from all parts of India—all go to strengthen this hope. We learn also from the Secretary that the appeal for support made by its organisers to the provincial governments, the Universities and the learned institutions has been readily responded to by generous contributions. It is also noteworthy that no less than four invitations reached the Conference to hold its next meeting at Allahabad, Benares, Lahore, and Baroda respectively; and although it decided to honour its present President by accepting the invitation of Allahabad, where the Conference will hold its Fourth Session in 1926, I was glad that so much interest has been taken in its activities all over India. It seems that the problem of funds need not worry us, nor need the problem of active support by scholars and interested institutions. The time has, therefore, come to consider seriously the question of putting the Conference on a stable and permanent basis. We are glad to find that the meeting of the delegates has appointed an all-India Committee to consider the question of a permanent constitution of the conference, as well as the advisability of having an organ of the Conference itself consisting of an all-India journal on oriental studies. Let us hope that the discontinuance of the Oriental Congress of Europe and the starting of an Oriental Conference in India will also materially help to bring back for all future time the scientific study of oriental subjects from Europe to India, which should, in the fitness of things, be the most important centre of such studies, as it was in the days of yore.

S. K. DE

The Date of Manik Ganguli's Dharma Mangal

Mānik Rām Gāṅguli is one of the writers on the legends of Dharma (Dharma-maṅgala) in Bengal. According to Dr. Dines Chandra Sen, his book was written in 1547 A. D. (History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 371). I do not know how he got this date. The author himself gives the date of composition as follows :

শাকেরি এক সকে বেদ সমুদ্র দক্ষিণে ।

সিদ্ধ সহ বৃগ দকে যোগ তার সকে ॥

The first line as it stands is meaningless. Its correct reading must be :

শাকের এক সকে বেদ সমুদ্র দক্ষিণে ।

So the first line will give 647 and the second line 844 (I take সিদ্ধ to mean 84, as there are 84 *siddhas*). The total of these i.e. 1491 Śaka era is the date of the composition of the book. This will give 1569 A. D.

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH

Oriental Studies in Japan

Information as to the provision that has been made in the various Universities of Japan for the study of Buddhism, Hindu philosophy, Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, etc., may be interesting to Indian scholars. In the Tokyo Imperial University, Dr. J. Takakusu teaches Sanskrit while Drs. M. Anesaki, T. Kimura, and Nagayee are in charge of Indian religions, Hindu philosophy, and Pāli respectively. In the Imperial University at Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, Prof. R. Sakaki teaches Sanskrit and Pāli, Dr. B. Machumata Hindu philosophy and religion, while U. Theramata Tibetan. In the Otani University the veteran scholar Dr. Nanjio the author of the *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka* was for sometime the Professor of Sanskrit studies. After his retirement his pupil H. Izumi took his place while Prof. C. Akanana conducts studies in Pāli and Buddhism. The well-known author of the 'Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism' Prof. T. Suzuki belongs also to the staff of this University.

Prof. G. Harda is in charge of Sanskrit and Hindu philosophy in the Rykoko University. Indian Buddhism and History are taught there by Prof. R. Hadani. There is also provision for the teaching of these subjects in the Singan-su and Maysingi Universities. In the Sukeo University, Dr. U. Ogihara teaches Sanskrit and Pāli, and Dr. K. Watanabe Hindu philosophy and religion. Prof. Yamakami Sogen, sometime Reader of the Calcutta University and author of the *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, is a lecturer in Sanskrit in the So-da University and Dr. S. Taschibana is the teacher of Pāli there. Further enumeration of names may be tiresome ; suffice it to say, that arrangements for the teaching of the subjects mentioned above exist in the Universities of Toyo, Buzan, Washeda, Ke-o, and Sen-dai. Dr. H. Ui the well-known translator of the *Dabapadārtha* is the teacher of Sanskrit and the Indian philosophy in the University named last. Universities have been recently established in Korea and Pa-ko-oka. Provisions for the study of Indian subjects have also been made in these Universities.

R. KIMURA

REVIEWS

THE SANSKRIT DRAMA IN ITS ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, THEORY, AND PRACTICE. By A. Berriedale Keith, D. C. L., D. Litt. 405. pp. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.

Professor Keith's work is an excellent presentation of the origin and development of Sanskrit Drama within the limits set by the author for himself. It collects all materials, new and old, bearing on the subject, and sifts them with great ability, retaining what is important and rejecting what is valueless. It re-arranges the available data and re-thinks the entire subject. There is no doubt that it thus stands out as the safest guide on the subject. It is written in a lucid style which would make it acceptable to the layman and the scholar alike.

The first part of the work dealing with the question of origin has been written with great circumspection. The theme is highly controversial, and though one may not see eye to eye with Dr. Keith in all he says regarding the origin of the Sanskrit Drama, his searching examination of all earlier theories (especially those of Schroeder, Hertel, Hillebrandt, and Ridgeway) is very illuminating.

Another interesting feature of the book is the consideration of the style and technique of the individual dramatists, left out by Lévi in his works but one wishes that the author had more space to devote to it, as it certainly has a wider literary appeal.

There are a few points to which the author's attention may be drawn :

The derivation of modern Bhāṭ from the term Bhārata (though it has the sanction of Lévi) is extremely far-fetched. The Bhāṭs, especially in Bengal, are not all reciters. The more obvious derivation would be that it is a Prākṛt form of Bhaṭṭa.

One finds it hard to agree with Dr. Keith in his remark that the *Mychakatika* is in no sense a transcript from life, but an elaborate literary drama based on the Bhāsa-prototype. It may be that the attempt of those who find in it an *actual* reflection of contemporary political events is misdirected, but it would be absurd to deny reality to the dramatic fulness of life which the work displays by presuming it to be a mere literary copy of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*.

I beg to point out the following slips and misprints in the book :—

p. 19 'Satyrize's' should be corrected ; p. 22, l. 29 Some word like 'of' before 'its existence' is wanted by the sense of the passage ; p. 35, f. n. 1, l. 1 Supply 'in' before 'Mbh'. ; p. 50, f. n. 2 is not marked in the text ; p. 52. f. n. 1 Should not TD be ID ? p. 212, sec. 4, l. 4 Read Kānyakubja ; The passage "tradition preserved in the Tagore family" is not clear ; p. 232, f. n. 3 Was the ed. of *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* of 1884 published in Calcutta, or in Benares ? p. 262 This sentence is defective—"The court chaplin (chaplin ?) enters with his pupil, and are (?) attracted to the damsel".

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ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KṢATRIYA TRIBES, vol. I. By Dr. B. C. Law, M. A., B. L., Ph. D. 166 pp. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 12. THACKER, SPINK & CO. 1924.

Dr. Law has laid the students of ancient Indian History under deep obligations by his interesting studies on the Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India. The historians of ancient India generally regard the sixth century B.C. as the line of demarcation between historical and pre-historical period, but already signs are not wanting that the line is to be pushed back to a considerable degree. Mr. Pargiter was the first scholar to draw the attention of the learned world in this direction and among the small band of workers who has followed in his footsteps Dr. Law occupies a distinct position. In the volume under review he has collected together data from various sources about the Kurus, the Pañcālas, the Matsyas, the Śūrasenas, the Cedis, the Vatsas (whom the author regards as identical with the Vedic Vasas), the Avantis and the Uśīnaras. For this purpose he has laid under contribution both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist literature and his references are fairly exhaustive. The author has also referred to the coins and inscriptions, but it is obvious that he did not intend to treat them fully. He should have been well advised to omit the later history of the Cedis and Pañcālās altogether, for they require more detailed treatment which is incompatible with his plan of the work.

A short paragraph on Kokalladeva and an equally brief treatment of the 'Metra' coins of Pañcāla are apt to mislead the reader. For real value of the book lies in its treatment of the literary data and

the author has done a great service by bringing them together. The time for writing a connected history of the ancient Kṣatriya tribes has not yet come but the groundwork has been well laid and we hope the main structure will be raised upon it at no distant date. We hope Dr. Law will continue his researches in the same direction and help to bridge over the gulf that at present separates the early period of Indian history from what we may call the beginnings of historical period.

R. C. MAJUMDER

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS, vol. II.
By S. K. DE, M.A., D. Litt. 430 pp. Luzac & Co. 1925.

Dr. SUSHIL KUMAR DE has already become well-known in the field of research by the publication of the first volume of his 'History of Sanskrit Poetics'. The second volume maintains the standard of the first by its thoroughness of exposition of the subject. He has indeed done great service to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature by bringing out this volume.

In the first volume, he indicated the original sources of the *Alaṅkāra-śāstrā* and settled the chronology of most of the exponents of this branch of Sanskrit literature. In the present work he has traced the development of Sanskrit Poetics very critically, and given an account of the various systems and theories connected with the Sanskrit rhetorical doctrines. The book is divided into nine chapters, each of which is sub-divided into a number of sections. After giving an outline of Sanskrit poetics as it existed in the earliest known period of its history, the author has dealt with its different systems such as *alaṅkāra*, *riti*, *rasa* and *dhvani*, and has indicated when possible the way in which they have originated and developed, tracing at the same time the history of the formulation of the theories. Various schools of poetics have been distinguished and their influence upon one another has been determined. With a full mastery over the abstruse technique of the subject, Dr. De has been able to collect every detail relating to the topics like *vyākṣanā*, *lakṣaṇā*, *vṛtti*, *sphota*, etc. and to explain very clearly the terms belonging to dramaturgy and poetics proper. The last chapter is devoted to the writers of *kāvī-bhīkṣās* or manuals for the guidance of those who wish to compose poems or dramas. The book will be very welcome to the students of Sanskrit literature not only for its clear exposition of the difficult subject but also for the laborious

way in which he has drawn materials from a large number of published works and manuscripts for the treatment of the theme.

D. M. BHATTACHARYYA

THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA. By Prof. J. N. Samaddar, B. A., with a Foreword by Dr. A. B. Keith. 141 pp. Patna University.

The author has taken much pains in putting together in the book almost all the information at present available regarding the social, political and religious history of Magadha. The country of Magadha occupied from very early times an important position as an emporium of trade and as a centre of non-brāhmanic religions in India. In the first lecture, the author has given a running account of the great events that took place in Magadha up to the 12th century A. C. and constitute its glories. He has in his second lecture delineated the history of Rājagṛha and Pāṭaliputra, the two capitals of Magadha, and has discussed the claim of Vaiśālī to be counted as its capital. In the last two lectures, he has presented a picture of the two great Buddhist universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā and has fully utilized the information furnished by Tārānāth, the Chinese travellers and the archæological discoveries. His third and fourth lectures, devoted to the study of Asokan edicts with an estimate of their social, political, and religious importance, contain discussions which though useful should have been given a place elsewhere. His analysis of the causes of the decline of Buddhism does not appear to be sound. However, monographs like this have a value of their own inasmuch as they enable the reader to have all the available information on a subject in a handy form. The typographical errors are too many and there should not have been so many omissions in the use of diacritical marks.

KACCĀYANA

HISTORY OF KERALA, vol. I, by K. P. Padmanabha Menon. 569 pp. Ernakulam, Cochin State.

The book under review was rightly intended, as appears from the author's will quoted in the editor's Foreword, to be published as notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar. Rev. Jacobus Canter Visscher addressed these Letters to his friends at home during 1717-1723, in the form of memoirs, full of observations upon the manners and customs of the people, their laws, rites and ceremonies, the description of their kingdoms and other allied subjects. An annotated edition of these precious memoirs like the one in hand was

badly needed. None can claim to be more competent than the late Mr. Padmanabha Menon to fulfil this immensely useful task. His notes speak eloquently of his wide range of information and study and no less of his power to reduce the varied material into some sort of historical method and coherence. But the result obtained is substantially an annal or a gazetteer rather than a book of history. Even as such, it cannot fail to be attractive to a serious historian of India who can set to work only when publications of this kind have sufficiently helped him to clear up his ground. The notes, as they appear, abound in quotations, and this is to be regretted as the most disappointing feature of an important work. But there is no denying of the fact that these enable the reader to portray to himself various shifting scenes of historical events with a racial, socio-economic and political background which went to make the people of Kerala or Malabar what they became. The corrected bequest from the author stands as a lasting memorial to his fame as a compilation of all invaluable information from traditional and authentic sources.

B. M. BARUA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1923-24

- J. J. MODI.—The social life of the ancient Iranians as preserved by the Avesta. (Description, under the first of three stated headings, of the principal parts of an Iranian house—the domesticated animals, furniture, metals).
- GOPI NATH KAVIRAJ.—The doctrine of *pratibhā* in Indian philosophy. (In continuation of the article in the preceding number, traces the plan of this doctrine in the Āgamas, the Vedānta, the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, Buddhism, Jainism, the Itihāsa, the Purāṇa and the prose literature and ends with a resumé and retrospect).
- S. K. BELVALKAR.—Māṭhara Vṛtti. (Defends, with an elaborate array of quotations against Prof. A. B. Keith's criticism, the writer's contention that the Māṭhara-Vṛtti was the original of Paramārtha's Chinese translation).
- R. DISKALKAR.—A new inscription of Aparāditya (V. S. 1176). An incomplete inscription in the Rajkot Museum.

Bulletin of the French School of the Far East (Fr.), 1923

A. Foucher.—The Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, vol. II, fasc. 2, Paris 1922. Reviewed by V. Gouloubev. (A most valuable criticism throwing light upon the history of Indian art in the early centuries of the Christian era. *Principal contents.* Abandoning the chronological scheme of his first volume (1905), Foucher now seeks to trace back the epoch of efflorescence of the Gandhāra School to the first century B. C. so as to make it coincide with the Hellenistic (instead of the Graeco-Roman) epoch of Mediterranean art. This would reduce almost to a minimum the influence exercised by the Kuṣānas upon the Gandhāra School and the part played by the Mathurā School in the evolution of the earliest images of Buddha, while tending to establish the closest links with the "Hellenistic epoch of Indian history". The evidence, however, for such a radical transformation of the existing chronology is not sufficient. As to the important question relating to the date and place of creation of the earliest images of Buddha, it has to be observed that the Mathurā school which undoubtedly goes back to the times of early Kuṣānas does not show any trace of Hellenic influence, even by way of suggestion (as Foucher

supposes). One of the images of this school, the figure of Buddha-Bodhisattva at Kātrā, is probably the original of all the images of the Blessed One. In later times the artists of Mathurā borrowed some art elements from the Gandhāra school just as the latter borrowed from the former. The subsequent history of Indian art does not (as Foucher thinks) involve a mechanical copy of Indo-Greek models but is rather a conscious return to the deep-seated ancient ideals. (Summarised by Dr. U. N. Ghosal).

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. III, part III

SUSHIL KUMAR DE.—The Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā in Classical Sanskrit. In this paper Dr. De distinguishes some well-defined stages in the growth of the Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā in Classical Sanskrit.

L. D. BARNETT.—Abhāsa-Bhāsa. Dr. Barnett is of opinion that the anonymous Trivandrum plays are *not* by Bhāsa and that none of the plays are earlier than the period of Kālidāsa i. e., the early fifth century.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—The Māthara Vṛtti. Professor Keith finds no evidence proving that the Chinese translation of Paramārtha was derived from the newly discovered commentary on the Sāṅkhyakārikā (Māthara-vṛtti) as suggested by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar. He concludes that the *Māthara-vṛtti*, Gauḍapāda's work, and the translation of Paramārtha all date back to an original commentary which is faithfully preserved in none of them.

Indian Antiquary, January 1925

A. S. RAMANATH AYYAR.—Cheramāṇ-Perumāl-Nāyanār. In this paper Cheramāṇ-Perumāl-Nāyanār, a Śaiva saint mentioned in the Tamil hagiology, has been identified with king Rājasekhara of Talamana-illam copper-plate, his date being ascribed to the first quarter of the ninth century A. D.

A. M. HOCART.—The Cousin in the Vedic Ritual. It has been suggested here that the word *bhrātṛvya* in the Vedic literature should be taken in the sense of *Mother's brother's son*.

ANANT SADASI ALLEKAR.—Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad.

Ibid., March 1925

RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL.—Spurious Ghotia Plates of Pṛthvideva
II. The inscription purports to record the grant of a village to one

Gopāla Śarmā. The Haihaya king Pr̥thvideva II is mentioned as the donor. But in the opinion of the Rai Bahadur it is a forgery committed a hundred years after Pr̥thvideva's time. The date of the grant has been put back by 300 years, a time anterior to the advent of the Haihayas in the place mentioned in the inscription.

Journal Asiatique, July-Sept. 1924.

- J. PRZYLUSKI.—The Prologue-framework of the Thousand and One Nights and the theme of the Svayaṃvara; a contribution to the history of Indian tales (Fr.). (Complement, from the standpoint of folklore, of a series of studies published by the same author in the *Memoirs and Bulletin of the Linguistic Society (Fr.)*, showing the Austro-Asiatic origin of a portion of the Indo-Aryan vocabulary).
- A. FOUCHER.—The Buddhist Antiquities of Haibāk in Afghan Turkestan. (Traces the remains of a Buddhist foundation consisting of a *Stūpa* and a *Saṅghārāma*, the base comprising chapels, a dormitory, a chapter-hall serving also as a refectory, and town-halls).
- MISCELLANIES.—J. Przyluski.—Brahmā Sahāmpati.
- OBITUARY.—Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee by Sylvain Lévi.

Journal of the American Oriental Society,

vol. 44, No. 3, September, 1924

- MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.—On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction.
- E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—Priestly Penance and Legal Penalty. The writer says that criminal law has developed from two entirely different sources, one that of the king with his *danḍa* and *dama* (corporal punishment and fine), the other of the priests, who made their own rules, and prescribed expiations for offences.
- LEROY CARR BARRET.—The Kashmirian Atharvaveda, Bk. II.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

vol. XIX, 1923, No. 10

- K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.—An Essay on the History of Newar Culture. It deals with the social organisation of the Newars.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. X, Part III, 1924

- K. P. JAYASWAL.—Brāhmī Seals Newly Discovered at Patna. Six Seals of which four are of glass, one of stone, and another of clay, have been described. They probably belong to a time between the 3rd and the 2nd century B. C.
- RAI SAHIB MANORANJAN GHOSH.—The Use of Glass in Ancient India. Against the belief that glass was introduced in India by foreigners it has been proved that glass manufacture was well-known in ancient India from a very early time.
- K. P. JAYASWAL and A. BANERJI ŚĀSTRĪ.—Lassen's History of Indian Commerce (transl.)
- VINAYATOSA BHATTACHARYYA and G. K. SHRIGON DEKAR.—Sanskrit Works on Elephants. Interesting details about elephants collected from Pālakāpya's *Hastyaśāstra*, Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, and works like *Gajānirūpaṇa*, *Mātāṅgalī*, and *Gajacikitsā*.
5. KALIPADA MITRA.—Nibbānam. Expositions of the term as found in various Pāli passages have been collected in this paper. The author does not favour any particular view saying that as Buddha left it *avyakta*, no attempt to lift the veil should be made.

Journal of Indian History, September, 1925

- JARL CHARPENTIER.—Supplementary notices on the discovery of the Vedas (in Europe).
- J HOLLAND ROSE.—The influence of sea-power on Indian history of the period from the capture of Madras by the French to the Peace of Amiens, to show that sea-power exercised the decisive influence in the struggle for supremacy.
- R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.—The Kanungo. Some aspects of his office in Bengal during the early days of the Company. (Shows how the Kanungos succeeded in keeping as a hereditary corporation the monopoly of information about revenue matters as late as 1787).
- REV. H. HERAS.—The story of Akbar's Christian wife. (Proves the falsity of this story by reference to the contemporary authorities).
- RADHAKUMUD MOOKHERJĪ.—Indian Administration in the age of the Guptas (300-700 A. D.). A survey based purely upon inscriptions of the period.
- HARIHAR DAS.—The embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzib.

CORRESPONDENCE.—By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in defence of his 'Some contributions of South India to Indian culture' against Dr. Barnett's criticism.

Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1920-23

DR. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.—"What has Buddhism derived from Christianity" written on 22. 2. 1877. The writer points out in this article that Buddhism and Christianity developed on entirely parallel lines though one was independent of the other, and suggests a few reasons for such resemblances. He classifies and details the resemblances between the two religions under the following three heads—(1) Those between the Gospels and the Buddhist accounts of the life of Gotama, (2) those between the Christian and the Buddhist monastic systems and public worship, and (3) those between the Christian and the Buddhist moral teachings.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1925

R. D. BANERJI.—Nahāpana and the Saka era. By comparing the Junagaḍh inscription of Rudradāman with the Nāsik inscriptions of the time of Nahāpana the writer has shown that Nahāpana and Rudradāman could not have lived in the same century.

SIDDESHWAR VARMA SĀSTRĪ.—Analysis of 'Meaning' in Indian Philosophy of Language.

Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. XI.

M. LOUIS FINOT.—The Legend of Buddhaghōṣa.

KOKILESHWAR SHASTRI.—Place of Ethics and Religion in the Śaṅkara System.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.—The Viṣṇudharmottaram.

R. KIMURA.—An Historical Study of the Terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

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Northern Buddhism

II

Before I give a connected history of Northern Buddhism it is necessary to speak something about the Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal on which that is to be based. The mss. brought by Hodgson were thus distributed : "85 bundles comprising 144 separate works were presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; 85 to the Royal Asiatic Society of London ; 30 to the India Office Library ; 7 to the Bodleian Library, Oxford ; 174 to the Société Asiatique and M. Burnouf. The last two collections have since been deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale of France".

Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra says that Hodgson was not only the discoverer of these most ancient and authentic records, but also the first intelligent exponent of their nature and value both in their ritualistic and in their philosophical aspects, "and his notices served more to excite than to allay curiosity in regard to them". Very few of them, almost a negligible quantity, are non-Buddhistic. Prof. Bendall's Catalogue of the Wright collection in Cambridge contains about 172 separate works. My collection in the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains 125 separate Buddhist works. In all, there would be about 700 mss. There are about 250 Buddhist works available to

work upon, making allowance for all duplicates, triplicates and multiplicates of works and fragments.

The most important and earliest of them is the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, the Vinaya or disciplinary work of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the schismatics of the second Buddhist council in the second century of the Nirvāṇa era or in the fourth century B. C. This is the only work of the Mahāsaṅghikas that has come down to us or has yet been discovered. Its importance cannot therefore be over-rated. M. Senart has published an edition of the work with notes in French. The amazing piece of information given at the outset is that the Mahāsaṅghikas were all Lokottaravādins that, is they considered Buddha to be supermundane. Reading through the book, I find that everything in the life of Buddha is supermundane. His descent from heaven, his entrance into the womb of Māyā, his birth from her right side, his seven steps at birth, his movements, his eating, lying, sitting were all supermundane. He received no education, yet when challenged, he wrestled, he threw arrows, he fought, he jumped, with supermundane power and throughout the book the author or the compiler has maintained the supermundane character of Buddha. The opponents consider Buddha as a gifted human being but the schismatics thought he was not earthly.

Every one who reads the Pāli works knows that the schism arose from a difference on ten points, all minor points of discipline, and he wonders how such trivial things can produce such an abiding separation. The supermundane character given to Buddha by the schismatics invests the separation with greater importance. The difference of opinion was radical and far-reaching as the subsequent developments will show. Later on Buddha loses his human character altogether and becomes *Upāya*, means of salvation, and later still, there arise many hypothetical Buddhas or Dhyāni Buddhas identified with the universe both in its physical and spiritual aspects. The southern Buddhists are concerned with

Śākyamuni, the Sarvārthasiddha, the son of Śuddhodana and Māyā, belonging to the solar race and to the Gotamagotra ; but the Northern Buddhists speak of him as Sarvajña, omniscient. The lexicographer Amarasimha in the fifth century A. D. speaks of two Buddhas, one Supreme Intelligence, and the other a human being. The Supreme Intelligence is placed first and has more names than the other. In the supplement to the *Amarakoṣa* written in the latest period of Buddhism in India, the supermundane Buddha has many more names than the human Buddha.

This is one aspect of N. Buddhism ; the other aspects are also patent at the first reading of the *Mahāvastu*, which speaks of hundreds of Buddhas previous to this Buddha. The S. Buddhism knows only three, then eight, and last of all, 24, not to be behind the Jainas who have 24 Tirthankaras including Mahāvīra, a contemporary of Śākyamuni. The S. Buddhism has 550 Jātaka stories. But the Northern has only a few and those few gradually dwindled into nothing. The Jātakas were substituted by Avadānas or glorious achievements not only of Buddha but of all great personages of the Buddhist faith. The Northern seems to have an aversion to the Jātakas.

In the matter of doctrine, too, there was a great difference between the two sections. The highest aim of the Southern was arahatship to be free from the bondage of birth, death and old age. The arahats cannot save others. They, however, can save themselves. It is Buddha only who can save others. The arahats can, however, prepare others for salvation but the latter will have to wait till a Buddha appears in the world after an uncertain and indefinitely long period. But the *Mahāvastu* preaches that any one who has attained salvation can save others "tīrṇo tarayeyam, mukto mocayeyam". The ideas of time and space of the N. and S. Buddhists are very different. The Southern is more circumscribed while the Northern attempts to grasp infinity as far as human limitation will allow. The S. deals with the life of Śākyamuni only, but the N. with many of the past Buddhas who foretold that

Śākyamuni would attain Buddhahood at Kapilavāstu and in one place the N. have gone so far as to speak of hundreds of Śākyamunis of Kapilavāstu. No emphasis is laid on the Śikṣā-padas or disciplinary vows in the N. but these are not altogether suppressed as in later times. But the S. is full of these vows even now. So the difference was not on 10 minor points of discipline but on fundamental conceptions and what are these ten points ? To us they appear to be absolutely trivial. Some monks wanted to store a bit of salt in a horn and objection was taken to such storage. The monks were allowed to take only liquids in the afternoon. Some people wanted to mix water with curd and drink it before churning. That was objected to and so on to the number of ten. This appears to be more trivial when it is considered that Buddha on his deathbed advised monks to attach smaller importance to minor points of discipline after his death.

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī and their relations the Vajjis were a spirited race who had recently given up their nomadic habits and were impatient of control. They wanted to widen the outlook of Buddhism and they succeeded.

When I am speaking of the earliest work of the schism, the *Mahāvastu*, I cannot leave it without saying a word about its chronology and its language. The prevailing opinion is that it is written in a mixed language into which Sanskrit and Prakṛt idioms equally enter and that it is an artificial language. But I think this was the spoken language of N. India which purged by the rules of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali became the standard language of the brāhmaṇas of N. India. The *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* distinctly says that when that work was written about the second century B. C., there were in India seven languages, and that each had two forms the Saṃskṛta and the Prakṛta, i.e., pure or grammatical and the ordinary, and the seven languages were all geographical. The *Mahāvastu* is written in the ungrammatical form of the language prevailing in Kōśala and Vajji countries. It is neither an artificial language nor Vernacularized Sanskrit nor Sanskrit-

ised Vernacular. The work is written in prose but every prose piece is supported by a versified piece which looks like the authority on which the prose narration is based. There is a slight variation in their language, as there must be, between prose and verse. The prose is homely and the verse is a little dignified. There are other books also written in this language. The *Lalitavistara*, I suppose, was at one time written entirely in this language but at present the prose has become Sanskrit of a sort and the poetry has retained the old language. The *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, as we have it, is written in the style of prose in Sanskrit and poetry in this identical language. But the palm-leaves that have been dug out from the Taklamakan desert contain an old version of the work in which both the prose and the verse are in this language. There is another work of which I have recently got a copy which is all in verse in this language but which appears to be more modern. The short dedicatory inscriptions in Sāñci, Barhāt, Mathura and other places are also in this language. It seems to have been the prevailing language of the N. Buddhists in the centuries following the schism.

So far for the language of the *Mahāvastu* ; and the time for its composition or compilation is, I think, the second and third centuries of the Nirvāṇa era, namely, the third and second centuries B. C. Some scholars think that it was composed or compiled in the 3rd century A. D. because it contains the word *Yogācāra* and the *Yogācāra* sect was founded in that century. The word *Yogācāra* in the *Mahāvastu* is not used in the sense of a sect ; there it has the ordinary meaning of *Yoga* and *ācāra* and it is not in the nature of things that the vigorous sect which defied the majority of the elders should wait six centuries to write their sacred books. I think the work was written or the works were compiled in the course of the very first or second century of its existence. There would be no meaning in their composition or compilation six hundred years after, when it is well-

known again that the Mahāsaṅghikas within one, or one and half a century was split up into six different sects.

So the *Mahāvastu* is a great discovery as the earliest work of N. Buddhism and as being written in the vernacular of the time when Sanskrit grammarians were trying to purify the language by strict rules, Pāṇini in the late fifth, Kātyāyana in the fourth, Vyāḍi in the third and Patañjali in the second century B. C.

The third century of the Nirvāṇa era and the early part of the fourth were the most flourishing time of Buddhism. Aśoka encouraged Buddhism and some of his successors did the same. Big monasteries were founded, the places of pilgrimage visited, grants were made to Buddhist congregations, missions were sent to surrounding countries and assemblies held to fix the canons. But all that was good for S. Buddhism of one sect only. The strict rules framed for schismatics does not speak of great favour being shown to the people of N. Buddhism. But one thing is sure : Asoka was not in favour of persecution except when his Imperialist policy required that class privileges should be cut down.

A book, non-canonical, of course, was written by the President of the Aśoka Council held in the 17th year of his reign, detailing the points in controversy among the Buddhists from the point of view of the most favoured sect, namely, the Vibhajjavādins, an offshoot of the Theravādins. That book enunciates 20 different sects among the Buddhists, 12 among the Theravadins, 6 among the Mahāsaṅghikas and two local. But it is a well-known fact that in the council of the 17th year of Aśoka the N. Buddhists were not invited and they consequently took no part and ignored its existence. But their opinions were controverted by the President Tissa Moggaliputta in their absence in the now famous work, the *Kathāvatthu* or the points of controversy. So between the Vaiśālī split and the Aśoka council there were further and further splits among the Buddhists.

In the middle of the fourth century of the Nirvāṇa era

disaster fell on all Buddhists. Aśoka prohibited the killing of animals for sacrificial purposes all over his empire, took away the cherished privileges of brāhmaṇas to suit his Imperial policy, appointed the best men in his services irrespective of caste, colour and creed. This gave offence to the brāhmaṇas, and they in the middle of the fourth century of the Nirvāṇa era destroyed the Maurya Empire and raised a Sāmavedī brāhmaṇa of the Śuṅga gotra to the throne of Magadha. The Sāmavedins were the priests of the Soma sacrifice in which many animals were killed and these were incensed at the prohibition of killing animals and they now took their vengeance by performing a Horse sacrifice in the very capital, perhaps in the very palace of Aśoka from which the edict of prohibition was promulgated. This was not all. Puṣyamitra the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty was a great persecutor of the Buddhists, he massacred the monks, destroyed their vihāras, and banished the turbulent spirits. The Buddhists fled to all parts of India, the Theravādins towards the South and the N. Buddhists towards the N. West. The brāhmaṇas remained dominant in eastern and central India for three centuries and consolidated their power within the empire. They codified their law, they gave the last finish to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and to their linguistic survey and organised the caste-system and the modern system of Hindu worship. But beyond the empire their influence was on the wane, and their empire dwindled and dwindled till the whole fabric fell before the invading hords from the North, West, and South. Beyond the brāhmaṇa empire the Buddhists had peace and shelter but after nearly two centuries of disorganisation. They, however, kept up the form of a spiritual government. Saṅghatheras were appointed in regular succession and the show of a government was kept up. The *Milinda Pañho* a dialogue between king Menander and Nāgasena shows that beyond the brāhmaṇa empire among the foreign invaders the Buddhists enjoyed more respect than in their home provinces.



Now to what sect did Nāgasena belong? The book as now extant is in Pāli and found in the South. But the editor tells us that the work had a Sanskrit original and that it most probably belonged to N. Buddhism.

The Śātakarnis were brāhmaṇas and the Śaka kings Nāhavāna and his son-in-law Usavadāta were pro-brāhmaṇas. But they, to a certain extent, encouraged the Buddhists also. There are inscriptions in which they granted lands and privileges to Buddhists also. The dedication of stūpas and sculptures of the Buddhists and Jainas continued through their sway. But we hear very little of the Buddhists in Magadha and Central India. In the sixth century of the Nirvāṇa era, however, the Northern Buddhists made a great headway in the Punjab. The coins and inscriptions of the Parthians, Greeks, Yuechi and Kuṣānas show traces of Buddhism in them and they seem to have converted the Kuṣāna emperor, Kanīṣka to their faith. His conversion was a great triumph to the Buddhists. For he was the supreme ruler of all the countries from Vindhya to the Altai mountains and during his reign they had access to Central Asia where they planted their faith and remained dominant for several centuries, carrying Indian civilization to the Tokharas and Turks. In Central Asia they first made their acquaintance with the Chinese and gradually converted nearly the whole of the Celestial Empire to their faith. But that is another story.

But before giving an account of Buddhism in Kanīṣka's time it is necessary to speak of Buddhism or Buddhist works supposed to have been written before his time. These are *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Śrīghana sūtra*. Of these the *Laṅkāvatāra* is well-known. Buddha Śākyamuni preached to Rāvaṇa at Laṅkā. He solved the doubts of his hearers on such questions as from what principle of human nature ratiocination had its origin? How can agreements be made pure? How to detect fallacies? What are fallacies? Where did the emancipated go? How can one in bondage be

emancipated ? What is Nirvāṇa ? How do Arahats and Tathāgatas hold to meditation of Bodhisattvas ? Whether the Tathāgata is eternal and so on. The questions are on Logic and Philosophy. I take them from Rajendra Lal's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*. The late lamented Harinath De published a pamphlet in which 20 different systems of thought were culled out from the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The Nepalese call it a Mahāyāna Sūtra but Suzuki in his notes on the *Awakening of Faith* characterises it as pre-Mahāyāna or at least pre-Nāgārjuna. So is Gaṇḍavyūha. It is called Ghanavyūha in Chinese which the Nepalese call Mahāyāna but Suzuki pre-Nāgārjuna. It has been described by Raja R. L. Mitra.

Yuan Chwang tells us that Kaniṣka held a Council in Kāśmīra in which all the N. Buddhists were invited. The S. Buddhists were *nonest* there. There were five hundred monks, they settled the canon of N. Buddhism and made a commentary entitled *Vibhāṣā* which they inscribed in copper plates and kept the inscriptions under a huge stūpa close to the place of the Assembly. I am disposed to think that the Vaibhāṣika sect took their cue from the Vibhāṣā. But no information on this subject have come from Indian sources. All information is buried in Chinese translations. So it seems that there is no information about the Council held during the reign of emperor Kaniṣka except what is given by Yuan Chwang. But we know from Chinese sources that Kaniṣka had three eminent Indians at his Court, one is Māthara, the well-known commentator of Sāṃkhya Kārikās, one Caraka, the redactor of an ancient medical work by Atri and Agniveśa and the other was Aśvaghōṣa, Kaniṣka's spiritual Guru. He was born at Sāketa in Oudh, his mother's name was Suvarnākṣī. He was a *Uhadanta*, he was a philosopher, a poet, a musician and a great preacher. His voice was so loud that he was called Aśvaghōṣa (or neighing like a horse). Suzuki calls him a Mahāyānist and has translated his philosophical work, Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda Sūtra, or awakening of faith in Mahāyāna. But Mahāyāna was not yet. It came two

generations after Aśvaghōṣa. The *Awakening* is a wonderful work. Its original has not been yet found. Suzuki translated the Chinese translation, which treats of all the great problems of Mahāyāna. But there is nothing of Mahāyāna in Aśvaghōṣa's great epics. The Buddhacarita has been edited from very inferior materials by the late E. B. Cowell who was for some years the Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Better materials are now available as I have shown in one of my papers in the *JASB*. But Cowell had done another thing. The Sanskrit Buddhacarita is only half the work, the other half is yet unavailable. But Cowell has translated the Chinese translation of Buddhacarita also which is complete in 28 cantos. His other epic the Saundarānanda was discovered by me and has been edited by me from old and good materials. Both are epics of great merit written in Classical Sanskrit in which the majority of Buddhist works are written. The Buddhacarita deals with the epic life of Buddha and the Saundarānanda with that of his step-brother Nanda. The doctrines are those of N. Buddhism and not yet of Mahāyāna. Buddha speaks to Nanda "You have done your duty, you are emancipated, now go and preach and save others", exactly what the Mahāvastu speaks of. It is not S. Buddhism for no emphasis is laid on discipline and the regulation of conduct. The poetry of both these works is of a very high order. The characters are distinct and very well-drawn. The images, the descriptions and the similes are all that can be desired. Subsequent Sanskrit poets even Kālidāsa is indebted to Aśvaghōṣa for many of his most admired similes. But I need not expatiate on them here as I have done so in the preface to my edition of the Saundarānanda.

It is said that emperor Kaniṣka invested Pataliputra. The king was not prepared to defend his capital and sued for peace but Kaniṣka demanded nine crores of rupees which the king had not. It was afterwards settled that the king should send Aśvaghōṣa to Kaniṣka and the Emperor would value him at three crores of rupees. Buddha's alms-bowl was valued at three crores of rupees and some other relic at the same

price. From this it will be seen how greatly Aśvaghoṣa was appreciated by his contemporaries. Aśvaghoṣa seems to have been originally a brāhmaṇa. His knowledge of the Vedas and the brāhmaṇic law is deep and profound. He distinctly lays down that Buddha's religion was an outcome of the Sāṃkhya doctrines of Kapila. Sāṃkhya's aim was to become Kevala or absolute but Buddha saw that no entity can be absolute and unconditioned, and he so modified Kapila's doctrine as to destroy the entity of the soul. But I have spoken of Aśvaghoṣa and Kaṇiṣka at greater length than I proposed. I must now proceed to more important developments of Northern Buddhism.

The geographical distribution of N. and S. Buddhism was not carefully kept. There were S. Buddhist in the North and N. Buddhist in the South. The *Laṅkāvatāra* is an instance to the point. The scene was placed at Laṅkā to make it very prominent. Rāvaṇa is made one of the interlocutors. Yet the work belongs to Northern Buddhism. The scenes in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* are laid in the South but it is Northern Buddhism. The Nepalese call it even Mahāyāna. But two of the greatest figures in N. Buddhism came from the South. These are Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. One is the father of Mahāyāna and the other his disciple. Nāgārjuna is said to have been the friend of one of the Śātakarṇis, and Āryadeva hails from Kāñci. Nāgārjuna preached the Śūnyavāda which was the essence of the Mahāyāna School.

Nāgārjuna is regarded at least as the St. Paul if not as the Christ of Mahāyāna. He is said to have drawn out from the nether world a new Buddhist scripture in Sanskrit called the *Prajñāpāramitā*. There is a misapprehension among the learned men as regards *Prajñāpāramitā*. There are several recensions of this work from *Svalpākṣarā* or in a few words to one of 150 ślokas, one of 700 ślokas, one of 1500 ślokas, one of 8000 ślokas, one of 10000 ślokas, one of 25000 ślokas, one of 100,000 ślokas and some say one of 125,000 ślokas. Some think that the original work was of 100000 ślokas and the rest are

abridgements. But my information is otherwise. The earliest recension is that of 10000 ślokas as I learn from the Chinese sources. But it is very nearly identical with the 8000 divided into 32 parivarttas. Shortly after the time of Nāgārjuna one Maitreya-nātha wrote a work in mnemonic verses called *Kārikās* in Sanskrit divided in eight chapters entitled *Abhisamayālaṅkāra Kārikās* which laid the foundation of the *Yogācāra* School and the *Prajñāpāramitā* of the 8000 ślokas was modified and enlarged according to these *Kārikās* into a recension of 25000 divided into eight chapters according to the *Kārikās*. The *Śatasāhasrikā* is still later. In Chinese the 25000 was translated first of all, then the 8000 and then the 100000 which was translated by Yuan Chwang on his return from India. The 125000 appears to be a myth but not so the 1500. Of the seven hundred I have seen two copies one in the Mss. Library of the Mahārāja of Benares where it is classed under *Kāvya*s and the other I collected for the A. S. B. Of the *Svalpākṣarā* I have seen three copies which between the usual prologue and the epilogue in *Prajñāpāramitā* works contains one sentence to the effect that *karuṇā* is the essential feature of Buddhism. At the end of all these copies it is stated that Nāgārjuna recovered the *Prajñāpāramitā* from the nether regions. Raja R. Mitra has published the *Prajñāpāramitā* of 8000 ślokas in the Bibl. Ind. series and the study of the work shows that it is rank *Sūnya-vāda*. *Prajñāpāramitā* means knowledge par excellence. What is that ? Omniscience. What is omniscience ? The knowledge that all the phenomenal existence is *Sūnya* or void. Examine any phenomenon, it has no substratum. Go on examining all the phenomena. They are all without a substratum. The subjective phenomena too have no substratum, neither matter has any substratum nor has mind. The soul has no substratum. Everything resolves into *Sūnya*. What is *Sūnya* ? Is it existence ? No. Is it non-existence ? No. Is it a combination of the two ? No. Is it a negation of the two ? No. What is it then ? It is that to which neither existence nor non-existence nor a combination of the two nor a negation of the

two can be predicated. What is it then ? It is Anirvācya that which cannot be explained, that which cannot be spoken of. That which cannot be comprehended. That which cannot be imagined. You may call it Transcendental that which transcends our senses, that which transcends our faculties. It is not what the Śrāvakas or the S. Buddhist aims at. It is beyond these narrow-minded members of the Monastic order. It is beyond the narrow-minded order of Friars. Who are its votaries then ? The Bodhisattvas, those who after their exertions during innumerable births and strenuous effort have resolved upon attaining the knowledge *par excellence*. They are only waiting that some Buddha may appear in the world and prophesy that they should in some future kalpa become omniscient and resolved upon emancipating all the sentient beings. In their zeal for omniscience they developed a sense of mercy, a sense of sympathy, a sense of all embracing karuṇā for all sentient beings that they can wait for eternity or any long period of time and suffer any amount of privation, undergo any amount of suffering, undergo any number of births and deaths, in order to save all sentient beings from the bondage of births and deaths, they are prepared to suffer for any length of time.

This is in short the teaching of Nāgārjuna both in the Prajñāpāramitā and in his Mādhyamika Kārikās. The Kārikās are written in terse and vigorous philosophical language but the Prajñāpāramitās are written in the form of harangues addressed to ordinary people, and as all harangues are full of repetitions, Rajendra Lal complains that all Buddhist Sanskrit works are written in a verbose style. Yes, they must be. The author is addressing illiterate people on very abstruse subjects much beyond the comprehension even of the learned.

(To be continued)

HARAPRASAD SAESTRI

Some Observations on Pusyamitra and his Empire

II

It is a well-known fact that Pusyamitra did not inherit the Maurya empire in its entirety.

The Andhras had declared independence in the Deccan and a passage in *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act I, passage 36—S. P. Pandit's edition) seems to indicate Narmadā as the southern boundary of the Śuṅga kingdom. The passage is, however, not without difficulty. All the manuscripts, except one, give the name of the river as Mandākinī, and only a Telugu manuscript from Bangalore has the reading 'Narmadā-kule'¹. This last manuscript, however, is said to be 'a very correct one' and 'almost free from error' (Introduction to *Ibid.*, p. iii). We know of no Mandākinī river² situated sufficiently near the road from Vidiśā to Vidarbha, as would suit the context, and hence it is probable that the reading 'Narmadā' is the correct one. Sankar Pandurang Pandit refers to 'a practice, still very common all over India, of designating any sacred river by the most sacred river-name, as Gaṅgā &c.'. This would account for the 'Narmadā' being called 'the Mandākinī' 'the river of the heaven'.

In *Mālavikāgnimitra* Vidarbha or Berar is spoken of as an independent kingdom. This also indicates the Narmadā to be the southern boundary of the Śuṅgas. The author of *Mālavikāgnimitra* seems to have an intimate knowledge of

1 Mr. V. Smith says "one of the Bombay manuscripts reads the Prākṛt equivalent of Narmadā". Probably it is a mistake ; if not, it corroborates the Telugu Ms.

2 There is an actual river of this name flowing, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, from the Rkṣa Mountain (See *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 184, No. 70).

the Śuṅgas (cf. the letter from Puṣyamitra to Agnimitra, in Act V) and hence his statements may be accepted as historical.

In the south-east Kalinga had probably become already independent, and the Śuṅga supremacy stopped at its boundary.

In Northern India, the power of Puṣyamitra seems at one time to have extended to the Indus. This follows from a passage in *Mālavikāgnimitra* (canto V, passage 121) where Puṣyamitra informs his son, that the sacrificial horse he let loose was captured by the Yavanas, while wandering on the south side of the Sindhu (*Sindhordakṣīnarodhasi*), and then there was great fight.

Wilson took the 'Sindhu to mean the celebrated river Indus, and it must be admitted that that is the view which naturally suggests itself to one's mind. Demetrios led the Bactrian Greeks towards the Indus about 190 B. C., and his example was followed by others. Hence it is extremely probable that the Greek and the Indian army should come into conflict on the bank of the Indus. Cunningham, however, took a different view¹, and identified the Sindhu of *Mālavikāgnimitra* with the river of the same name that flows from the Yamunā through Sindhia's territory. As his opinion has been accepted by many scholars, including Mr. V. A. Smith², the grounds on which it is based require careful examination. I quote his own words:—
 "But as Puṣyamitra and his son Agnimitra are called the rulers of Vidiśā, which is described as lying to the north of the Vindhya mountains, and as bounded by the kingdom of Vidarbha or Berar on the South, the Sindhu of the drama cannot possibly be the Indus. The great Indus also flows from north to south, and has no *south bank*, on which the skirmish with the Yavana cavalry, as described

1 *Num. Chronicle*, 1870, pp. 226-27.

2 *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 200-1.

by Puṣyamitra could have taken place, ... the only one which has a south bank is the famous Sindhu of Narwar”.

Thus the argument really consists of two parts :—

(1) Puṣyamitra was the ruler of Vidiśā and his forces therefore cannot be expected so far north as the Punjab.

(2) The Indus has no south bank.

As regards the first, Cunningham was certainly in error when he said ‘that Puṣyamitra was called the ruler of Vidiśā’ for Puṣyamitra has never been called the king of Vidiśā in *Mālavikāgnimitra*. It is now admitted on all hands, that Puṣyamitra ruled at Pataliputra, and Vidiśā was one of the outlying provinces of the Empire. It is again well-known that he succeeded the Mauryas whose empire at one time certainly extended to the Indus and beyond, and there is therefore no inherent improbability in the assumption that the arms of Puṣyamitra reached the Indus. Again it is to be remembered that the movement of the sacrificial horse was not to be confined within the limits of one’s own kingdom, but it was sent as a challenge to neighbouring kings.

The other contention of Cunningham, viz., that the Indus has no south bank may be disposed of easily. The Sindhu of Narwar also flows from north to south, but it takes a bend near Narwar, for some distance, in the direction of east to west, thus creating a south bank. A similar bend might have existed in the course of the Indus twenty one hundred years ago, for it is a well-known fact that the river courses have greatly changed during this long interval. V. Smith says that ‘the courses of the rivers (Indus and its tributaries) have ranged, as the old channels indicate, over a space, a hundred and ten miles wide in the region of the final confluence’¹. It is to be remembered also that the word ‘Dakṣiṇa’ means ‘south’ as well as ‘right’ (as opposed to left). The passage might therefore also refer to the right

bank of the Indus, and no question of a south bank therefore arises.

But while Cunningham's arguments against taking the normal interpretation of the 'Sindhu river' mentioned in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, do not carry much weight, there is one consideration which seems to be decisive. It is related in *Mālavikāgnimitra* that the news of young Vasumitra's sanguinary fights with the Greeks on the banks of the Sindhu were first reported to the court of Vidiśā by Puṣyamitra in a letter which he addressed to his son from the city of Pataliputra. That the court of Vidiśā was till then absolutely ignorant of the whole thing follows clearly from the breathless anxiety with which Vasumitra's mother was listening to the letter in order to learn the fate of her son. Now, if the river Sindhu on the bank of which the battle took place was meant for the Sindhu of Narwar, which must have been within a few miles of the kingdom of Vidiśā, if not actually included in it, is it conceivable that Agnimitra would have remained ignorant of it, till the news reached Pataliputra and thence to Vidiśā. On the other hand as there was a royal road from Pataliputra to the Panjab we can easily understand how the royal couriers would take the news from the Indus to Pataliputra before the outlying provinces in Central India could know anything of it. It appears to me, therefore, certain, that by the river Sindhu Kālidāsa certainly meant the famous river of the Panjab. He was too ingenious a dramatist to overlook the incongruity of the dramatic situation which he tried to evolve, if the mother of Vasumitra, naturally so anxious for her son's fate, would not have cared to know of the battle in which he was engaged a few miles off her frontier, and patiently waited for a report from Pataliputra.

From general considerations also, the interpretation of Wilson seems more reasonable. In the first place, we are told that there was a conflict between the Greeks and the Indians, on the bank of the Sindhu. Now this is easily intelligible, if we mean by the Sindhu, the celebrated river

Indus, which from its proximity to the Greek kingdom might have had on its bank a settlement of the Greeks. The same thing cannot be predicted, with any amount of certainty, of the Sindhu of Narwar. Mr. V. Smith indeed says that "these disputants may have been part of the division of Menander's army which had undertaken the siege of Madhyamikā in Rajputana"¹. But the date of Menander is not as certainly fixed as Mr. V. Smith took it to be, and even if we accept that his invasion took place during Puṣyamitra's reign, and that a division of his army both besieged Madhyamikā and opposed the Śunga army on the bank of the Sindhu of Narwar, it is difficult to understand how Puṣyamitra could have undertaken the Rājasūya sacrifice for proclaiming a formal claim to the rank of Lord Paramount of Northern India 'at a time when the viciously valiant Greeks' reached the very heart of Northern India, in course of their conquering expedition.

This brings us to another consideration in favour of Wilson's interpretation which possesses no inconsiderable weight. Puṣyamitra celebrated the sacrifice in order to lay claim to the rank of Lord Paramount of Northern India. The conquest of the whole of Northern India up to the Indus is certainly required to justify such an ambitious claim. On the other hand such a claim must have been considered pretentious, nay almost ridiculous, if his power extended no further than the Sindhu of Narwar. For whatever might have been the case with more degenerate times when a provincial Lord assumed the title and dignity of a mighty Emperor, Puṣyamitra lived in a generation which had witnessed an empire almost as wide as India itself. It is inconceivable that to the people accustomed to the dignity of the Maurya empire, Puṣyamitra could have the impudence to stand forth as the paramount emperor of Northern India, when the dominions traversed by

¹ *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 201.

the sacrificial horse extended no further than the Sindhu of Narwar.

Finally we must mention a Buddhist tradition recorded in Tārānāth that Puṣyamitra burnt a number of monasteries *from Madhyadeśa as far as Jalandhara*¹. This also indicates a belief that the empire of Puṣyamitra, at one time, extended up to Jalandhara.

These considerations may not be decisive but are certainly too weighty to justify Mr. V. Smith's curt and uncourteous remark viz. "Wilson's belief that the arms of Puṣyamitra reached the Indus was due to a misunderstanding". In any case, I believe a fair-minded critic must admit that the balance of probability inclines in favour of Wilson's arguments, and the presumption that the Sindhu is the celebrated Indus, is more reasonable than that it denotes the river of the same name that separates Rajputana from Bundelkhand.

We may therefore accept, in the absence of other proofs to the contrary, that Puṣyamitra's conquest extended to the Indus. It is one thing, however, to conquer a country while it is altogether a different thing to permanently administer it.

(To be continued)

R. C. MAZUMDAR

¹ "von Madhayadesa bis Dschalamdhara" Schiefner, p. 81 quoted in V. Smith's *Early History*, p. 205.

The Story Of Nurse Pānnā—Is It Historically True ?

The story of Nurse Pānnā as given in the pages of Tod has immortalised her name. She is depicted in the brightest colour possible. Her unparalleled devotion to duty, her loyalty to the family she served and her self-sacrifice manifested throughout the story with which her name is connected and which is so glowingly described in the Rājasthān have served to make her an example to the whole of India.

It is the object of the present article to examine the story in the light of knowledge derived from a first hand study of the authorities some of which were not accessible to Tod when he wrote his famous book. Besides other authorities, help will also be obtained from a Rājasthāni manuscript compiled about the middle of the seventeenth century. The compiler of this manuscript was Mūtā Nensi, who was for some time minister of Mahārājā Yaśovanta Siṃha of Jodhpur and the work is thus popularly known as the Khyāta or Chronicle of Mūtā Nensi. The references in the following pages are to a text in my possession.

The story as narrated by Tod is thus briefly told. Udaya Siṃha, a posthumous child of Rāqā Sanga, was about six years old when his elder brother, Vikramāditya, the ruling prince, was assassinated by Banbīr. Udaya's nurse Pānnā, alarmed lest her charge would be the next victim, put the child "into a fruit basket and covering it with leaves" sent it out of the fortress through a servant. To remove suspicion she put in Udaya Siṃha's place her own son who was immediately killed by Banbīr. Everyone even "the inconsolable household of their late sovereign" believed that it was Udaya Siṃha who had thus been put to death. In the meantime the servant was "awaiting the nurse ... some miles west of Chitor, and, fortunately the infant had not awoke until he descended the city". Pānnā met him at the appointed

place, took charge of the child and wandered from place to place for shelter till she came to Kumbhalmer. The Governor of that fort was told that the child was "his sovereign...the son of Sanga" and was with difficulty prevailed upon to accept the charge of the prince who was passed off by him as his nephew. "Seven years elapsed before the secret transpired". Rumour brought the nobles of Mewar...when all doubt was removed by the testimony of the nurse" and the servant. "The Chauhan sardar of Kotaria who was throughout acquainted with the secret, ate off the same platter with him in order to dissipate the remaining scruples which attached to the infant's preservation"¹.

It will be seen that the most romantic episode of the story as told by Tod rests upon the assumption that Udaya Simha, at the time of his brother's assassination, was a mere child. He is in fact said to have been 'only six years of age'. This presupposition is essential to the validity of Tod's version of the story in the incidents of which Udaya Simha was the main but a passive factor; for it will be admitted that events which can be held to be probable in regard to a child cannot claim the same amount of credence when a grown up boy is concerned. Thus it is possible for a sleeping child of six to be carried away in a fruit basket by a single servant for some distance, but common sense will certainly refuse to entertain the idea that a boy of fifteen, while asleep, could be carried away in the same manner. We may concede that a child of six may be easily replaced by another of its own age, both being asleep, but it is certainly difficult to believe that the place of a boy, about three times as old, could be quietly taken by another, who, to avoid suspicion, must have been of the same age, and both of them quite unconscious of what was happening. Then again, it may be possible to conceal the

¹ Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, Vol. I, pp. 267-9.

identity of a child who may never have been sent outside the harem, but it is impossible to believe that a boy of fifteen who had taken an active part in state affairs would require the assistance of witnesses to get the question of identity solved before the sardars among whom he had passed a part of his life and with whom he came into contact almost every day.

It is clear from what is said above that if instead of being a child of six Udaya Siṃha could be proved to have been a fully grown up boy quite capable of exercising discrimination, the credibility of the story given by Tod would be considerably lessened. The age of Udaya Siṃha at the time of his brother's assassination being thus a vital point for the truth or otherwise of the story of Tod, an attempt will be made to arrive at a definite idea about it and for this purpose assistance will be received from two independent sources—the Rājasthāni Chronicle above referred to and the Mahomedan accounts relating to the time.

Two Mahomedan rulers of the period came in touch with Mewar and their activities throw light upon its history. These were Sultan Bahadur Shah of Guzerat and the Emperor Humayun of Delhi. The former led two expeditions against Mewar in 1532-3 and 1534-5 respectively. As a result of the second expedition Chitor was sacked and the Mahārāṇā Vikramāditya fled to Būndī along with his younger brother Udaya Siṃha. Shortly after the fall of Chitor, Humayun defeated Sultan Bahadur Shah and overran the whole Guzerat. The Emperor then came to Māṇḍu late in August, 1536¹, and spent some months there in pursuit of pleasure, till the news of the disturbances created by Sher Shah in the east of his dominions reaching him he started for Agra by way of Chitor. What events took place there is not recorded by the Mahomedan historians but our manuscript distinctly says that Humayun reseatd Vikramāditya on the throne of

1 *Akbarnamah*, by Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 312.

Mewar¹. This last incident must have occurred late in the year 1536, probably late in November of that year; for, Humayun marched from Chitor to Agra and reached there in the middle of December, 1536. After Vikramāditya had thus regained his paternal throne, Col. Tod tells us that his headstrong policy alienated the sardars of the state who formed a party and approached Banbīr with an appeal to deliver them from the hands of the tyrant. It must have taken some time for the discontent to spread and the sardars to form a party, and, as Vikramāditya had been reinstalled about November, 1536, his assassination at the hands of Banbīr may be safely assumed to have taken place in 1537. It must be borne in mind that Vikramāditya was a *protege* of Humayun, and as such it seems unlikely that so long as the latter was at Agra, Banbīr would dare take such a drastic action against him. Humayun marched against Sher Shah in December 1537, and it was perhaps after that time that Banbīr assassinated Vikramāditya.

It is with reference to this year, 1537, that Udaya Siṃha is said by Tod to have been about six years of age. If we take Tod's statement to be correct we must assume that Udaya Siṃha was born in 1531 A. D. The acceptance of such a view is attended with a serious difficulty. Babur in his memoirs tells us that in September 1528 Rāṇā Saṅga (Udaya's father) was already dead²; and, in accepting Tod's estimate as correct we are led to the impossible position that the son was born three years after his father's death. We cannot explain away the difficulty even if it be accepted that Udaya Siṃha was the posthumous son of his father³.

Let us proceed one step further. We have already noted that Sultan Bahadur Shah of Guzerat led two expeditions into

1 Mūhaṇota Nensi's *Khyāta of the Sisodiyās*, folio 17.

2 *Memoirs of Babur*, by Mrs. Beveridge, Sec. III, p. 612

3 Cf. *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 361, where Tod says, "the posthumous son of Rana Sanga".

Mewar. What was the necessity of two expeditions being undertaken against the same state within such a short period ? The Mahomedan chronicler says that "the ambition of conquering Chitor again took possession of Bahadur Shah's mind" and he marched against Chitor in 1534¹. The excuse set forth is hardly satisfactory. The Mahomedan historian has apparently failed to recount the real cause of the second expedition, and, I think the only convincing explanation is that which is given in Mūhaṇṇota Nensi's *Khyāta*. It says that in accordance with one of the terms in the treaty of 1533, Udaya Siṃha was sent as a hostage to the court of Bahadur Shah, but the Rājput prince fled from the Mahomedan court after a short stay, thus violating the most important term of the treaty. As a consequence Bahadur Shah set out on his second expedition against Mewar². We cannot explain it in any other way and Nensi deserves our credit for filling up this discrepancy in the Mahomedan accounts.

We thus find that in 1533, Udaya Siṃha was old enough to be sent as a hostage to a foreign court. On this consideration alone we must shift back the date of Udaya Siṃha's birth by some time before his father's death in 1528. Mūhaṇṇota Nensi again is responsible for providing us with an exact date for this event. He says that Udaya Siṃha was born in 1597 V. S. ³ corresponding to 1522 A. D. approximately. Thus Udaya Siṃha was a boy of eleven years at the time when, accompanied by several sardars of the state, he went to the court of the Sultan of Guzerat as a hostage for the state of Mewar.

Udaya was thus a boy of fifteen in 1537, the year when his elder brother Vikramāditya was in all probability put to death by Banbīr. He was not therefore so young as to be incapable of understanding the danger that threatened his

1 Bayley, *Local Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 374.

2 Mūhaṇṇota Nensi's *Khyāta of the Sisodiyās*, folios 38-9.

3 *Ibid*, folio 18.

life. He could not also be carried by a single person in a fruit basket from his sleeping apartment outside the citadel without his being cognisant of the fact. Moreover, if Udaya Siṃha's nurse had in reality placed her own son in his bed to remove suspicion, the latter must also be regarded to have been of the same age and thus fully conscious of the danger he was being thrown into. Again, it will have to be conceded that the deception could not have been maintained long after the murder of Udaya Siṃha's substitute. Udaya, as we have indicated above, was already well known in Chitor and it is permissible to think that had Udaya Siṃha's place been taken by another it would have certainly been detected specially at the time of cremation. On the contrary, Tod would have us believe that even the "inconsolable household of the late sovereign supposed that their grief was given to the last pledge of the illustrious Sanga." The chief sardars with exception of one who was acquainted with Pānnā's action believed that it was Udaya Siṃha who had been put to death by Banbir and could not recognize him at Kumbhalmer although these were the very persons with whom he must have come into contact almost everyday in his life! Banbir the assassin ruled at Chitor believing that Udaya was no more, and it was not till seven years had elapsed that the reality broke upon him!

The above considerations will certainly throw doubt upon the authenticity of the story of nurse Pānnā as told by Tod. In fact the assumption upon which Tod's story rests, namely that Udaya was a mere child and a passive factor at the hands of his supporters, falling to the ground, the details of the story which can be justified only upon that assumption, must also be rejected. This need not cause surprise; for, Tod himself tells us ¹ that he relied upon oral traditions, among others, for the composition of his *Annals of Mewar*. It is probably upon the authority of some such tradition that Tod wrote this romantic episode in his famous book.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

¹ *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 251.

Rāma Rāya, Regent of Vijayanagara (1542-1565)

II

The fact is related by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda and, although some authors considered his narrative untrustworthy¹, we cannot but admit its truthfulness, considering the fact that several events connected with this rebellion occurred in the very capital of Golkonda in his own days. I shall quote the whole passage of the Muhammadan writer here.

“During the absence of Rāmraj from his capital (to help the Sultan of Bijāpur against that of Ahmednagar, as we shall relate in one of the following chapters) his two brothers, Timraj and Govindrāj, (sic) who were placed in the government of Adoni, taking advantage of his absence usurped the control not only of Adoni, but collecting a force, compelled several other districts to submit to their authority. Rāmraj, on his return to Vijayanagara, wrote in the first place letters to his rebel brothers, which they treated with contempt, relying upon their own force ; and he unable to subdue them, was induced to send ambassadors to the court of Golkonda to solicit assistance. Ibrāhīm Qutab Shāh immediately despatched Qabul Khān, at the head of six thousand infantry, to join Rāmraj. On reaching Vijayanagara Rāmraj ordered his own troops into the field ; and having directed Sidraj Timapa, Nur Khān and Bijli Khān, with their different corps, to join the subsidiary force, he ordered them to march against the rebels. The insurgents, finding themselves unable to oppose the royalists, took shelter in the strong fortress of Adoni, which was besieged for a period of six months, when being distressed for provisions, the garrison sent petitions to the throne of Vijayanagara.

1 Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A. S. Report*, 1911-2, p. 178.

Rāmraj pardoned his brothers, and recalled the forces to the capital; whence, after being handsomely rewarded, Qabul Khān received permission to return to Golkonda, where the king honoured him with the title of Ein-ul-Mulk"¹

The pardon so graciously granted by Rāma Rāya to his brothers is inexplicable at first but after consideration, it is not unnatural. He wanted to strengthen his power as the same writer points out—"by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours, and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives"². This is the place for examining some facts that confirm the second point of the preceding statement.

In 1552 Tirumala is known to have ruled the Koccharlakōṭa śīma³. Afterwards in 1558-9 a private grant was made while Sadāsiva was ruling at Vijayanagara and Tirumala ruling at Kondaviḍu⁴. This kingdom had been granted to him by Sadāsiva, that is by Rāma Rāya in the name of Sadāsiva. Rāṅga, son of the same Tirumala informs us of this in a grant of him dated 1565-6⁵. But probably Tirumala never resided at Kondaviḍu; we frequently find him at Vijayanagara; for instance, an inscription at Munelli, Badvel Taluk shows that Tirumala in 1557-8 was in the capital administering the empire on behalf of Sadāsiva⁶. In a copper plate grant of the same year, Tirumala granted some privileges to Mahīpati Yerrammānāyaka for faithful service done to the State and for guarding the villages of Gutu, Tāḍpatri, Vellalūra, Singanamalā and Siyyaḍa⁷. This shows beyond doubt that Tirumala was present there in charge of the government of the State, whenever Rāma Rāya was

1 Ferishta, Briggs, III, pp. 397-8.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 381.

3 156 of 1905.

4 Butterworth, o.c., II, pp. 952-5.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 946-50

6 Brackenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p. 37.

7 *Catalogue of Copper-plate grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 53.

absent for war or business purposes. He had an agent at Gudūr of whom we know two charitable edicts of the year 1555-6¹ and 1559-60² respectively.

We know likewise that Venkatādri ruled the country round Tiruvayār near Tanjore in 1559³. A year or two before the disaster of Talikoṭa, he is stated to have been "ruling the whole kingdom" and, in this capacity, to have conferred the government of Bārakūra-rājya on Sadāśiva-Nāyaka, the founder of the Ikēri Nāyakas⁴.

One of the relations of Rāma Rāya elevated by his power was his cousin Viṭṭhala⁵. He was appointed Viceroy of Sadāśiva in the Southern country and Ceylon⁶. A nephew of Rāma Rāya, Koṇḍarāja was also exalted by the influential uncle : he was the grandson of Peda Koṇḍarāja, the brother of Rāma Rāya's father, Raṅga⁷. In an inscription of 1556 he is called "Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Komāra Koṇḍarājayyadeva Mahā-arasu"⁸. He is likewise mentioned in two inscriptions at Bādāmi⁹. His influence at court is shown by the grant of Sadāśiva recorded in the British Museum Plates for fostering Viṣṇu's cult. This grant had been requested by Koṇḍarāja to Rāma Rāya¹⁰. In 1558, Sadāśiva makes another grant on the application of Rāma Rāya, Koṇḍarāja having again made the petition¹¹. Finally another inscription of 1561 records a grant of Konēti Koṇḍarājadeva to the spiritual preceptor¹². Jillela Raṅgapatirājayyadeva Mahārāja, related to the Āravīḍu family on his mother's side, was

1 Butterworth, o.c., I, pp. 458-60.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 456-8.

3 126 of 1894.

4 H. Krishna Sastri, o.c., p. 179.

5 *M.E.R.*, 1911, p. 86 ; 1912, pp. 82 ff.

6 129 of 1905; cf. Heras, *Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhala, Viceroy of Southern India*, *Q.J.M.S.*, xv, pp. 176-190.

7 British Museum Plates of Sadāśiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4. vv. 125-40.

8 *Ep. Carn.*, I, pp. 12, 19.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 64

10 *Ep. Ind.*, p. 2.

11 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp. 186.

12 *M.A.D.*, 1920, p. 59.

also elevated by the powerful Regent. He was appointed Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and governor of Rāmadurgam-sīma, where he had an agent called Amarināyami Veṅgala Nāyaṇīgaru¹. Moreover Rāma Rāya "was so generous", according to Manucci,—“that it is remarked in the chronicles that he never refused any favour asked. He confirmed any grant he made by a record of golden plates....Owing to the liberality of this Emperor his fame spread, and many men of different nations resorted to him and entered his service, principally foreigners”².

This elevation of relatives was not only in order to strengthen his actual power but to prepare thereby the final step he was contemplating. The beginning of the second stage had been marked by a *coup d'état* for such indeed was the imprisonment of the Sovereign. But for the beginning of the third, no such strong action was necessary. The omission of the annual show of the puppet Emperor, coupled with rumours purposely spread by the very agents of Rāma Rāya about the supposed demise of the Sovereign, was quite enough for every body to acknowledge Rāma Rāya as the new Emperor of Vijayanagara, seeing that he was practically the Sovereign and also the closest relative of Sadāśiva, although belonging to a different family.

There are several grants and inscriptions belonging to this second stage which prove the preparation for this final step. In 1551 in the Bēvinahalli grant of Sadāśiva, Rāma Rāya is already given the title "King of Karnāṭa"³ likewise, in another grant of Sadāśiva in 1556-7⁴. In 1554, Rāma Rāya himself made another grant to some brāhmaṇas in the same form as the old grants of the emperors of Vijayanagara. In the beginning, it invokes Gaṇeśa and the Boar, the sportive incarnation of Viṣṇu; then it relates Rāma Rāya's pedigree from Buddha and the Purūravas, speaks of the deeds

1 445 of 1911.

2 Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, I¹, 97.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 230, v. 30.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154.

of Rāma Rāya and his brothers, without mentioning Sadāśiva at all, and says finally : "while having uprooted all the enemies, Rāma Rāya ruled over the earth as famous as Bharata and Bhagīratha"¹.

After thirteen years the power of Rāma Rāya in Vijayanagara had become sufficiently strong ; rumours were probably spread about that Sadāśiva was dead. Then the ambitious Regent took for himself the title of king. "After Sadāśiva's death" says Anquetil du Perron, "Rāma Rāya was nominated king"². It seems probable that a real ceremony of enthronement took place in the capital, for C. Frederick expressly says that Rāma Rāya "sat in the Royal throne and was called the king"³. Even Manucci, in 1688, called Rāma Rāya 'Emperor of Narsinga'⁴. And probably new pagodas were at once struck with his name. "We do not know of any coin of Rāma Rāya bearing such an early date but we are aware of coins struck with his name on the eve of the battle of Talikōṭa : the famous *Gaṇḍikōṭa pagoda* gives the name of Rāma Rāya and the date 1565 and has on the obverse, a figure of Viṣṇu standing under a canopy"⁵.

Since this date, some time in 1563, the ceremony of showing the Emperor to his subjects was discontinued. But the three brothers used to go once a year to his prison-like palace in order to do homage to him as their Sovereign⁶.

The epigraphical evidence on this point is more than sufficient. A copper plate record at Dēvarāyadurga of 1562-3 says that Rāma Rāya reigned supreme at Vijayanagara⁷. A private grant of the same year mentions Rāma Rāya as 'ruling the empire', and does not mention Sadāśiva⁸. An

1 *M.A.D.*, 1923, pp. 125-7.

2 Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

3 Frederick, l. c. ; Gubernatis, o.c., p. 290.

4 Manucci, o. c., III, p. 97.

5 Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 64. (Calcutta 1922).

6 Couto VI, p. 383.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 44.

8 *Ibid.*, Tk. 44.

inscription at Kṛṣṇarājapet Taluk records a grant made "while the Rājādhirāja rāja-parameśvara vīra-pratāpa-mahārāja Rāma Deva Rāya Aiyangar was seated on the jewelled throne in Penukonda"¹. There is still another inscription, dated 1565, the same year as the battle of Talikota, that gives Rāma Rāya the same imperial titles and does not mention Sadāśiva at all ; it is a grant made "when the master of Kuntala (Karnāṭa), lord of the throne of Vidyānagari (Vijayanagara), the Rājādhirāja rāja-parameśvara vīra-pratāpa vīra Rāma Deva Rāya mahārāja, seated on the jewelled throne was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom"². Even in an inscription of 1581, during the reign of Rāṅga I, Rāma Rāya is called Rājādhirāja³, and in another of Veṅkaṭa III, 1639, he is recorded to have 'governed the whole world'⁴. Along with the lythic records, Anantācārya in his poem *Prapaṇnāmṛtam* calls Rāma Rāya 'Emperor of Vijayanagara who ruled after Kṛṣṇa Rāya'⁵.

Now, if the Hindus, who were under Vijayanagara rule, forgot Sadāśiva, who was supposed to be dead, and mentioned only Rāma Rāya as the Emperor of Vijayanagara, no wonder Ferishta says nothing of the former and always speak of the latter as the Sovereign of the rival empire⁶. When detailing the battle of Talikota, we shall see how Ferishta describes the riches of the throne of Rāma Rāya on the battle field. F. Sousa speaks of Cidoṣa (Sadāśiva) King of Canara (Vijayanagara) but from 1559 the only

1 *Ibid.*, IV, Kr. 79. I am sure that this inscription is spurious because of the date 1543, and of the mention of Penukonda as the place where the Emperor was residing. The forgery must have been committed during the reign of Rāṅga I or Veṅkaṭa II. Nevertheless, even a forgery proves that Rāma Rāya was considered the real Emperor of Vijayanagara.

2 *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Ci, 62.

3 *Ibid.*, IV, Kr, 15.

4 *Ibid.*, III, Nj, 198.

5 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 202.

6 Ferishta, Briggs, III, pp. 117, 118, 131, etc.

known king of Vijayanagara according to him is Rāma Rāya¹.

The following information given us by his minister and favourite Rāmayāmātya Toḍaramalla in his *Svaramelakalānidhi* probably refers to his time : "He had a palace called Ratna Kūṭa", says he, "constructed by his minister Rāmayāmātya and he was struck with admiration as it excelled even Vaijayanta, the palace of the gods. The palace was surrounded by extensive gardens, adorned with statues, which contained cool tanks abounding with swans"².

Rāma Rāya at this time handed over to his brothers all the government affairs and devoted himself to music and literature. "Seated within this palace (Ratna Kūṭa)" says Rāmayāmātya, "spent his time in the midst of scholars versed in literature, music and other arts"³. Accordingly a grant of Veṅkaṭa II, 1589, informs us that Rāma Rāya had a great pleasure in music on the viṇā and singing⁴. With these years probably is associated the trip of Rāma Rāya with his Guru Tāṭacārya, the son of Śrīnivāsa, to the fortress of Candragiri, to spend some days in that sacred retirement dedicated to the study of the śāstras⁵. This time of leisure in the last years of Rāma Rāya is also mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Manucci, one century later ; "after this division" says he, "he led a happy life, without attending to government or taking any notice of what went on"⁶.

Tirumala was naturally in charge of the whole government. He was the supreme minister of Vijayanagara during the last days preceding the battle of Talikōṭa⁷. The titles given him at this time are as follows : Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara

1 Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, II, pp. 189, 273 (Lesboz, 1674).

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 190.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Cy, 39.

5 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 202.

6 Manucci, o. c., III, p. 98.

7 *M. E. R.*, 341, Ape. B. of 1816.

Rāmarāya-Yaram - Tirumalarājajayadeva - Mahārāja¹. The appointment of Tirumala, as Premier of the Empire, left a vacancy in the viceroyalty of Kondaviḍu ; and it was then probably that Rāma Rāya, following his policy of elevating his relatives and friends, appointed to this honour his favourite, the poet Rāmayāmātya, enabling him thus to grant many agrahāras to brāhmaṇas². When the poet died, Siddhirāju Timma Rāju, another nephew of Rāma Rāya was appointed his Viceroy at Kondaviḍu³.

Tirumala, besides being Minister was also appointed Governor of Vellore and of the whole surrounding country⁴. We know an inscription of him, dated 1564, allowing Chinna-Bonna Nāyaka of Vellore, to make grants to the temple of that place⁵.

In the new order of government, Veṅkaṭādri was Commander-in-chief of the army⁶. The success attending his conduct as a General in the Vijayanagara army proved that the election was rightly made. The Vellaṅguḍi plates of Veṅkaṭa II recall that 'he was distinguished in the world as a warrior'⁷, and in the *Rāmarājīyam* he is stated to have been a 'veritable Arjuna in the battle field'⁸.

After a careful study of all these authorities, it appears quite evident that the real founder of the Āraviḍu dynasty must not be considered to have been Tirumala, Sadāśiva's successor. His brother Rāma Rāya, some years previous to the Talikoṭa disaster, had already paved for his family the path leading to the throne, which he actually mounted with the unanimous approval of the whole of the Empire.

H. HERAS

1. Anquetil du Perron, o. c., p. 165.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 190.
3. *Paramayogi Vilāsam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 211.
4. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, Nos. 43-8.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
6. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, v. 19.
8. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

Buddha as an Architect

"In Buddha's time and in that portion of northern India where the Buddhist influence was most early felt—that is to say, in the districts including and adjoining those now called the United Provinces and Behar"—the arrangements of villages were practically similar. "We nowhere hear of isolated houses. The houses were all together, in a group, separated only by narrow lanes. Immediately adjoining was the sacred grove of trees of the primeval forest.....Beyond this was the wide expanse of cultivated field, usually rice-field. Villagers are described as uniting of their own accord to build mote-halls and rest-houses and reservoirs, to mend the roads between their own and adjacent villages, and even to lay out parks."¹

The exact details of town-planning are not available. But "we are told of lofty walls, ramparts with buttresses and watch-towers and great gates ; the whole surrounded by a moat or even a double moat, one of water and one of mud. But we are nowhere told of the length of the fortifications or of the extent of the space they enclosed. It would seem that we have to think not so much of a large walled city as of a fort surrounded by a number of suburbs.....From the frequent mention of the windows of the great houses opening directly on to the streets or squares it would appear that it was not the custom to have them surrounded by any private grounds. There were, however, no doubt, enclosed spaces behind the fronts of the houses, which latter abutted on the streets."²

1 Buddhist India, Rhys Davids, pp. 42, 45, 49.

2 R. D., pp. 64, 65. Cf. The hill fortress, Girivraja, four and half miles in circumference, is said to have been built by Mahāgovinda, the architect. Bimbisāra is stated to have built Rājagaha, king's house, which was three miles in circumference. "The stone walls of Girivraja are the oldest extant stone buildings in India". Mention is also made of

Unlike villages and towns, the details of buildings are found in abundance in the canonical text as well as the Jātakas. At places it appears as if Buddha were delivering discourses on architecture. As a matter of fact, he enjoined upon his devotees the supervision of building construction as one of the duties of the order¹. It is stated in one of the early texts that the bhikkhus were told on a certain occasion by the Blessed One after the delivery of a religious discourse with respect to dwellings : I allow you, O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds—*Vihāra*, *Ardhayoga*, *Prāsāda*, *Harṃya*, and *Guhā* ². Buildings are thus divided into five classes. The details of the distinctions are not methodically given in the texts inasmuch as these are not architectural treatises³.

Ayojjhā, Bārānasi, Kampilla, Kosambi, Madhurā, Mithilā, Sāgala, Sāketa, Sāvattthī, Ujjeni, Vesālī and other cities, of which however the architectural details are not enough. (Vimānavatthu commentary, p. 82), compare Digh. XIX, 86 :

Dantapuraṇṇaṃ Kāliṅgānaṃ Assakānāṇa Potanaṃ
Māhissatṭi Avantīnaṃ Sovīrānaṇṇa Rorukam
Mithilā ca Videhānaṃ Campā Aṅgesu māpitā,
Bārānasi ca Kāśīnaṃ ete Govinda-māpitā ti.

1 Cullavagga, VI, 17. 1 (transl., pp. 212-216).

2 Vinaya texts, Mahāvagga, I, 30, 4 (pp. 73-4) : Cullavagga, VI, 1, 2 (p. 158).

3 The commentator Buddhaghosa has, however, submitted an explanatory note. 'Vihāra' is the well-known Buddhist monastery. 'Ardhayoga,' which literally means 'half-joining' is stated by this commentator to imply 'Suvarṇa-vaṅga-gṛha' or "gold-coloured Bengal house", as rendered by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids. There seems, however, no such class of houses in Bengal. Nor has this class of buildings been mentioned in the śilpa-śāstras. It is clear, however, that these are meant to imply some sort of luxurious buildings of the then Bengal. Regarding 'prāsāda' Buddhaghosa simply says that it is a long prāsāda. Rhys Davids has made these conjectures,—“a long storied mansion, or the whole of an upper storey, or the

Vihāras are the well-known monasteries or temples of the Buddhists, originally implying halls where the monks met. *Ardhayogas* seem to be a special kind of Bengal buildings, partly for religious and partly for residential purposes. *Prāsādas* are wholly residential storeyed buildings; *harmyas* are a larger and more pompous type of storeyed buildings. *Guhās* seem to be less dignified buildings, originally built underground for middle class people. The extensiveness of these buildings can be imagined from the length of time devoted to getting a house completely built. Thus it is stated that "with reference to the work of a small *Vihāra*, it may be given in charge (to an overseer) as a *navakamma* (new work) for a period of five or six years, that on an *Adḍhayoga* for a period of seven or eight years, that on a large *Vihāra* or a *Pāsāda* for ten or twelve years¹." That the long periods were not idled away

storied buildings". Sir M. M. Williams seems to explain this by "the monks' hall for assembly and confession". 'Harmya' is stated to be a *prāsāda* with an upper chamber placed on the top-most storey. The references to the uses of 'prāsāda' and 'harmya' as found in the *śilpa-sāstras*, general Sanskrit literatures, and the archaeological records will be found in the writer's Dictionary under those terms. 'Guhā' literally means cave and would seem to refer to underground buildings. One of the *Jātakas* (*Ummagga*, p. 430) actually contains an elaborate description of an underground palace, and such have been the rock cut temples, as in the famous Ajanta caves. According to Buddhaghosa these 'guhā' buildings are of four kinds, namely, as they are built of bricks, stone, wood, or earth. Rhys Davids has rendered 'śilāguhā' by 'hut made in a rock' and left out the translation of 'paṃsu-(Sanskrit 'pāṃśu' meaning sand, dust, or crumbling soil) guhā.' Buddhaghosa has thus explained the *pañca-lenāni* under *Mahāvagga* 1.30.4—

"Adḍhayoga ti suvaṇṇavaṇṇagehaṃ. Pāsādo ti dīghapāsādo. Hammiyān ti upari ākāsatale patiṭṭhitakūṭāgāro pāsādo yeva. Guhā ti iṭṭhakaguhā silāguhā dāruguhā paṃsuguhā.

Compare also Oldenberg and Rhys David's *Vinaya* texts, translation, *Mahāvagga*, p. 173 note, also *Cullavagga*, p. 151 note 2.

¹ *Cullavagga*, VI, 17, 1

will be clear from the detail of houses gathered mainly from the Vinaya texts.¹

The selection of building sites shows a highly developed good taste. The *Ārāma*, well fitted for quiet-loving people is stated to be built "not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming, easily accessible for all who wish to visit him, by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm....."² The whole compound is enclosed with ramparts (*prākāra*) of three kinds, namely, brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences which are again surrounded with bamboo fences, thorn fences, and ditches.³

Houses were built comprising "dwelling-rooms and retiring rooms, and store-rooms, and service-halls and halls with fire-places in them, and store-house, and closets, and cloisters, and halls for exercise, and wells, and sheds for the well, and bath-rooms, and halls attached to the bath-rooms, and ponds and open-roofed sheds (*maṇḍapās*)⁴. These buildings are meant to be dwelling houses ; so it is stated that "an *upāsaka* (devotee) has built for his own use a residence, a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, an one-peaked building, a shop, a boutique, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a well, a well-house, a *yantragṛha* (which is supposed by Bühler 'to be a bathing place for hot sitting baths'), a *yantragṛha* room, a lotus pond and a pavilion"⁵.

The inner chambers are divided into three classes, called *Sivikā-garbha* or square halls, *Nālikā-garbha* or rectangular halls, and *Harṃya-garbha*, which seems to be a large dining hall⁶. The verandahs (*alinda*) seem to have been a special characteristic of these buildings. The Blessed One (Buddha)

1 Cullavagga, VI, 5.

2 Ibid., VI, 4, 8.

3 Ibid., VI, 3, 7, 10.

4 Ibid., VI, 4, 10.

5 Mahāvagga III, 5, 9 ; also III, 5, 6.

6 About this last Buddhaghosa seems to be doubtful and says *hammiya gabbho ti kūṭāgāra gabbho mudanuchādāna gabbho vā* ; but

says "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, covered terraces, inner verandahs, and over-hanging eaves"¹. The storeyed buildings (*prāsāda*) are stated to be furnished with "a verandah to it supported on pillars with capitals of elephant head"².

Details of gates, doors and windows are also elaborate. Gateways are built with rooms, and ornamental screen-work over them³. And gates are made of stakes interlaced with thorny brakes⁴.

Doors are furnished with "door posts and lintel, with hollows like a mortar for the door to revolve in, with projections to revolve in those hollows, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, with a block of wood fixed in to the edge of the door-post, and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into (called the monkey's head), with a pin to secure the bolt by, with a connecting bolt, with a key-hole, with a hole for a string with which the door may be closed, and with a string for that purpose"⁵. The windows

about the other two terms he is clear ; *sivikā gabbho ti caturasya gabbho* ; *nālikā gabbho ti vitthārato dviguṇatiguṇāyāmo dīgho gabbho* (Cullavagga, VI, 3,3). But Oldenberg and Rhys Davids seem to have been wholly misled when they translate these last two by "palankeen shaped and quart measure shaped," about the last of which the Indians of even to-day are quite unfamiliar.

1 Cullavagga, VI, 3, 5. commented by Buddhaghosa : *Alindo nāma pamukhaṃ vuccati*. (Compare *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, verse 218). *Paghaṇaṃ nāma yaṃ nikhamantā ca pavisantā ca pādehi hananti, tassa vihāra-dvāre ubhato kuṭṭhaṃ niharitvā katapadesassa etam addiva-canaṃ, paghānaṃ ti pi vuccati. Pakuṭṭana ti majjhe gabbhassa samanta pariyāgāro vuccati pakūṭaṃ ti pāṭho. Osarako ti anālindake vaṃsaṃ datvā tato daṇḍake osāretvā kataṃ chādanapamukhaṃ*.

2 Ibid., VI, 14,1 *hatthinakhakaṃ* supported on the frontal globes (*kumbhe*) of elephants, says Buddhaghosa.

3 Cullavagga, VI, 4, 10 ; 3, 1 , 'tosaṇa' of which excellent examples in stone have been found at the Sāñchi and Bharhut Topes.

4 Ibid., VI, 3, 10.

5 Ibid., VI, 3, 8 also 2, 1 and 17, 1. Compare the distinction between 'kavāṭa' door proper and 'dvāra' door-way or gate-way. The

are stated to be of three kinds according as they are made with railings, lattices, or slips of wood¹. The shutters are adjustable and can be closed or opened whenever required². Five kinds of roofing are mentioned,—brick roofing, stone roofing, cement roofing, straw roofing, and roofing of leaves³. The roof is first covered over with skins and plastered within and without; then follow white wash, blocking, red-colouring, wreath work and creeper work⁴. "The floors were of earth, not of wood, and were restored from time to time by fresh clay or dry cowdung being laid down, and then covered with a white wash, in which sometimes black or red was mixed. From the parallel passage in Mahāvagga (I. 25. 15) and Cullavagga (VIII. 3. 1), it would seem that the red colouring was used rather for walls, and the black one for floors". It appears, however, that with a

keys are stated to be of three kinds—as they are made of bronze, hard wood, or horn (VI, 2, 1).

1 Cullavagga, VI, 2, 2.—'Vedikā vātapānaṇi' which according to Buddhaghosa means 'cetiye vedikāsadiṣaṇi' of which 'vedikā' has been explained by Rhys Davids in his note on Mahā-Sudassana Sutta I, 60 (see R. D's Buddhist Suttas, p. 262) 'jāla vātapānaṇi nāma jalakevada-ggaṇi' of which 'jāla' literally means 'net' but corresponds to lattice. R. D. advise to compare Anglo Indian jalousie (p. 162). 'Sālaka vātapānaṇi nāma thambhaka vātapānaṇi' which "possibly means with slips of wood arranged horizontally as in our venetian blinds" (p. 163). In spite of all these the learned orientalist Rhys Davids and Oldenberg would say that "There were, of course, no windows in our modern sense, but only spaces left in the wall to admit light and air, and covered by lattices of three kinds" (note on Ibid, VIII. 2, 2, translation p. 279).

2 Mahāvagga, I, 25, 18; Cullavagga VIII, 2, 2.

3 Cullavagga, VI, 3, 10. Compare also VI, 3, 8; 3, 3 etc.

4 Ibid., V, 11, 6; the rendering of the term 'ogumpheti', which also occurs in Mahāvagga V, 11, by 'skins' seems doubtful and unsuitable. Buddhaghosa in his note at the latter place says 'aguṇi phiyanti bhitti daṇḍakādisu vephetvā bandhāti.'

view to removing the dampness¹ gravel was spread over the floor².

There were stairs of three kinds, namely, brick stairs, stone stairs, and wooden stairs. And they were furnished with *ālambana-bāhā* or balustrades³. A more detailed description of flights of stairs (*sopāna*) is given in the Mahā-Sudassana Sutta. "Each of these had a *thambhā*, evidently posts or banisters; *sūciyo*, apparently cross-bars let into these banisters; and *unhisam*, either a head-line running along the top of the banisters, or a figure-head at the lower end of such a head-line⁴".

Thus it is clear that very minute details also were mentioned in this literature. The subject, therefore, seems to have been treated more than in a casual manner.

"The entrance to the great houses was through a large gateway. To the right and left of the entrance passage were the treasure and grain stores. The gateway led into an inner courtyard round which were chambers on the ground-floor. And above these chambers was a flat roof called the *upari-pāsāda-tala*, the upper flat surface of the house, where the owner sat, usually under a pavilion, which answered the purpose at once of a drawing-room, an office, and a dining hall."

"In the king's palace there was accommodation also for all the business of the state, and for the numerous retinue and the extensive harem.....The supplementary buildings included three institutions which are strange to us, and of considerable historical interest."

"We are told several times of a building of seven storeys

1 Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, note on Cullavagga, VI, 20, 2.

2 Compare Cullavagga, V, 14, 5.

3 Cullavagga, V, 11, 6.

4 Mahā-Sudassana Sutta 1, 59. See also R. Davids' Buddhist Suttas, p. 262, and compare Cullavagga, VI, 3, 3.

in height¹." Rhys Davids seems to be of opinion that these buildings must have some connection with the seven-storeyed Ziggurats of Chaldæa. "But in India the use to which such seven-storeyed palaces were put was entirely private, and had nothing to do with any worship of the stars." Still the learned Professor would add that "in this case also the Indians were borrowers of an idea."

"Another sort of building historically interesting were the hot-air baths, described in full in the *Vinaya texts*². They were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone with stone stairs up to it, and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skins, and then with plaster; the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an ante-chamber, and a hot-room, and a pool to bathe in. Seats were arranged round a fire-place in the middle of the hot room; and to induce perspiration hot water was poured over the bathers....."

In the *Dīgha Nikāya*³ there is a description of another sort of bath, an open-air bathing tank, with flights of steps leading to it faced entirely of stone, and ornamented both with flowers and carvings."

The *Dāgobas* or *topes* were another class of monuments

1 *Satta-bhūṃaka-pāsāda*, *Jātaka*, I, pp. 227, 346; V, pp. 52, 426; VI, p. 577. R. Davids refers to a building "still standing at Pulasti-pura in Ceylon and the thousand stone pillars on which another was erected at Anurādhapura". *Buddhist India*, p. 70.

2 III, pp. 110, 297. "After the bath there was shampooing, and then a plunge into the pool." "It is very curious to find" observes Rhys Davids "at this very early date in the Ganges valley a sort of bathing so closely resembling our modern so-called 'Turkish bath'". "Did the Turks" he asks "derive this custom from India?" p. 74.

3 *Buddhist Suttas*, pp. 262 foll. translated by R. Davids, who refers to "several ancient baths still to be seen at Anurādhapura in a fair state of preservation in spite of the more than two thousand years that have elapsed since they were first constructed", p. 76.

erected in the cemeteries¹. They were pre-Buddhistic in origin² but became very prominent after Buddha. The priestly records, however, ignore these topes, because they were erected "more especially by those who had thrown off their allegiance to the priests, and were desirous to honour the memory of their teachers, who were leaders of thought, or reformers, or philosophers."

"The first step was probably merely to build the cairn more carefully than usual with stones and to cover the outside with fine *cunnam* plaster to give a marble-like surface. The next step was to build the cairn of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time, and to surround the whole with a wooden railing."

"Even in Buddha's time the size of these monuments had already reached very considerable dimensions. The solid dome erected by the Sākiyas over their share of the ashes from Buddha's funeral pyre must have been about the same height as the dome of the St. Paul measured from the roof"³.

In the books referring to the earlier Buddhist period stone seems to have been used only for pillars, walls, and stair-cases. A palace of stone is once mentioned in a fairy land⁴. According to Rhys Davids, "the superstructure, at least, of all dwellings was either of woodwork or brickwork. In either case it was often covered, both internally and externally, with

1 Vinaya texts, IV, p. 308.

2 Cf. White Yajurveda, chap. 35 and Writer's Dictionary.

3 R. Davids, pp. 83-4. The reference to a large number of topes will be found in the Writer's Dictionary under stūpa. Buddhaghosa's enumeration of the parts of a palace also shows the popularity of the subject of architecture in Buddhist literature. "Ayaṃ phasso nāma yathā pāsādaṃ patvā thambho nāma, sesadabbasambhārānaṃ balavapaccayo tulāsaṃghātabhittipādakuṭagopānasipakkhapāsamukhavatṭiyo thambhe baddhā thambhe patiṭṭhitā evaṃ eva saha-jātasampayuttadhamānaṃ balavapaccayo hoti". Atthasālinī, p. 107.

Jāt., VI, p. 269.

fine *cunnam* plaster-works, and brilliantly painted in fresco, with figures or patterns", four of which have been preserved, namely, wreath-work, creeper-work, fine-ribbon-work and dragon's tooth-work¹. When the figures predominated the result is often called a picture-gallery (*cittāgāra*)².

The articles of furniture which form an important part of the architectural treatises are also elaborately described in the Buddhist literature. "Benches were made long enough to accommodate three persons"³. The bedstead (*pallaṅka*) or divan was a separate piece of furniture⁴. Large couches (*āsandi*) or chairs seem to have been some important articles of furniture⁵. Couches covered with canopies are also mentioned⁶. Mention is made of a large variety of chairs—rectangular chair (*āsandaka*), arm-chair, sofa (*sattāṅgo*), sofa with arms to it, state chair (*bhadda-piṭham*), cushioned chair (*viṭhikā*), chair raised on a pedestal (*elaka-padaka piṭham*), chair with many legs (*āmalaka-vaṇṭika-piṭham*), leaning board (*phalakam*), cane-bottomed chair (*koccham*) and straw-bottomed chair⁷. Mention is also made of the litter or sedan-chair⁸.

Valuable carpets, rugs, pillows, curtains, and such other luxurious decorations also are elaborately described. Thus

1 Vinaya texts, II, p. 67 ; IV, p. 47.

2 R. Davids, p. 68.

3 Cullavagga, VI, 13, 2.

4 Cullavagga, VI, 141 ; VI, 8, 1. etc. Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3.

5 Ibid., VI, 14, 1 ; VI, 8, 1 etc. Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg render *āsandi* twice by cushions and once by couches and Childers by chairs in his Dictionary. It seems to imply Sanskrit 'āsana' which means 'seat'.

6 Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3.

7 Cullavagga, VI, 2, 4. Renderings are mostly those made by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg depending on Buddhaghosa's note. Compare also Cullavagga, VI, 20, 2 and VIII, 1, 3. *Apasena-phalakam* as a "board to lean against" is also mentioned in the Mahāvagga I, 25, 15, 16. For arm-chair and sofa there seems to be another expression *apasayam* ; see Buddhaghosa's note on Cullavagga, VI, 2, 4.

8 Mahāvagga, V, 10, 2.

mention is made of "coverlets with long fleece, counterpanes of many colours, woollen coverlets white or marked with thick flowers, mattresses, cotton coverlets dyed with figures of animals, rugs with long hair on one or both sides, carpet inwrought with gold or with silk, large woollen carpets such as the nautch (dancing) girls dance upon, rich elephant housings, horse rugs or carriage rugs, panther or antelope skins, large cushions and crimson cushions¹". Pillows are of various kinds. Pillows are stated to be of both "the size of a man's head" and half "the size of a man's body." The Buddha allows the bhikkhus "to comb out the cotton, and make the cotton up into pillows if it be of any of these three kinds—cotton produced on trees, cotton produced on creepers, and cotton produced from potaki-grass²." The bolsters made for the use of high officials were of five kinds as they were stuffed with wool, cotton cloth, bark, grass or leaves. There were also coverlets for them³. The smaller articles like the floor cloth, mosquito curtain, handkerchief and spittoon did not escape the notice of the then house-decorators⁴.

P. K. Acharyya

1 Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3.

2 Cullavagga, VI, 2, 6 ; see also IV, 44 and VIII, 1, 3.

3 Ibid., VI, 27, 1.

4 Ibid., VI, 20, 1 ; V, 14, 1 ; Mahāvagga, VII, 18 for colaka or handkerchief ; see also Cullavagga, VI, 19 ; V, 9, 4.

Message from Barhut Jātaka Labels

There are some thirty-two surviving labels attached to various carvings illustrating anecdotes from the previous Bodhisattva-career of the supreme Master. Each scene represents either a complete Birth-story, or a single incident relating to a particular birth, or a number of episodes. The following labels, attached to some of these scenes, name the Birth-stories after the Bodhisattva :—

Maghādeviya-Jātaka.
Isimiga-Jātaka.
(Bhojājā)niya-Jātaka.
Haṃsa-Jātaka.
Nāga-Jātaka.
Sujāta-gohuta-Jātaka.
Latuvā-Jātaka.
Miga-Jātaka.
Chadaṃtiya-Jātaka.
Isisimgiya-Jātaka.
Mugapakaya-Jātaka.

Some of the scenes bear labels containing the names of the principal actors in the whole birth-story or in a particular episode. The following labels will illustrate the point :—

Asaḍḍa vadhu susāne sigālā ñāti.

“The young woman, jackals on the funeral ground and kinsman”.

Kaṇḍari-Ki(narā)

“The episode of Kaṇḍari and Kinnarā”.

Biḍala-Jātaka Kukuṭa-Jātaka.

“The Jātaka-episode of the Cat and the Cock”.

Ud-Jātaka.

“The Jātaka-episode of otters”.

Vijapi-Vijādhara.

“The spell-muttering Vidyādhara in a Jātaka-scene”.

Kiṃnara-Jātaka.

"The Jātaka-scene of Kinnaras".

Usukāro Janako rājā Sivalā devi.

"The arrow-maker, King Janaka and Queen Sivali in a Jātaka-scene".

Vitura-Punakiya-Jātaka.

"The Jātaka-episode about Vidūra and Pūrṇaka".

In one of the labels, the name of the Birth-story contains the opening words of the moral verse :—

Yañ-brahmaṇa-avayesi-Jātaka.

"The birth-story with the verse: When the Brahmin played, etc".

Some of the labels describe main actions in the scenes :

Secha-Jātaka.

"The drawing of water in a Jātaka-scene".

Dighatapasi sise anusāsati.

"The venerable ascetic teacher instructs his pupils".

Bhisaharaniya-Jātaka.

"About the stealing of lotus-fibres in a Jātaka-scene".

Vaḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate.

"Vaḍuka extracts the juicy balm on Mt. Nārada".

Dusito giri dadati tina.

"The corrupted hill offers grass".

A few labels characterise the scenes by some external associations :—

Miga-samadakam cetaya.

"A woodland shrine in an animal feeding-ground".

Daḍa-nikamo cakamo.

"The walk wherefrom escape is difficult".

Citupāda-sila.

"The gambler fond of square-board game."

Abode cātiyam.

"At the watery lake."

Tikoṭiko cakamo.

"The triangular enclosure".

Jabū Naḍode pavate.

"The rose-apple trees on Mt. Nārada."

These labels or indexes constitute a distinctive feature of the Jātaka-illustrations at Barhut. Similar carvings at Bodh-Gayā, Sanchi, Sarnath, Amarāvati, Taxila and Ajantā do not bear such labels or headings. But you may be pleased to hear that this custom of indexing the artistic illustrations by means of inscriptions survives or is continued in Burma. If you try to reach the Shwe Dagon Pagoda by its south gate, you are sure to come across on your way, in two gate-chambers, two groups of carvings with descriptive labels, legibly and separately written in Burmese below each individual scene. The same holds true of numerous Jātaka-carvings adorning different Pagodas at Pagan. So far as the Barhut labels and scenes go, these enable one to detect instances where the label bears the name of the entire Birth-story, while the carving actually depicts a particular episode of it. Consider, for instance, the carving depicting a scene of the birth of Isisīṅga or Rṣyaśṅga from a doe, which is but an introductory episode of the Isisīṅgiya-Jātaka, as it is entitled in the label. In all later Buddhist narrations, whether in Pāli or in Sanskrit, one is sure to come across instead of one, two separate Jātakas, viz., Alambusā and Nalinikā. These two Jātakas, as can be ascertained from the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata version of the story of Rṣyaśṅga, originally two component parts of one and the same story. Their separation cannot be explained otherwise than by the intervention of an artistic version such as that at Barhut. In Fausböll's edition of the second Jātaka-Commentary, the story of Kaṇḍari-Kinnarā is introduced as a distinct Birth-story and as an interlude in another Jātaka, namely. the Tesakuṇa. The evidence of our railing-carving leaves one in the dark as to the actual position of this story in the Jātaka-collection, then known. But these two instances certainly enable you to understand the processes of multiplication of the number of Jātakas. If two component parts of the Rṣyaśṅga-story be joined together, they must be counted as one Jātaka, and if separated, they must

be counted as two Jātakas. Similarly if the story of Kaṇḍari-Kinnarā be taken independently, it must be counted as one Jātaka, and if as an interlude of another Jātaka, its individuality vanishes altogether, which means a reduction of the total number of Jātakas. There was a stage in the development of Jātakas when their total number was counted as 500. This continued to be so till the Chinese traveller Fa-Hian visited Ceylon in the early part of the 5th Century A. D. From the time of Buddhaghosa the Jātaka-total has been counted as 550. The processes indicated above clearly explain the multiplication and its mechanical character. This is not all. There is one carving illustrating Mahauṣadha's power of judgment displayed at the market-town Yavamadhya. The annexed heading Yavamajhakiya-Jātaka leads one to treat the scene as the illustration of a complete Birth-story. But in the existing Commentary version, the story of Mahauṣadha's feats of wisdom at Yavamadhyaka is just one of the many episodes composing the narrative of the Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka, entitled Mahosadha-Jātaka in the Talaing heading at Pagan. Judging by the evidence of our railing, it will be too bold to presume the Commentary-story, as we now have it, was then known. The label and the carving at Barhut rather suggest an earlier and much shorter form of the Birth-story only dilating upon Mahauṣadha's power of judgment. The list of illustrated scenes from Buddha's life, so far as this can be identified partly with the aid of the labels, betrays a definite and comprehensive scheme, comprising selected stories of the present and those of the past, and preventing reduplication. It was not possible for persons other than the Buddhists, intimately acquainted with traditions and religious needs, to scheme out the plan. Though now too late and the harm has already been done, one must always regret to be confronted with an irregular order of the carvings due, no doubt, to the lack of supervision on the part of the superintending monks and the ignorance and haste of the sculptors and craftsmen. It is also due, as one can imagine, to the insis-

tence of the donors to place their gifts first with carvings of their liking. Though there was a ready-made plan, it was worked out gradually, according to opportunities. The result is in a sense fatal. In one case, the same scene, namely, that of Buddha's demise has been reproduced twice. In two other cases, two scenes have been huddled together, viz., (1) the scene of the Mahāpadāna discourse and that of Śākyamuni's enlightenment ; (2) the scene of the first sermon near Benares and that of King Prasenajit's interview with the Master. In a third case, one finds that two connected scenes of the Mātīposaka-Jātaka have been set wide apart instead of being placed consecutively, in order. In the fourth instance, the artists have placed four connected scenes of the same story in four consecutive panels of the coping without the regular intervening of ornamental designs. Upon the whole, the topsy-turvy order of the scenes baffles all attempts, without an external aid, to determine the traditional succession of the episodes presupposed by them. The baneful effect of this is marked in the Mahāvastu story of Buddha. The most instructive point in the list is that it includes legends and stories, most of which agree with those in Pāli, where there are some that can be traced only in the Lalita-Vistara and not elsewhere, some that can be traced only in the Avadāna-Śataka and not elsewhere, some that can be traced in the Divyāvadāna and the Avadānakalpalatā and not elsewhere, some that are peculiar to the Barhut scheme, and some that are common to all traditions. This fact also points to a distinct Buddhist source, having some points of contact or similarity with all other Buddhist traditions of the time.

B. M. BARUA

Identification of the princes and territories mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta

During my class work with the M. A. students of the Calcutta University, I had more than one occasion to lecture on the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The most important portion of this epigraph consists of the names of the various princes with whom he fought or entered into alliance. The late Mr. V. A. Smith was the first to make a systematic attempt to identify them ; and his paper, published in *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 87 ff., may still be read with profit by the students of ancient Indian history. In later times, M. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil made a similar attempt in his *Ancient History of the Deccan*, but he did not go beyond the identification of the kings of the south (Dakṣiṇāpatha). He was followed by Dr. H. Raychaudhuri, who took us one step forward by identifying more kings and locating their kingdoms in his *Political History of Ancient India*. Stray attempts have been made by other scholars also, perhaps the most important of whom is Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who read a small paper on it before the first Oriental Conference in 1919. For my lectures to the M. A. classes on this lithic record I had to draw up some brief notes for the guidance of the students. As some of these are not altogether devoid of originality and are likely to be interesting to scholars, I have been asked to publish them ; and it is these that are being published here in the shape of a small paper. Nothing will give me greater pleasure, if this paper of mine is found to stimulate other scholars ; especially the young scholars of Bengal, to make further research in this field and settle beyond all doubt the identification of these kings and their territories.

L. 17 *Parākramāṅkasya* : "Of (one) designated Parā-

krama." Parākrama was a title of Samudragupta just as Vikrama was of his son Candragupta. The title Parākrama is met with on his coins of the Standard Type (Allan, pp. 2ff). He was also designated Vyāghra-parākrama, and Aśvamedha-parākrama, just as his son was Siṃha-vikrama and Ajita-vikrama.

Lines 19-20 specify the names of the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha whom he vanquished but re-instated. They are as follows :—

1. Mahendra of Kośala. This Kośala must be Dakṣiṇa or South Kośala, one of whose early capitals was Śrīpura, i. e. Sirpur in C. P. It was from this place that Tivaradeva, who styled himself 'Supreme Lord of Kośala', issued a charter of circa 800 A. D. (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 296). The province therefore embraced the eastern and southern parts of the C. P. Nothing is known about Mahendra.

2. Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra. Mahākāntāra has to be distinguished from Sarvātāvī referred to (l. 21) later in the inscription. Vyāghrarāja is almost certainly identical with Vyāghra, father of Jayanātha, of the Uccakalpa dynasty. The date for the latter is 174 (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 199), which, when referred to the Kalachuri era (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 227, f.) as is the case with the dates of the Uccakalpa family, gives us the English equivalent 423 A. D. Jayanātha thus becomes a contemporary of Candragupta II. Jayanātha's father, Vyāghra, thus becomes a contemporary of Candragupta II's father, Samudragupta. He was doubtless a feudatory of the Vākātaka king, Prthivīśena, and his principality consisted of parts of the Jaso and Ajaigarh States in Bundelkhand, as appears from the find-spots of his records (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 234, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 13).

3. Maṇṭarāja of Kurāla. This Kurāla is taken by Kielhorn to be the same as Kunāla, mentioned in the Aihole inscription, as having been reduced by Pulakesin II of the Calukya family (*Ep. Ind.*, VI. p. 3 & n. 3). And both have been identified by him with the well-known Kolleru lake between the Godāvāri

and Kṛṣṇā. This does not, however, appear to be probable as the Kolleru Lake must have been included in the kingdom of Vengi mentioned below. Kaurālaka is perhaps a mistake for Kairalaka, as Fleet suggests. In that case, this Kerala may be the province round about Yayātinagara where the author of the *Pavanadūta* locates the Keralas. Kerala may thus be the Sonpur territory in C. P. (*Aśoka*, p. 41). Dr. Barnett, however, identifies it with Korada (*Bull. School. Or. Stud.*, II, iii, p. 569). Nothing is known about Maṇṭarāja.

There is some confusion about the division of the words that follow the name of Maṇṭarāja. Fleet separates them as Piṣṭapuraka-Mahendra and Giri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta and translates "Mahendra of Piṣṭapura, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill". Fleet does so, because he thinks that Mahendragiri cannot be the name of a ruling chief as names ending in *giri* are now-a-days restricted to Gosains. But this proposal is inadmissible. The *vrddhi* in Kauṭṭūraka clearly shows that the word *giri* preceding it is to be connected with Mahendra. If *giri* had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler Svāmidatta was, we should have had *Gairikauṭṭūraka* instead of *Girikauṭṭūraka*. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Bomb. Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 63) separates the words as follows *Paiṣṭapuraka*, *Mahendragirika*, *Auṭṭūraka* and Svāmidatta. Svāmidatta was thus the ruler of Piṣṭapura, Mahendragiri and Auṭṭūra. This also is inadmissible, because Mahendragiri is the name of a mountain range, and not of a country. Again, we should have had *Māhendragirika* instead of *Mahendragirika*. The best proposal for the separation of words is that made by V. A. Smith who divides the words as *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahendragiri* and *Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*.

4. Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura. Piṣṭapura is the same as the fortress of Piṣṭapura captured by the Calukya king Pulakeśin II, and is the modern Pithāpuram in the Godāvāri District of the Madras Presidency (*EI.*, VI, 2-3). No record of Mahendragiri has been found.

5. Svāmidatta of Kottūra, as Dr. Fleet says, is a very common Dravidian place name. He however identifies Kottūra of the inscription with Kottur = Pollāci in the Coimbatore District, where some ancient remains exist. The Coimbatore District also was noted for its commercial intercourse with the Roman merchants. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, takes it to be Kothoor in the Ganjam District.

6. Damana of Eraṇḍapalla. Fleet identifies Eraṇḍapalla with Eraṇḍol, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency (*JRAS*, 1898, pp. 369-70). According to M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, it is the same as the town Eraṇḍapali probably near Chicacole on the coast of Orissa mentioned in the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 212).

7. Viṣṇugopa of Kāñci. Kāñci is undoubtedly the modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency. And Viṣṇugopa is no doubt identical with an early Pallava king of that name (*Bomb. Gazet.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 321).

8. Nilarāja of Avamukta. Nothing is known about either.

9. Hastivarman of Veṅgi. "Veṅgi was a country on the east coast, of which the original boundaries appear to have been towards the west, the Eastern Ghats, and, on the north and south, the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā; an indication of the position of its original capital is probably preserved in the name of Vegi or Pedda-Vāgi, a village in the Ellore tāluka of the Godāvarī District" (*Bomb. Gazet.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 280). Hastivarman has been identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman of the family of king Kandara, who also belonged to the Pallava race.

10. Ugrasena of Pālakka. Pālakka kingdom has been identified by Smith (*JRAS.*, 1917, p. 873) with the division of Pālghāt or Pālakkāḍu in the south of the Malabar District. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, identifies Pālakka with a capital of the same name which was situated to the south of the

Kṛṣṇā and which is mentioned in many Pallava copper-plates (Venkayya's *Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 47).

11. Kubera of Devarāṣṭra. Smith takes Devarāṣṭra to be identical with Mahārāṣṭra. But this is not correct. It must be identified with the province of Devarāṣṭra (= Yellamanchili tract) mentioned in a copper-plate grant found in the District of Vizagapatam (*Arch. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 123). Was Kubera father of Kubera-Nāgā of the Nāga family, who was a queen of Candragupta II? (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 41).

12. Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura. Kusthalapura is taken by Smith as a mistake for Kuśasthalapur, a name of the holy city of Dwarka. Kuśasthala was the capital of Ānarta, i. e. Kāthiāwār. This does not, however, seem likely. Dr. Barnett opines that it is probably Kuttalur, near Polur, in North Arcot (*Cal. Review*, Feb. 1914, p. 253, n.).

The kings of Āryāvarta destroyed by Samudragupta are nine in number, and it has been suggested by Rapson that possibly, they may all have been Nāgas and denote the *Nava Nāgāḥ* of the *Viṣṇu-P.*, not as a dynasty of nine members as they are generally taken to be, but rather a confederation of nine princes belonging to the Nāga race (*JRAS.*, 1897, p. 421).

1. Rudradeva. Mr. Dikshit identifies him with Rudrasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. This seems improbable, as the Vākāṭakas belonged to Dakṣiṇāpatha, and not Āryāvarta.

2. Matila. It has been suggested that Matila may be identical with the Mattila of the seal found in Bulandshahr, but the absence of any honorific on the latter suggests that it is a private seal and not one of a royal personage"—Allan, p. xxiii.

3. Nāgadatta. Unidentified.

4. Candravarman. Smith (*JRAS.*, 1897, p. 876) at first correctly proposed that this Candravarman was the Mahārāja of that name whose name is preserved in a rock inscription at Susunia in the Bankura District of Bengal (*Ep.*

Ind., XIII, 133). Candravarman is therein called 'lord of Puṣkarāṇa'. He, however, gave up this view (*E. H. I.*, 3rd ed., p. 290, n. 1) and maintained with Mm. H. P. Sastri that the Puṣkarāṇa of the Susunia record was the same as Pokarnā in Marwar and that Candravarman was identical with the sovereign king Candra of the Meherauli Pillar Inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 217 & ff.). This does not, however, seem correct. Because the title borne by an overlord of this period was *Mahārājādhirāja*, whereas Candravarman like his father was merely a *Mahārāja*. Mm. Sastri maintains that Siṃhavarman was a chieftain but that his son Candravarman a supreme ruler, although both are designated *Mahārājas*. This is impossible, and what appears to be the fact is that both father and son were feudatory chieftains. Besides, Puṣkarāṇa of the Susunia inscription can easily run into *Bakkurām* and seems to have survived in the modern Bankura. It is therefore more correct to say that this Candravarman was a chief of Bankura and was identical with Candravarman, contemporary of Samudragupta.

5. Gaṇapati Nāga. He is no doubt the same as Gaṇapati of the Nāga family whose coins have been found at Narwar and Besnagar. He is generally supposed to pertain to the Nāga family of Padmāvatī or Pawāyā in the Gwalior territory (Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 164 & 178-9), but as Nāgasena below, also, belonged to the same family, as we know from the *Harṣacarita*, it is safer to take Gaṇapati as a king of perhaps Viḍiśā House, whose existence is attested by the Purāṇas.

6. Nāgasena. Hall [*Viṣṇu P.*, (ed. Wilson), vol. IV, p. 217 fn.] was the first to draw our attention in this connection to a passage in the *Harṣacarita* (trans., Cowell & Thomas, p. 192), which says that there was one Nāgasena¹

1 In their translation Cowell and Thomas say that Nāgasena was an "heir to the nāga house", but this is not warranted by the text.

in Padmāvati belonging to the Nāga House, whose fall was caused by the disclosure of his policy by a *śarikā* bird.

7. Acyuta. Some copper and bronze coins, bearing the syllables *a-cyu* and found in the Bareilly District of U. P., were first attributed by Smith and Rapson to the king Acyuta of this inscription (*JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 28 & 420). In their general character they resemble the coins of the Nāga kings of Padmāvati, and it is possible that Acyuta may himself have been a Nāga but belonging to the Nāga House of Mathurā, which the Purāṇas mention side by side with that of Padmāvati.

8. Nandin. Nothing is known.

9. Balavarman. According to Mr. Dikshit, he is most probably identical with Balavarman, an ancestor of Bhāskara-varman of Assam (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, pp. 73-6). But Assam or Kāmarūpa has been separated from Āryāvarta by this epigraph. Hence Balavarman of Āryāvarta cannot be a ruler of Kāmarūpa.

10. Āṭavika-rāja. One copper-plate (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 114) describes a Parivrājaka king, Hastin, as master of the Dabhāla kingdom which was included in the Eighteen Forest Kingdoms (*Āṭavirājya*). Dabhāla must be the older form of Dahālā, the modern Bundelkhand. The Āṭavi country, which comprised no less than eighteen kingdoms, must have extended from Baghelkhand right up almost to the sea-coast of Orissa (*Aśoka*, pp. 43-5).

The frontier kings, tribes and territories were as follows :—

1. Samataṭa. Varāhamihira places Samataṭa in the Eastern Division, and Hiuen Tsiang, to the east of the Tāmralipti country and bordering on the sea. It is taken as comprising the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, of which the Jessore District forms the central portion. Its capital Karmrānta has been identified with Kāmtā in the Comilla District by Mr. N. Bhattasali (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1914, pp. 85ff.).

2. Dāvāka. Fleet suggests that Dāvāka may be another

form of Dacca. According to Smith it corresponded to the modern districts of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi. But it appears from the Damodarpur copper-plates (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 113 ff.) that Puṇḍravardhana country or Varendra was actually incorporated with the Gupta dominions and not held by any feudatory. Davāka more probably corresponds to the Hill Tracts of Chittagong and Tiperrah.

3. Kāmarūpa. It corresponds in the main to the modern Assam, the central portion of which is still known as Kāmrūp.

4. Nepāla. Well-known.

5. Kartṛpura. Dr. Fleet suggests that the name may survive in Kartārpur in the Jālandhar district. Brigade Surgeon C. F. Oldham refers to the Katuria Rāj of Kumāon, Garhwāl and Rohilkhand (*JRAS.*, 1898, p. 198).

6. Mālavas. They were originally the same as the Malloi of the Greek writers and the Malayas, the Mleccha people, who, according to the *Mudrārākṣasa* fought against the Maurya Candragupta. They appear to have migrated southwards afterwards, and were in occupation of a province called Vagarchāl in the south-eastern portion of the Jaipur State, where their coins were found in numbers. As these coins range approximately from B. C. 150 to 250 A. D., they seem to have been settled in that province during that period (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 12-3). In the Gupta period, however, they seem to have migrated still farther southward. This is indicated by the find-spots of the inscriptions of the period. At this time, they appear to have occupied Mewār and Koṭāh of south-eastern Rajputana and the parts of Central India adjoining them (*Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 404).

7. Arjunāyanas. Their coins are by no means unknown but as their provenance has not been notified, it is difficult to locate them exactly. They are believed to have been settled between the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas. They may have thus occupied the eastern part of the Jaipur and the Alwar State.

8. Yaudheyas. From the find-spots of their coins, seals and inscriptions, they have been located between the Sutlej and the Jumna, their political rule extending as far southward as and including the Bharatpur State (*Oarmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 165-7 ; 1918, pp. 11-2 ; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 252).

9. Madrakas. Their country corresponds roughly to modern Sialkot and surrounding regions between the Ravi and Chenab rivers. Its capital was Śākala which has been identified with Sialkot. (For an illuminating paper on *Madra* by H. C. Ray, see *JASB.*, 1922, p. 257 & ff.). The Madrakas were originally known as Madras and denoted, a people, and not a tribe as seems to be the case here. The latter were probably the Jartikas or Jāts who are described as Mlecchas in the *Kaṇva-Parva* (Chs. xl & xlv) of the *Mahābhārata*.

10. Ābhīras. They seem to have been correctly located by Smith in the province of Ahirvādā between the Pārvatī and the Betwā in Central India.

11. Prārjunas. Smith locates them in the Narsinghpur District of C. P. It is safer to put them somewhere near Narsingharh in C. I., as the identification of Sanakāṇika will show.

12. Sanakāṇikas. A Chief of the Sanakāṇika tribe or family has been mentioned as a feudatory of Candragupta II in an Udayagiri cave inscription near Besnagar, the old Vidiśā. The inscription gives three generations of this family, who were all Mahārājas or Chiefs. The Sanakāṇikas, therefore, appear to have held the province of Vidiśā. The first of these Sanakāṇikas was known as Chagalaga, which looks like a foreign name.

13. Kāla. Nothing known.

14. Kharaparika. Probably identical with Kharpara mentioned in the Baṭihāgarh Inscription of the Damoh Dist., C. P. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 46, v. 5). Kharparas according to this record are evidently to be located in that district.

Daivaputra-shāhi-shāhānushāhi. I take this to be one single compound title, designating some Later Great Kushana king. Fleet, Smith and Allan spilt it up into three different titles denoting three different princes. It is, however, forgotten that the initial word is not *Devaputra* but *Daivaputra*, a *taddhita* form, which shows that the term cannot stand by itself but must be taken along with what follows (*JBBRAS.*, vol. XX, p. 299, n. 78). If this is a correct view, Daivaputra had better be taken along not only with Shāhi but also Shāhānushāhi, so as to make the whole correspondent with the full royal insignia *Devaputra Mahārāja Rājātirāja*, not only of the eastern Imperial Kushana family but also of the Later Great Kushanas, or Kuṣānaputras as they called themselves. Thus in an inscription found near Mathura (*Arch. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1911-12, p. 124), the Kuṣānaputra king therein referred to bears the titles Mahārāja rājātirāja Devaputra. They exercised sway not only over the Kabul Valley but also over the Punjab and the Mathura regions, and it is quite possible that some of the frontier tribes mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription owed allegiance as much to the Kuṣānaputras as to the Guptas.

It is no use relying upon a vague Chinese authority and saying that Devaputra denoted a king of India or rather the Panjab. There is neither an inscription nor a coin to show that there was any king who adopted the single title of Devaputra without the addition of Shāhi and Shāhānushāhi or their Indian equivalents. Of course, the Kidāra Kushanas did assume the title Shāhi, but they flourished later than the period of Samudragupta. And as regards *Shāhānushāhi* there is no evidence to prove that the title was borne in or near India by any kings other than those of the Kushana families. Between the Kidāra Kushanas and the earlier Imperial Kushanas flourished the Later Great Kushanas as they have been styled by numismatists, who as just pointed out seem to be no other than the Kuṣānaputras of the inscriptions.

Śaka. This racial name *Śaka* has been taken to refer to the Western Kṣatrapas of Kāthiāwāḍ and Malwa. But there is nothing to show that the last Kṣatrapas of this dynasty ruled over Malwa at all. On the other hand, Sir John Marshall has recently found an inscription at Sāñci (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVI, p. 232; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1923, p. 337 & ff.) which refers itself to the victorious reign of a Śaka ruler called Śrīdharavarman though he has been designated merely *Mahā-Daṇḍanāyaka*. It bears the date 241, which if referred to the Śaka era gives 319 A. D. as its equivalent. It is possible that this Śrīdharavarman or his successor is the Śaka king referred to in Samudragupta's inscription.

According to Allan (p. xxviii), the name Śaka is intended to designate particularly "those Śakas in the north who issued the coins of Kushan type with ARDOXPO reverse, which formed the prototypes of Samudragupta's coinage." As a matter of fact, however, what occurs on these coins is not Śaka but Śāka (Smith, pp. 92-3), and further it is not possible to say that Śāka is the name of any race or tribe.

Murunda. On the strength of the evidence collected by Sylvain Lévi from Brahmanic, Jaina, and Chinese sources, Allan concludes that the Murundas were of foreign origin and had a powerful kingdom in the greater part of the Ganges Valley in the early centuries of the Christian era (p. xxix). Sten Konow goes one step further, and says that these Murundas "were in reality the Kushanas, and the word *Murunda* itself is not the name of a tribe, but a Śaka word meaning 'lord', which was used as a title by the Śakas and after them by the Kushanas." (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, pp. 292-3).

Simhala. An account of the embassy of this Ceylon king has been preserved by the Chinese authorities which say that he "sent gifts to Samudragupta with a request to be allowed to build a monastery at Bodh Gaya for the convenience of pilgrims from Ceylon." This request, we are told, was duly granted.

D. R. Bhandarkar

Subandhu, an ancient writer on Dramaturgy

The hemistich¹ in Vāmana's Kāvya-lāṅkārasūtras quoted to illustrate Ojas had been until recently taken to refer to the Gupta kings Candragupta and his son Samudragupta and to the famous Buddhist divine Vasubandhu. It has been proved in an article entitled 'Subandhu or Vasubandhu,'² a glimpse into the literary history of the Maurya period that the passage in the Kāvya-lāṅkāra does not refer to the Gupta period or to Vasubandhu. It should have been taken from the introduction, Prastāvanā of a now-forgotten early drama Vāsavadattā-Nāṭyadhārā by Subandhu, a poet who lived in the Court of the Maurya sovereign Bindusāra, the son and successor of Candragupta and who also served him as Minister. A reference to him in the Avantisundarikathā seems to say that Subandhu was at first imprisoned by Bindusāra, and later on released after his binding to himself his sovereign's heart by writing the story of Vatsarāja. Several extracts from this Vāsavadattā have been traced in the famous Commentary on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra by Abhinavagupta. From all these it is proved that even so early as the period of the Maurya Emperors Candragupta and Bindusāra, Sanskrit drama was in a very highly developed stage and ministers were engaged not only in writing dramas but also in taking part in their representation.

This early Subandhu, the Minister of Bindusāra, is proved to be different from his namesake, the author of the extant

1 Sāciprāyatvaṃ yathā,—

so'yam samprati Candragupta tanayaś candraprakāśo yuvā,
jāto bhūpatirāśrayaḥ kṛtadhiyāṃ diṣṭyā kṛtārthaśramah.

āśrayaḥ kṛtadhiyāṃ ityasya ca Subandhusācivopakṣepaparataiyā
sāciprāyatvam.

2 Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference 1922, Calcutta, reprinted with additions and texts in the Indian Antiquary, 1924.

prose romance of that name, which appears to have been written during the period of the decline of the Gupta Empire. Sanskrit literature recently unearthed contains some more references to an author called Subandhu which are brought before scholars here. The author that has these references is Śāradātanaya, the author of *Bhāvaprakāśa*, a work of Sanskrit rhetoric and dramaturgy, written about the 12th or the 13th century. The particular reference is here given. It occurs in the eighth *adhikāra* of the work. It says that Subandhu enumerates 5 kinds (*Jāti*s) of *Nātakas*, *Pūrṇa*, *Prasānta*, *Bhāsvara*, *Lalita*, and *Samagra*, defines their qualities, and gives examples of each of them. He gives the name *Kṛtyārāvaṇa*, as that of a *Pūrṇa Nātika*. He then defines a *Prasānta Nātika* and says that a drama called *Svapnavāsavadatta* is an example of this and also lets us a little into the story and plot of this early drama. He then passes on to the third variety of *Nātika* called *Bhāsvara* and gives its five *sandhis*. He refers to a drama in which *Mārīcha* and *Rāvaṇa* are characters, and another in which *Candragupta* and *Nanda* are characters. The crossing of the sea by the monkey heroes, the binding of *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa* by the *Nāgapāśa* and the testing (*parikṣā*) of *Sītā* are also referred to. The title of this latter drama is not given. A drama called *Kṛtyārāvaṇa* is referred to in several early works on Dramaturgy. It cannot be said whether the present is also another reference to this early drama. The next variety is called *Lalita*. In giving examples of this variety of drama he refers to *Vikramorvaśī*, a drama in which *Vatsarāja* and *Vāsavadattā* are characters and where their separation is dealt with, and another which deals with *Śarmiṣṭhā* and *Vṛṣaparvan*. He then deals with his fifth variety of drama called *Samagra* and gives the *Mahānātika* as an example.

From the nature of the information given in the *Bhāvaprakāśa*¹ (*adhikāra viii*) of Śāradātanaya the date of Subandhu,

1 The manuscript is deposited in the Government Oriental Manus-

the author of this *Nāṭaka-lakṣmaṇa*, cannot be decided. Of the dramas enumerated as examples of the several varieties of *Nāṭaka* according to the classification contained in the *Bhāvaṇaprakāśa* only *Vikramorvaśī* seems to be available completely. The *Svapnavāsavadatta* seems to refer to the drama published under that name in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. But the variations between the description of the dramas as given in the *Bhāvaṇaprakāśa* and the Trivandrum play seem to demonstrate that the Trivandrum drama is not the whole of it but only an abridgment of it. The original drama might have been the work of *Bhāsa*, but the abridgment is decidedly later¹. The dramas published at Trivandrum under the name of *Bhāsa* cannot all of them belong to him. The *Svapnavāsavadatta* appears to be an abridgment of *Bhāsa*'s drama, just as the *Daridracārudatta* of *Śūdraka*'s (i. e. *Vikramāditya*'s²) autobiographical drama *Mṛcchakatika*. Other dramas published under the authorship of *Bhāsa* appear similarly to be abridgments of other dramas. The occurrence of the term *Rājasiṃha* at the end of several of these seems to point that these dramas were abridged in the Court of a king called *Rājasiṃha*. Several dramas like the *Mattavilāsa*³ produced in the Pallava Court

cripts Library, Madras. It is learnt that this valuable work will soon be published by His Holiness Śrīyatirāja of Melkote (formerly Śrīman A. Anantacarya of the Mysore Archaeological department), who is also publishing the famous work on Rhetoric "*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja", the first portion of which will appear shortly.

1 The present writer has discussed this in an article entitled 'The age of *Bhāravi* and *Daṇḍin*, the literary history of the Pallava period'; *Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore*, Vol. XIII, pp. 670-688.

2 The present writer has discussed about the identity in the article 'The founder of the Vikrama Era. An interregnum in the history of the Andhra period.' *Myth. Soc. Jour.*, Vol. XII, pp. 268-282; Vol. XIII, pp. 506-510.

3 The early Sanskrit prahasana *Bhagavadajjukam* which was recently published by Dr. Banerji-Sastri in the *Journal of Behar* and

contains peculiarities that are observed in these dramas. It does not appear unwarranted to say that the dramas discovered at Malabar and attributed to Bhāsa by Mm. T. Ganapati Sastri should have been abridged in the Court of the Pallava sovereign Rājasiṃha. Malabar has preserved many ancient customs and usages that prevailed long ago in South India. It preserved for us many forgotten works like the Arthaśāstra and its commentaries, Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra, Bhāmaha's Alampkāra and Śaṅkarācārya's commentary on the Yoga Sūtras. Similarly it seems to have preserved these Pallava abridgments of early dramas, several of which are enacted in the orthodox Kerala stage even today.

From the nature of the account in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Subandhu's work on dramaturgy, Subandhu's date cannot be determined. There is nothing to say whether he is the same as the Mauryan Minister or the Author of the prose romance *Vāsavadatta*. The latter appears from various references in his work to belong to the period of the decline of the political power of the Guptas.

A. RANGASWAMI SARASVATI

Orissa is mentioned in the Mamandur inscription of the Pallava king who mentions this drama as well as the *Mattavilāsa*. The *Mattavilāsa* is a *prahasana* written by the king to ridicule the Jains and Buddhists. The *Bhagavadajjukam* is mentioned in the line preceding the one where the *Mattavilāsa* is mentioned. But the connection in which it is mentioned is not evident as the inscription is damaged. It might have mentioned that Mahendravarman, whose literary achievements the inscription details, wrote the *Bhagavadajjuka* just as he wrote the *Mattavilāsa*. Or it might have said that Mahendravarman wrote his *Mattavilāsa* on the model of the early drama *Bhagavadajjukam*. One of the manuscripts of the work discovered contains a verse at the beginning which says that its author's name was Bodhayana. A commentary of the drama that has also been discovered says that the name of the author of the drama was Bodhayana.

Hindu Theory Of Property

In Sanskrit vocabulary property is subsumed under the word "artha", a generic term deep as well as wide, standing as the second among the four categories of human life, viz. dharma (righteousness), artha (wealth), kāma (fulfilment of desire), and mokṣa (salvation). A long process of gradual crystallisation brought into it all the various meanings which became attached to it in course of time. This may easily be referred backwards to the different periods of growth, but here they are alluded to merely in an introductory fashion without any philosophical emphasis. The Lexicographer Amara of c. 800 A. D. gives the following meanings of *artha* which disclose the development of the concept stage by stage. Relevant synonyms mentioned in his work are—a thing, need, purpose, earning, wealth, property¹. And all these words show a close connection between the underlying ideas, which is clearly revealed by an analysis of them. Thus a thing is the material form of a need which it somehow satisfies. A purpose is the psychological side of it, and earning is exchange for property and need, while wealth is accumulated property in the most convenient shape. In the dictionary of synonyms, no explanation can be expected for the terms, yet it shows the precipitate of the ideas already highly advanced and mature at the time of the dictionary-maker. In about 300 B. C. and long before Amara, Kautilya technically defined "artha" as "the subsistence of mankind" and even "the earth which contains mankind is also termed "artha"².

1 Amarakoṣa, pp. 242, 325, Colebrooke's edition.

2 Arthaśāstra, p. 515. Mill has fully endorsed it in his query. "But is there nothing recognised as property except what has been produced (by labour)? Is there not the earth itself, its forests and waters, and all the natural riches above and below the surface? These

PSYCHOLOGY OF PROPERTY

The mental side of property desires to be treated before its political side not only because of its naturally earlier genesis but also for the fact that a better understanding of its rise and growth calls for it. For purely psychological analysis and ethical vision, the Brhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad supplies the earliest thought on the subject, and the basis for ritualistic morality as in Manu and the Mahābhārata. The moral responsibility of possessions is a never-ending theme with the Hindu moralist, but nowhere else is found the exact reason why property is desired in its widest sense. Says the Brhad-Āraṇyaka—

“Therefore in the present time people living alone desire thus ... ‘May I gain wealth to do my works’ (possibly sacrificial rites). Having desired thus he thinks ‘I am incomplete’. So long as he does not obtain the desired object. Man naturally striving for self-completion and failing to secure the objects of his will considers himself incomplete and then complete on gaining them”¹.

It also gives the relation between the self and property (vittam) including cows etc. as—“His (man’s) self is the nave and his property (even as cows etc.) is of the nature of the circumference of the wheel”², signifying thereby the supplementary yet intimate connection between the two. This figure of speech is too common in Hindu thought and it points to a unity of parts, which though strictly inapplicable to this case yet shows the importance of property to the self for expressing itself.

Such an analysis as the above of the oldest of the Upaniṣads is quite in keeping with modern psychology viz.

are inheritances of the human race” (Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 480). Śukra speaks of “the earth as the source of all wealth” (Śukra-Nīti, p. 23).

1 4th Brāhmaṇa, 17.

2 5th Brāhmaṇa, 15.

that property completes the will. In other words it is some form of self-completion whether it is collected wealth or daily earning as means to acquire property. In this sense property is said to be "objectified will"¹ and here the Hindu psychology already quoted is sound and very modern in its outlook. It explains wealth whether it is possession or property as the expression of the will or of the instinct of acquisition.

In Hegelian language the idea of the Upaniṣad quoted above signifies in a roughly compressed way that "since our *wants* are looked upon as primary, the possession of property appears at first to be a means to their *satisfaction*; but it is really the first embodiment of freedom and an independent end. A person must give to his freedom an external sphere, in order that he may reach the *completeness* implied in the idea The reasonableness of property consists not simply in satisfying our needs but in its superseding and replacing the subjective phase of personality". Thus "property is the embodiment of the particular will"².

The Brhad-Āraṇyaka takes the naked self only or "the individual as considered in his first abstract simplicity and hence with reference only to those features of personality with which he is directly endowed and not to those which he might proceed to acquire by voluntary effort"³. And then when it shows the relation of the self to property it lays down the true principle that property is the self expanded just as the circumference is mathematically the extension of the centre on all sides.

RISE OF PROPERTY

The origin of property as an institution is a political question. It is in reality an index to the social stage in which it appears, just as has been suggested in the Mahā-

1 Bosanquet's Phil. Theo. of the State, p. 241.

2 Hegel, Phil. of Right, Dyde's Translation, pp. 48, 49, 50.

3 Adapted from Hegel's Phil. of Right, Dyde's Translation, p. 52.

bhārata¹. Political thought characterises it first as possession indicating its crude form before the birth of the state and as property proper when state-laws come into operation. This may be designated pre-state and post-state property according to Gierke² or as mere possession unregulated by law and regular property as a political institution in Rousseau's view³. The purely natural or industrial stage of property is represented in Manu and its social and political stage in the Mahābhārata, but both influenced more or less by the Buddhist traditions.

A few words in passing are necessary here before entering upon a discussion of the origin and nature of property. The whole question is finally one of rights and how such rights can arise. Ritchie has admirably put it in the most expressive form in his "Natural Rights". He is of opinion that "the attempt to base the right of property on the Law of Nature takes two principal forms: in both of these we see the influence of that sense of "nature" in which the *natural* means what is least affected by human institutions. There is the theory which bases property on *occupation*, and there is the theory which bases it on *labour*"⁴. Grotius is an example of the first and Locke of the second just in the same Indian way as the Buddhist idea and that of Manu. But labour and occupation are the two poles of property ultimately merging into one, for occupation itself is a form of labour, implicitly assumed in all theories but explicitly explained by George. As against Grotius and in support of Locke, George argued that "the right of property, since it originates in the right of the individual to himself, attaches only to things produced by labour but cannot attach to

1 Mahābhārata, Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, p. 973.

2 Pol. Theo. of the Mid. Age, p. 50.

3 Social Contract, p. 19, Cole's edition.

4 Natural Rights, p. 226.

things created by God"¹. For Grotius "all acquisition by labour" is occupation because all property is made out of pre-existing matter². The Buddhist account takes no notice of the element of labour involved in property, which is of course fundamental in Manu. Such a position naturally ushered in the Trust theory of a property as a distinct and highly significant contribution.

(a) The Buddhist tradition, which is probably chronologically earlier but has a later colouring, traces property back to that state of nature in which everything was common to all being used according to needs. Proprietary demarcation was the effect of the selfishness of individuals who tried to appropriate more than his share as provision for the future. Thus it is related that :—

"If these beings (primitive men) wanted rice to eat in the evening or in the morning, they would go and get what is requisite, but it happened that one being who was of an indolent disposition took at one time enough rice for evening and morning. Now another being said to him, "come let us go for rice." Then he answered him, "look after your own rice, I have taken enough at one time to last me morning and evening". Then the other thought, "Good capital ! I will take enough rice for two, three, seven days" and he did accordingly. Then it happened that some one said to this person "come let us go for rice" but he answered him, "Look after your own rice ;

1 Condition of labour, p. 35.

2 Natural Rights, p, 268. It is interesting to note that Śukra does not recognise occupation or possession as a source of right. "A man is not the owner of property because it is held by him. Is it not found in the case of thieves that somebody's property is being held by somebody else ? Śukra-Nīti, p. 210. To answer Śukra the view of Manu and Locke has to be adopted.

I have taken enough at one time to last me two, three, seven days". "Good capital ! thought the other. I will take enough rice for a fortnight, for a month ;" and he did accordingly.

And because these beings took to laying up provisions of this spontaneously growing rice, it became coarse ; a husk enveloped the grain, and when it had been cut it grew not up again, but remained as it had been left. Then these beings assembled together in sorrow and said, "Let us now draw lines of demarcation and establish boundaries between each one's property" (portion). And so they drew lines of demarcation and set up bounds "This is mine—this is thine." (They said). Now this is the first appearance in the world of a system of boundary lines and this (boundary) is right or not right according to the king's decision for he is the Lord of the Law."¹

It is to be noted that the necessity for political society is seen in the rise of property according to the Buddhist view which is more comprehensive and better connected than Manu's treatment given below. Regulation of property and the assignment of rights introduced an assessor who is the first political head. The rudiments of proprietary right are also indicated though not so pointedly as in Manu.

(b) Manu gives the essentially individualistic conception of property in its most primitive or merely labour-produced form when the state had no existence nor even society of any kind other than the presumably nomadic. It seems Manu goes back in substance to a stage earlier than that pictured in the Buddhist record. He does not speak of any conflict with other individuals or any consequent pressure for regulating property and right, but only defines condition of the right to property which appears to be intuitive i. e. natural. Such

1 Rockhill's Buddha, pp. 5-6.

right is based on industry or labour becoming proprietary at once, or in the language of Locke "labour was to be the title to it". Manu has declared :

"According to ancient authorities, the land belongs to him who first cleared it of forests and a deer to him who pierced it first with his arrow."¹

The Hindu legislator has not mentioned the names of the authorities he was following but it is clear that there was this old tradition in his time. It is in keeping with Locke's treatment of the same subject. These lines from the English philosopher are parallel to Manu in thought and language :

"As much land as a man tills, improves, cultivates and can use the products of, so much is his. Thus the law of reason makes the deer that (American) Indian's who hath killed it".²

But later on Locke deals with property just in the same way as Buddhist account has done above. The principles involved are the same, for he went on to say that :

"This is certain that in the beginning, before the desire of having more than man needed had altered the intrinsic value of things, which depended only on their usefulness to the life of man.....though men had a right to appropriate by their labour, each one to himself, as much of the things of nature as he could use, yet this could not be much nor to the prejudice of others, where the same plenty was still left to those who would use the same industry.....The increase of lands and the right employing of them is the great art of government."³

(c) The maintenance of property or proprietary rights is an advanced question untouched by Manu but only hinted by

1 Manusmṛhitā, IX, 44.

2 Civil Government, Cassell's edition, pp. 24, 25.

3 Ibid., pp. 29, 31.

the Buddhist record. Nowhere is the need for the state is more urgently felt than in the sphere of rights and claims. In a sense the state is for these and these are born with the state. Even in the Vedic time a king was needed to assign rightful portions presumably through state actions. The elected king is expected to do it as his duty. In the electing hymn the Atharva Veda says—"Be seated on this summit of the body politic and from there vigorously distribute the natural wealth"¹. In the justice of the state is seen to lie the germ of private and personal property though it is no theory in the Vedas. The Mahābhārata concerns itself with this problem of rights and draws a distinction between *mineness* (ownership) of two kinds external and internal and defines it as "consciousness that it is my property, my son etc"². Evidently the one is proprietary consciousness of right and the other is the enjoyment of property acquired. The point here is how could these be possible? Undoubtedly these involve "possession" and "protection" of property for the keeping up of right, and such enjoyment and security of property can be assured only by the state through its coercive power of "danḍa" i. e. restraint and punishment. It is in line with Rousseau's argument that in the state of nature there is but "possession which is merely the effect of force or right of the first occupant", and "not property which can be founded only on a positive title" as in civil society³. Thus property as the most important instrument of the family which is the political unit becomes in the Epic the primary product of the state and the chief factor in consolidated society. It is worth noticing that the Mahābhārata everywhere puts property in conjunction with wife and children indicating thereby the whole apparatus of family life. From this point of view Bosanquet has called property "a corollary of the household family"⁴.

1 Atharva Veda, III, 4, 2. Vide Note infra, pp. 278-9

2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, xiii, p. 950.

3 Social Contract, p. 19, Cole's edition.

4 Vide Bosanquet's Phil. Theo. of the State, p. 281.

In anarchy or the non-state condition "none can have any (sense of) 'mine-ness' (i. e. claim) to anything", "none can live in possession of food and things", "none can safely enjoy wealth and wife" (family life)¹. This socioplastic chaos is not civil society but the state of nature. Here anybody can have anything. Any two combine to take the property of one and many combine to take it from the first two. "Like the fish in shallow water and the birds in a sequestered place, enjoyment is under envy according to sweet will"². Hence as shown by Prof. Sarkar "property does not exist in the non-state (condition of the logic of the fish—*Mātsya-nyāya*)..... Property however is not mere *bhoga* i. e. mineness or ownership,Property (*bhoga*, enjoyment plus *mamatva*, ownership) is the differentium between the non-state and the state³. Necessarily the *Mahābhārata* has declared that "acquiring wealth and taking to a wife must be done under the shelter of the king"⁴. For men can spend their days only by taking the shelter of the all-fruitioning king⁵. This is practically equal to saying that the highest security and development of the accessories to life are obtained in the state, since it not only preserves but creates right which comes into being with its own life. But the Epic recognized that there can be no right to fruits without sowing of seeds⁶, which is in short labour-produced title. *Kauṭilya* speaks of activity (labour) being the root of all wealth⁷.

(d) The Trust doctrine regarding property evidently avoids the difficulty of initial proprietary rights and being necessarily in intimate connection with religious ideas, concerns itself rather solely with the object of acquiring it. In fact the question of right does not arise at all when everything is looked upon

1 *Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva*, lxvii, lxviii, pp. 984, 985.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 984, 985.

3 *Pol. Theories and Institutes of the Hindus*, p. 204.

4 *Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva*, lvii, p. 978. 5 *Ibid.*, lxxvi, p. 990.

6 *Aśvamedha Parva*, p. 1310. 7 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 44.

as the gift of god. It is also a natural intuition consequent on man's experience of the world and of himself. The Hindu conception of the material world agrees with the Christian idea¹ in accepting it as the bounty of the Maker. The Mahābhārata speaks of the purpose of creation:

"For the enjoyment of all beings this whole world of moving life and inert matter has been created by his (God's) power"².

But to the question of man's use of the world and all the things found in it there is only one answer throughout the Hindu Śāstras. The individualistic idea has been carefully shut out so that no selfish end might be read in the object of creation. While the Vedas pray for "riches turned to worthy ends" and "wealth that directs both worlds"³, the Epic states that "wealth has been created for sacrifices (yajña) and man has been appointed the trustee for it"⁴. And "wealth is the means to dharma (righteousness)"⁵. This wealth and righteousness (artha and dharma) are inter-related, the former being under the latter. Their combination is sweet and beautiful like that of honey and nectar⁶. The Mahābhārata further enjoins that "wealth above one's need must be given to the poor"⁷. Manu distinguishes between "godly wealth" and "demonical wealth" according to their use⁸, which in fact serves for a supplementary commentary on the parable of the talents⁹. It is like Prof. Hobhouse's division between "property for use" and "property for power" in his "Property, its Duties and Rights"¹⁰. In fact Manu's object for earning consists in "supporting relatives, performing

1 Gen. I, 28. Eccl. XVII, 1-11. 2 Anuśāsana Parva, xiv, p. 1199.

3 R̥g Veda, I, 141.

4 Rājadharmānuśāsana, xx, p. 954.

5 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, viii, p. 147.

6 Āpaddharma Parva, clxvii, p. 1049.

7 Mokṣadharmā Parva, clxix, p. 1105. 8 Manu, XI, xx, p. 658.

9 Matt. 25 ; 15ff.

10 Quoted in Hodgkin's Christ. Revol., p. 221.

religious rites and saving the body from hunger and nudity"¹. Again "a man desiring happiness must not earn more than his need, viz. for maintaining himself and his family and doing religious works, for contentment is happiness and discontent is sorrow"².

In its deeper implication the trust theory of property stands next door to the Communism of Plato and More and necessarily reduces to the vanishing point all exclusiveness of the Aristotelian type for an expanding spiritual generalisation of everything acquired in this world by the energy and enterprise of man. The individual element in personal use of things gives place to a higher utility where others (gods and men implied in sacrificial rites) receive proper, if not greater, consideration. Thus it is said that "the whole world is based on Yajña (sacrificial rite)³ and apart from its orthodox and scriptural meaning, it has an undoubted social significance and a spiritual character; for "yajña and the world are reciprocally protective"⁴. This reminds one of Tawney's standard of personal property in his famous book the "Acquisitive Society", viz. what is "needed for proper service to the community"⁵. In the conception of Yajña as combined religion and service the radical Epic socialism declaring everybody having equal claim to everything⁶ is superseded by a robust spiritual idealism which secures practically the same result but avoids the patent difficulties. Śukra, therefore, declares that "the world exists through Charity and Goodness"⁷. "Through wealth men get virtue, satisfaction and salvation"⁸. Like Manu Śukra also insists on "enjoying wealth after giving away portions to the king, relatives, friends, servants, thieves and wife and sons"⁹. But Kauṭilya found "the

1 Manu IV, 3, p. 191.

2 Manu IV, 12, p. 194.

3 Mokṣadharma Parva, clxviii, p. 1111.

4 Ibid., p. 1112.

5 Quoted in Hodgkin's Christ. Revol., p. 221.

6 Aśvamedha P., p. 1331, vide supra p. 265. Authority II, p. 18.

7 Śukra Niti, p. 118.

8 Ibid., p. 264.

9 Ibid., p. 265.

world bound by wealth"¹ and "wealth, the means to virtue and enjoyment"². Here is a combination of the social and individual elements implied in the responsibility of possessions. The whole argument may be summed up in the idea of the Epic that "by wealth can be controlled this world and the next, and truth and righteousness"³.

In fact Manu's pronouncement stands as a challenge to the world even to-day. The quantitative solution of socialism means equal distribution and nothing more, while Manu drives at a qualitative change in man's attitude to property. A. J. Penty says, "it was the problem of inducing men to obey the moral law in the sphere of economics, of preventing them from obtaining more than their share of property.....that led Socialists in the past to escape from the dilemma by demanding the abolition of all private property whatsoever. But experience is proving that.....(it) is to follow the line of maximum resistance"⁴. Tawney suggests that "if society is to be healthy, men must regard themselves not as the owners of rights, but as *trustees* for the discharge of functions and as instruments of social purpose. They will insist that property is moral and healthy when it is used as a condition and involves the discharge of definite personal obligations"⁵. And this is Dharma (righteousness) and Yajña (sacrifice) in the Hindu sense⁶.

In the conception of property as *trust* the Hindu thinkers reached—it must be admitted—very high degree of economic idealism which in depth and extent showed the most consummate synthesis of the spiritual and the material, transforming the latter at every step into means and instruments for the former. If the spirit is really spiritual the use of property

1 Arthaśāstra, p. 398.

2 Ibid., p. 394.

3 Śānti Parva, lxxx, p. 1023.

4 Towards a Christian Sociology, p. 150.

5 Acquisitive Society, pp. 28, 44.

6 Cf. Trivedi's Yajña Kathā.

becomes spiritual as well, or as Hegel puts it as giving a soul to property. To regard property as trust does therefore mean a great spiritual advance and is in fact impossible without it. The west in running to extremes in its theories about property has almost lost sight of this great principle—although it is learning it of late which holds together in their proper places in relation to rights both the individual and society in which he lives. It is the transmutation of individualism and socialism into something which is both without destroying either totally and for good. The details of the regulation of private property in individual life according to Hindu thought are impossible here, but it is sufficient to say that Hindu religious practice eminently succeeded in divesting the individual, through various rites and sacrifices up to the stage of sylvan retirement, of unnecessary, injurious and mischievous accumulation without any recourse to “death duties” or other forced regulations. Yet all was voluntary from the sense of spiritual duty and the self of man was not snatched away from him. The proper balance between *Vyāṣṭi* (the individual) and *Samaṣṭi* (the collection) was the aim of the Hindu religious economist ; he could not logically sacrifice any one of these for the sake of the other and thus raise an outwardly easy yet impracticable theory. When a light sneer is passed on the all too religious strain of Hindu thought in every department of knowledge, its right import is often misunderstood and more often missed altogether. If anything is supposed to infuse the correct spirit into man’s use of this God-created world, adjusting all economic and social relations into a spiritual whole free from jarring and concussion, it must be religion after all, when it is liberated from its air-tight segregation and is allowed to flow into and become one with politics, economics and sociology. The solution of the property problem seems to lie in this direction. Western Christianity with its individualistic emphasis has apparently failed to realise what Hinduism tried to do through the institution of *Yajña* of many kinds down to the number-

less vratas or small ceremonies. Even in socialism itself the trust idea has a good and important part to play contributing to its very basis and goal.

(e) Laukika property, i. e., its legal aspect, is cited from *Mitākṣarā* and *Sarasvatī-Vilāsa* and other law books in Jolly's *Recht and Sitte*, p. 91. "And juridically speaking, the property taken cognizance of by the state is *laukika* i. e. worldly, material, or secular" is Prof. B. K. Sarkar's explanatory remark¹. As a legal institution it does not touch the theory proper, having no direct bearing on it. The difference between real and personal property involving the right to use, transfer, bequeath, sell and destroy any property is essentially a legal question. But its sacredness is preserved by the authority of the state under *daṇḍa* or punishment, or in other words through the operation of law. It is the state that gives validity, as shown by Prof. Sarkar² to the "seven modes of acquiring property" according to Manu (X, 115) and to its "three titles" according to Vasiṣṭha (XVI, 10) and other legal incidents³.

The net result of the institution of property in consolidating social and family life is as great and far-reaching as that of the very establishment of the state itself, though the former is subsidiary to and dependent on the latter⁴.

1 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 208. The *Mīmāṃsā* view of property is the extreme *laukika* idea making it a mere convention. So "Vijñāneśvara following Prabhākara argues that Jaimini (IV, 1-3-6) was of opinion that property was essentially a matter of popular recognition" and such recognition is only convention (*Kieth's Karma Mīmāṃsā*, p. 101).

2 Ibid., p. 209.

3 Jolly, *Recht and Sitte*, pp. 90-92.

4 Baudhāyana evidently takes the state to exist for the express purpose of protecting property and life and though he is not quite explicit his meaning is clear in his law-book where he speaks of the duty of the ruling caste, the Kṣatriyās, (I, 10, 18, 3 and 16, pp. 199 and 201, S. B. E. vol. XIV). The passages referred to run thus—

Following the Mahābhārata Prof. Sarkar has pointed out¹ that "two miraculous changes are effected in social life once private property is called into existence. First, people can sleep without anxiety 'with doors open'² and secondly, women decked with ornaments can walk without fear 'un-attended by men'³. This is equal to the most comprehensive security to life and its necessary accessories which make life worth living in this world and gives a significant meaning to it.

J. N. C. GANGULY

"In the Kṣatriyas (God placed) strength.....(the privilege) of using weapons and protecting the treasure and life of created beings for the growth of (good) government"

Cf. Mill—

"However the assumption that government exists solely for the protection of property is not one to be deliberately adhered to.....that protection being required for person as well as property. The ends of government are as comprehensive as those of social union". (Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 485).

1 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 209.

2 Śānti Parva, lxviii, 30, p 985.

3 Ibid., 32. p. 985.



The Vicitra Natak

II

Date of Composition

The Sikh records generally refer to two different periods of literary activity in the career of Guru Govind Singh. The first was the period when the Guru is said to have lived in obscurity in the hills where 'he set himself to the task of self-improvement', and the most important of the modern writers say that it covered the first 20 years of Guru Govind Singh's pontificate¹, though we must state here that there is no evidence to support such a statement. During the second period the Guru was living in retirement at Damdama² where he secured a safe retreat after his final defeat at Chamkaur, having experienced, in the meantime, all the dangers and dramatic escapes of a fugitive under a hot chase. How long the Guru remained at Damdama we do not definitely know. Dr. Narang states that the Guru stopped there for about a year³ and Cunningham also practically says the same thing⁴. As the latter places the battle of Chamkaur in 1705-6⁵, the Guru's stay at Damdama could not have extended much more than one year for it is almost certain that he left the place about the beginning of 1707, as it was from Damdama that he was called to the south by the Emperor and he had not proceeded far on his journey when he came to know of Aurangzib's death which took place on the 3rd March, 1707⁶. But we must point out here that the battle of Chamkaur cannot be placed so late as 1705. The great seige of Anandpur

1 Cunningham, p. 67, see also f.n. 2 ; Narang, pp. 74, 75 ; Irvine, p. 14.

2 Half-way between Hansi and Ferozepur ; Cunningham, p. 80 ; see also Irvine, p. 88, f. n.

3 Narang, p. 99.

4 Cunningham, p. 80.

5 Ibid., p. 79.

6 Irvine, p. 1.

took place about 1701 and as it was almost immediately followed by the battle of Chamkaur whither the allied army proceeded as soon as they came to detect that the Guru had fled, Govind's final defeat cannot be placed later than 1702. We are inclined to think therefore that the Guru's stay at Damdama was somewhat longer. It is stated in the *Sākhi Book* that the Guru stopped at Damdama for 'three years minus some months and days'¹, and it seems that at least on this point it is not far from truth. At any rate, the Guru's stay must have been sufficiently long to have enabled him to dictate to Bhāi Mani Singh the whole of the *Granth Sahib* to which was added for the first time the hymns and ślokas of his father with a śloka of his own, and to compose at least a part of the *Dasam Pādsāh kī Granth*².

To which of these periods are we to assign the composition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak*? Opinion is almost equally divided. Cunningham and Narang say that the entire *Dasam Pādsāh kī Granth* was written when the Guru was living in retirement at Damdama³; Malcolm and Griffin would place the composition of the *Granth* near about 1696 and Rose in 1698⁴ while Macauliffe is of opinion that the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, at least, was composed probably about 1692⁵. The question is thus one of great difficulty but I think that the position can be, to some extent, cleared if we begin by settling the chronology of the events narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* for it is likely to set a limit to the field of our enquiry by narrowing down the range of probability and enabling us to settle definitely at least a lower limit.

1 Sirdar Attar Singh's Translation, *Sākhi*, No. 59.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 223.

3 Cunningham, p. 80; Narang, p. 99.

4 Malcolm, p. 186, f. n.; Lepel Griffin's *Ranjit Singh*, p. 48; *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes* compiled by Rose, vol. I, p. 690, f. n.

5 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 1. f. n.

Cunningham, Narang and Irvine place all these events after 1695. They all start with the assumption that the Guru passed the first twenty years of his pontificate in seclusion in the hills and as he had ascended the gaddi of his father in 1675 his public career could not have commenced earlier than 1695. Cunningham adds that 'the period is nowhere definitely given by English or Indian writers ; but from a comparison of dates and circumstances, it seems probable that Govind did not take upon himself a new and special character as a teacher of men until about the thirty-fifth year or until the year 1695 of Christ¹. The learned author perhaps very naturally thought that it was not likely that the Guru had entered into military adventures before organising his followers into an efficient machine and so dated Guru Govind Singh's public career from 1695. But we do not understand why, with the unanimous testimony of the Sikh authorities before him, Dr. Narang commits the same mistake. Perhaps with the single exception of the authority quoted by Malcolm², the Sikh records are unanimous in placing the introduction of Guru Govind Singh's reforms in 1699³ and they all state that the actions narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* took place before that event. Indeed, there is one piece of negative evidence in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself which appears to us conclusive. In his description of the battles the Guru gives his followers their full meed of praise and many of them are individually mentioned. We are informed of the feats accomplished by Sri Shah, Nand Cand, Kripal, Dayaram, Maheri Cand, Sangatia and others but nowhere does the common cognomen of Singh appear. This fact makes it certain that all these battles took place before the Khālsā came into existence.

Next, the Bilaspore *Banswara* supplies us with a very

1 Cunningham, p. 67, f. n. 2. 2 Malcolm, p. 186, f. n.

3 Panth Prakāś, p. 183 ; Itihās Guru Khālsā, p. 325 ; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 93 ; Suraj Prakāś as quoted by S. Banerjee, p. 204.

important date. It is stated there that Raja Bhim Cand 'passed the closing years of life as a Fakir after abdicating in favour of his son Ajmer Cand, who became the 35th Raja in 1692 A. D.¹. Now, Raja Bhim Cand of Bilaspore figure most prominently in the account given by the Guru. The battle of Nadaun, the negotiations with Hussain Khan, and the fight against Raja Gopal of Guler, in all these Bhim Cand plays a very important part, and if he had abdicated in 1692 it follows that all these events happened before that year. The *Sūraj Prakāś*, and the *Gur Vilās*, however, state that Raja Bhim Cand participated even in the great siege of Anandpur in 1701 but other Sikh records seem to corroborate the Bilaspore *Banswara*. The period immediately following the incidents we have been discussing here is somewhat obscure and the Sikh records indicate that Guru Govind Singh temporarily retired to the hills whence he came out just on the eve of the introduction of his reforms. When the Bilaspore Raja is next mentioned in connection with the opposition to the Guru's reforms we find the name of Ajmer Cand in some of the Sikh chronicles². We may, therefore, accept 1692 as the date that marked the close of Raja Bhim Cand's public activities and consequently all the incidents in which he figures must be placed previously to that year.

Mr. Rose, who has been the first to give a close attention to this question, is of opinion that the incidents narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* must have taken place between the years 1691 and 1698³. He arrives at this conclusion mainly on two different grounds. He places the composition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* in Samvat 1755 (1698 A. D) and secondly, he accepts Gurbux Singh's statement that the first of

1 Simla Hill-States Gazetteer, Bilaspore, p. 6.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 99 ; Panth Prakāś, p. 204.

3 Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. I, p. 690, f. n. 2.

Guru Govind Singh's letters discovered by him at Dacca, which is dated Samvat 1748 (1691 A. D.) was written at a time 'when peace still prevailed though were munitions being collected'. But as Mr. Rose accepts the statement of the Bilaspore chronicle that Raja Bhim Cand had abdicated in 1692¹ it is difficult to see how his views can be maintained. He says that hostilities probably commenced in 1692, the very year which witnessed the end of Raja Bhim Cand's public career but in that case all the events in which Bhim Cand participated, viz., the battle of Bhangani, the battle of Nadaun and the adventures of Hussain Khan will have to be accommodated into a single year, which is manifestly impossible. From the Guru's own account it appears that at least the first and the second of these engagements took place after an appreciable interval but even if we suppose that the events followed one another in quick succession one single year would be clearly insufficient. Moreover, the reasons, that Gurbux Singh advances for his supposition that even in 1691 hostilities had not commenced, do not seem to be convincing. The letter in question 'acknowledges the receipt of swords, clothes and money through some delegates sent by the Sangat and asks for more clothes, shields and war munitions'. So there is nothing in the letter itself which suggests that it was written at a time when peace still prevailed. Munitions would certainly be collected in anticipation of war but they might equally be collected when war was going on or even when war had ended. But Gurbux Singh really bases his argument on the second and the third letters. These letters are not dated but Gurbux Singh states that they were evidently written at intervals of a few months after the first letter of 1691. In the second letter the Guru asks for a first class war elephant and that an elephant was actually sent is clear from the postscript on the letter that followed². Gurbux

1 Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. I, p. 690, f. n. 4.

2 Dacca Review, 1915, p. 231. 3 Ibid., 1916, p. 316.

Singh goes on to say that 'an elephant was also the primary cause of the commencement of hostilities against him by the Hill Raja of Bilaspore, who subsequently called in the Moghuls to his help. The Sikh books relate that this was a Meghna elephant, a present from Raja Ratan Rai of Assam. As contemporary history does not support the Sikh tradition, the elephant in question might have been the one sent from Dacca and possibly a present from Raja Manik Rai of Chittagong through the Dacca Saṅgat'¹. It is on the basis of this supposition that the elephant, which was the immediate cause of the quarrel between the Guru and Raja Bhim Cand of Bilaspore, had been sent by the Dacca Saṅgat after 1691 that we are asked to accept the statement that hostilities had not yet commenced in that year. The first part of Gurbux Singh's argument seems plausible. It is narrated in the Sikh records that Guru Tegh Bahadur had accompanied Mirza Raja Ram Singh in his expedition against the Ahoms leaving his family at Patna², where Guru Govind Singh was born during his absence. But the tenth Guru was born on the 7th of Paus, Samvat 1723³ and Raja Ram Singh's expedition against Assam took place two years later⁴. Therefore it is not possible to reconcile the Sikh tradition with contemporary history. Gurbux Singh suggests that Guru Tegh Bahadur possibly accompanied Raja Subal Singh Sesodia, the only Rajput of note that took part in the expedition against Chittagong, which was carried on in the winter of

1 Dacca Review, 1916, p. 316.

2 Macauliffe, vol. iv, pp. 348-352.

3 Cunningham makes Govind 15 at the time of his accession (p. 66) and he is followed by Narang, who vaguely says that the Guru was barely 15 (p. 72). But the evidence of the Sikh records is un-animous. See Irvine, p. 84, f. n.

4 Sarkar's Aurangzib, vol. iii, p. 187. Raja Ram Singh was appointed to the command against Assam in December, 1667, and he reached Rangamati in February, 1669.



1665-66 A.D. and this corresponds very well with the date of birth of Guru Govind Singh¹. But his identification of the elephant that led to the quarrel with Bhim Cand with the other that was sent by the Dacca Saṅgat is, more or less, a clever guess and we find it difficult to accept its implications in the face of all that we have said before and the united testimony of the Sikh authorities that hostilities had commenced at an earlier date.

Indeed, it seems to us that this confusion about the chronology of Guru Govind Singh need never have arisen if the Sikh records had been given the attention they deserve. They are all unanimous with regard to the general sequence of events and the date of the commencement of hostilities with the Hill Rajas. We would reserve the discussion of the details for another occasion but it may be stated here that most of the important Sikh authorities are agreed that the battle of Bhangani, where the Guru received his baptism of fire, took place about Saṃvat 1744 or 1687 A.D.². Besides, there exists another very interesting piece of evidence which we would mention here for what it is worth. We are told that after the battle was over Guru Govind Singh rewarded those of his followers who had distinguished themselves in the fray. One of these fortunate few was the Brahmin Dayaram whom the Guru credits 'with having fought bravely like Droṇa of old'. He was given a shield made of rhinoceros-skin and it is still preserved in the residence of his descendant at Anandapur. It is about 2 feet 3 inches in breadth and to it is attached a weapon resembling the triangular head of a spear. On the latter there is an inscription describing the circum-

1 Dacca Review, 1915, p. 222, f. n.

2 Panth Prakāś, p. 161; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 51. He places the birth of Ajit Singh in January, 1687, which event he places immediately after the battle of Bhangani; Itihās Guru Khālsā, p. 322.

tances of the grant, which is dated Samvat 1744¹. As we are not in possession of the opinion of any expert with regard to this inscription it is not safe to place too much reliance upon it but this much may be said that the date of the inscription at least proves the existence of a strong Sikh tradition that the battle of Bhangani was fought in 1687.

The Sikh records do not tell us anything definite with regard to the time of the battle of Nadaun but there is a hint in some of them which suggests that the battle was fought about 1689. We are told that the Guru's second son, who was born on the seventh day of the month of Cet, Samvat, 1747 (April, 1690) was named Zorawar Singh, or the powerful lion, in commemoration of the battle of Nadaun². The failure of the son of Dilawar Khan and the adventures of Hussain Khan followed soon after and from the account given in the *Panth Prakāś*³ it appears that these were finished by the year 1691. At any rate we must place them before 1692, the year of Raja Bhim Cand's abdication.

But now a difficulty arises. In the 12th and 13th sections of the *Vicitra Nāṭaka* two other incidents are mentioned in which Raja Bhim Cand plays no part. The 12th section gives an account of a struggle between some of the Hill Rajas on the one side and a general of Dilawar Khan named Jujhar Singh, on the other. In the 13th section the Guru narrates the story of the arrival of a son of Aurangzib in the Punjab. 'It does not appear that the Emperor's son remained long in the Punjab or any depredations there'⁴. He was succeeded by Mirza Beg Khan who proceeded to plunder all those who had taken

1 T. Banerjee—Life of Guru Govind Singh (in Bengali), pp. 170-171.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 55.

3 *Panth Prakāś*, p. 164.

4 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 59.

refuge in the hills as soon as they came to know the Shahzada was approaching. 'Any that escape! from Mirza Beg were afterwards punished by four other equally relentless officers who succeeded him'. From the Guru's account it appears that desertions had taken place from his own ranks and he concludes his work by cursing the apostates in this world and the next.

The adventure of Jujhar Singh is ignored by the Sikh writers and the reason may perhaps be guessed. They were writing about their Guru and, as the incident in question had no concern with him, they did not think it necessary to incorporate it in their works. Even with regard to the second incident the Guru's direct concern was not much and it appears from his own treatment of the subject that he incorporated it in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* mainly with the object of reading a lesson on apostasy. From other references in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* it appears that desertions were by no means rare and the Guru hardly misses an opportunity of telling us how the apostates were punished either by himself or by others¹.

Nevertheless, this particular reference introduces a very great complication. The name of the Shahzada is not mentioned in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* but Macauliffe says that it was Prince Muazzim who afterwards became known as the Emperor Bahadur Shah². Malcolm is of opinion that 'this must have been in the year 1701, when Bahadur Shah was detached from the Dakhin to take charge of the government of Kabul, and was probably ordered, at the same time, to settle the disturbances in the Punjab³'. This is a mere guess which rests on two assumptions—that the Prince referred to in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* was none other than Bahadur Shah himself and that he was ordered to settle the

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 37, 38 ; x, 1.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 59.

3 Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 60, f. n.

disturbances in the Punjab when he was appointed to the government of Kabul. Cunningham does not seem to accept Malcolm's views¹, but they receive considerable support from the *Gur Vilās*, perhaps the most important authority on Guru Govind Singh next to the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself. From Bhāi Sukhā Singh's account it appears that almost immediately after the creation of the Panth, difficulties commenced with the Hill Rajas, mainly because the Sikhs began to exact contributions by force from the Hill people, whenever they found themselves in urgent need of anything that the latter possessed². The Rajas were exasperated and complained to the Imperial authorities at Delhi. The Government sent two successive detachments to aid the Rajas against the Guru but the allies were on each occasion, defeated and driven back. Then a Shahzada was sent to take the command against the Guru but Nand Cand, a Khatri of Delhi, who possessed some influence with the prince, succeeded in convincing him of the Guru's innocence and the Prince returned to Lahore without achieving anything. He was succeeded by two officers who plundered all those who had taken refuge in the hills on the approach of the Shahzada. Four others followed under the leadership of Mirza Beg Moghul who completed the work of their predecessors³. As Guru Govind Singh introduced his reforms in 1699 it does not seem improbable that these events occurred near about 1701.

But we find it extremely difficult to follow the lead of *Gur Vilās*, particularly in this instance. Of the circumstances of 1701 we get copious details from the various Sikh authorities. The breach with the Hill Rajas was final and complete. They had already made a common cause against the Guru and called in the aid of the Muhammadans. The allies had been worsted in two or three successive engagements but they

1 Cunningham, p. 78, f. n. 1.

2 *Gur Vilās*, xiii, 8, 9.

3 *Gur Vilās*, xii, 143-185.

had rallied back and the great seige of Anandpur was about to commence. But the Guru's own account of the circumstances under which the advent of the Shahzada took place is entirely different. From the *Vicitra Nāṭak* it clearly appears that Dilawar Khan sent Jujhar Singh against the Hill Rajas when he heard of the disastrous end of Hussain Khan's expedition. At any rate, it is extremely improbable that any appreciable time elapsed between the death of Hussain Khan and the expedition under Jujhar Singh. The Guru says that when the news of these repeated failures reached Aurangzib, he was beside himself with rage and sent his son to the Punjab to set matters right. It appears, therefore, that the prince was sent primarily against the Hill chieftains, some of whom were in rebellion and had successfully defied and destroyed the armies of Dilawar Khan under successive generals, and only secondarily, against the Guru. Moreover, the Guru's account does not indicate any considerable gap between the death of Jujhar Singh and the arrival of the Shahzada. It may as well be pointed out here that, like all the other Sikh records, the *Gur Vilās* also places the various other incidents narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* previous to the introduction of Guru Govind Singh's reforms and it becomes difficult to understand why the Guru, in his narrative, would skip over a considerable period, abounding in interests of every description, and suddenly bring his account to a close by referring to an incident, with which he had no direct concern. We, therefore, think that Macauliffe's arrangement is right and that the expedition of the Shahzada must be put earlier.

Macauliffe does not specify the time of the Shahzada's arrival but as he is inclined to think that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* was composed about 1692 he must be understood to have meant that the expeditions of the Shahzada, Mirza Beg Khan and his four successors must all have taken place before that year. We do not think that we would be justified in committing ourselves to any definite date. From the Guru's

account, however, it clearly appears that these events followed one another in rather a quick succession and therefore Macauliffe cannot be far off the mark, though perhaps a bit too early.

We have said before that the Sikh records indicate a gap in the military activities of Guru Govind Singh from after the close of these incidents till 1699. Indeed, they give us very little information with regard to the doings of the Guru in the meantime and the veil is not completely raised till the Guru convenes the great assembly at Keshgarh and bring the Khālsā into existence. It was during the period of obscurity that the Guru is said to have lived in retirement on the lofty peaks on which the temple of Nainā Devī is situated¹, and was engaged, as some say², in worshipping the Devī and performing a great sacrifice in order to obtain her blessings, or, as modern Sikh opinion suggests³, in demonstrating the futility of all such practices. The sacrifice is said to have been undertaken in the year 1698⁴. We are not told anything about the length of the Guru's stay in the hills but it appears that he could not have been long in retirement. Guru Govind Singh's letter to the ancestors of the Phulkian chiefs, now preserved at Patiala, in which he invites them to aid him with their horsemen, is dated Samvat 1753⁵ and it shows that even in 1696 the Guru was still busy with his military preparations. It is not stated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* whether the four successors of Mirza Beg

1 See Simla Hill States Gazetter, Bilaspur, pp. 13, 14.

2 Sūraj Prakāś ; Gur Vilās, viii, ix, x.

3 Panth Prakāś, xxv ; Khan Singh's Hām Hindu Nahin, pp. 116-121 ; Tej Singh's Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism. In this instance Macauliffe follows the Panth Prakāś as his object throughout has been to present the Sikh view-point (vol. v, pp. 60-65).

4 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 66 ; T. Banerjee, p. 201.

5 Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. i, p. 690, f. n. 2 ; Macauliffe also refers to a letter written in the same year, vol. v, p. 224.

Khan came together or one after another, and it may not be improbable that the Guru's anxiety to keep himself in a state of preparedness even in 1696 was due to the activities of one of these in the hills close to Anandpur.

Now perhaps, we can take up the question of the date of composition. The general discussion about the chronology of Guru Govind Singh has not, as we had expected, set a limit to the range of probability but the ground has been considerably cleared and we can now proceed with some amount of confidence.

There exist two different versions of a Sikh tradition about the composition of the *Granth* by Guru Govind Singh. The story runs that after his accession to the gaddi of his father, Guru Govind Singh sent for the *Granth Sāhib* of Guru Arjan which was in the hands of Dhir Mal at Kiratpur. As is well known, this Dhir Mal was no friend of Guru Tegh Bahadur and his son and he is said to have retorted that if Guru Govind Singh was the true representative of the Gurus and if the light of Guru Nānak was in him it was quite within his powers to produce another such *Granth*. The Guru accepted the challenge but here the tradition splits and we have two versions of what followed. Some say that Guru Govind Singh accordingly composed the *Daśam Pādsāh kā Granth*¹, while others are of opinion that it was this refusal of Dhir Mal to hand over the *Granth Sāhib* of Guru Arjan that led him to dictate the whole of the *Granth* to Bhāi Mani Singh during his residence at Damdama². It was on this occasion that the hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur and a śloka of Guru Govind Singh himself were incorporated in the *Granth Sāhib*.

As far as we are aware, there is no evidence to support Cunningham's statement that at Damdama the Guru occupied

1 T. Banerjee, p. 216 ; Sikkhan de Rāj di Bikhīā, p. 43.

2 Panth Prakāś, p. 255 ; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 223 ; Itihās Guru Khālsā, p. 338.

himself in composing supplemental Granth, the Book of the Tenth King, to rouse the energies and sustain the hopes of the faithful¹. The Sikh records merely state that at Damdama the Guru compiled a new recension of the old *Granth Sāhib* and it seems clear that the composition of the tenth Granth had begun earlier. As we have already said the *Daśam Pādsāh kī Granth* is a huge, unwieldy medley of heterogeneous matter and there is clear internal evidence that different parts of it were written by different writers at different times. The Guru is said to have kept 52 bards in his employ, the names of some of whom are given in the *Panth Prakāś*². Together with these the Guru had commenced translations and abridged versions of the more important of the Hindu mythological works and from a few scanty references, here and there, it appears that much of it had been completed even before 1699³. Dr. Narang says that Guru Govind Singh compiled the *Daśam Pādsāh kī Granth* during his residence at Damdama⁴ but we learn from the Sikh records that the compilation by Bhāi Mani Singh took place 26 years after the death of the Guru⁵.

In fact, we know of no evidence that would entitle us to say that the *Daśam Pādsāh kī Granth* was either written or compiled during the Guru's residence at Damdama. But it may be argued that a part of the work, including the *Vicitra Nāṭak* might have been written at Damdama. Besides the fact there is no evidence to support such a statement either, there are two other considerations which would prevent us from accepting such a view. In the first place, we have got to take note of the contents of the work and the motive that lay behind its composition. The main object of Guru was the presentation of his mission. What would

1 Cunningham, p. 80.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 83 ; *Panth Prakāś*, p. 164, f. n.

3 *Panth Prakāś*, p. 164 ; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 67.

4 Narang, p. 99.

5 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 223, f. n.

be the psychological moment for the issue of such a work ? Undoubtedly the moment when the Guru was preparing to take upon himself the role of a teacher of men. Secondly, it may as well be pointed out here that in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* we breathe a distinctly pre-Khālsā atmosphere. 'The account given by the Guru of his previous life and the circumstances which led to his birth reads like an episode from the Purāṇas, and all its details are saturated with the spirit of Hindu mythology'¹. The *Vicitra Nāṭak* presents a striking family resemblance to such other translations and abridged versions of mythological texts like the *Oaṇḍī Caritra* or the *Rām Avatār*, the latter of which, according to the Guru's own statement, was completed on the fourteenth day of June, 1698, 'at the base of the lofty Nainā Devi on the margin of the Sutlej waters'². As far as we are aware, Sikh tradition places the composition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* as well, near about that time³. Thus while, on the one hand, there is hardly any evidence in support of the views of Cunningham and Narang, circumstances as well as tradition point to an earlier date. We have already stated that Macauliffe's date seems to be a bit too early and, therefore, we are inclined to place the composition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* somewhere between 1696 and 1698.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

¹ Narang, Appendix I, p. vii.

² Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 67.

³ Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. i, p. 690, f. n. 2 ; Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 186 ; Sikkhan de Rāj di Bikhā, Court's Translation, p. 43.

The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and the Gauḍapāda Kārikās

II

(Now, in discussing as to how the prose passages are based on the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* and not the latter on the former let us now first examine whether the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* can be regarded as a *vārtika* 'explanatory work' or a *vyākhyāna* exposition' of the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* as is generally held and supported by Ānandagiri and others¹. That it cannot be regarded as a *vārtika* is evident from the simple fact that it has no characteristics of a *vārtika*. A *vārtika* is an explanatory work in which there is discussion on what is said, what is not said, and what is said badly in the original book². And there is nothing of it in the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās*. If one compares them with the works known by the name of *vārtika*³ one will at once understand that the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* cannot be classed with them⁴.

1 See I. H. Q., I, p. 124, f. n. I.

2 Says Rājaśekhara (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, GOS., 1916, p. 1) : "uktānuk-taduruktacintā-vārtikam."

3 Such as Kātyāyana's *Vārtika* on Pāṇini, Kumārila's *Śloka*-and *Tantra-vārtikas* on Śabaravāmin's commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā sūtras*, Suresvarācārya's *Vārtika* on the commentary on the *Bṛhad. Up.* by Śaṅkara.

4 It may also be noted *en passant* that according to Ānandagiri (p. 5, l. 22) the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* are also regarded as a *Prakaraṇa*. A *Prakaraṇa* is a kind of work which is connected with a particular part of a śāstra and deals with a thing or things which are not discussed in the main śāstra :

"Śāstraikadeśasambaddham śāstrakāryāntare sthitam,
Pṛāhuḥ prakaraṇam nāma granthabhedam vipaścitaḥ."

Quoted by Rāmānirṭha in his *Ṭikā* on the *Vedāntasāra* (ed. Jacob), p. 81.

This view of Ānandagiri can hardly be accepted when he himself says that the *kārikās* are mere *vyākhyā* of the *Up.* For a *Prakaraṇa*

Supposing the kārīkās to be an explanation of the prose passages of the Up. as they are held to be, one may naturally expect to see the difficult points in the latter explained in the former. And it is quite natural that in an explanatory work the same words of the original are quoted and explained so far as possible and reasonable. And it also goes without saying that an exposition may add something new to what is said in the original; but it does not omit the most important and difficult words or points in it. If these facts are considered it will be evident that (it is rather the kārīkās than the prose passages that should be regarded as original.)

According to the general view, kārīkās 3-5 are to be taken as the exposition of the prose passages 3-4, and 5. Now, *saptāṅga* 'one with seven limbs' and *ekonaviṃśatimukha* 'one with nineteen mouths' are the two most difficult words in the passages 2 and 3 which are differently explained by different commentators¹, but not even the slightest mention of them has been made in the kārīkās. Why should the kārīkās which are supposed to have been written to explain the text omit these two important words?

And again, in the Upaniṣad (3, 9) we have the word *vaṁṣvānara* and not *viśva*, while in the kārīkās (I, 4; II, 19) there is only *viśva* and never *vaiśvānara*. Here the author of the kārīkās which are held to be an exposition of the Up. should have quoted or written the actual word, *vaiśvānara*, employed

cannot be regarded as a *vyākhyā*. And if the word *vyākhyā* is taken in a still wider sense then any work on Vedānta, which has already been written or would be written in future, would be regarded as a *vyākhyā* of the Ups. But nobody can subscribe to this view. The word *prakaraṇa* is, however, used in the *bhāṣya* (p. 5, l. 9) in the sense of 'treatment' 'discussion' or 'chapter' as the different *prakaraṇas* of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.

1 See Śāṅkara here and on *Nṛsū. Up.*, 4, Madhva, Kūra-nārāyaṇa, Puruṣottama, Vidyāranya on *Nṛsu. Up.*, I. and Nārāyaṇa on *Rāmot. Up.* 3.

in the text. For a commentator is only to explain what is actually found in the text and he cannot take the liberty of changing it. Nor are the two words, *viśva* and *vaiśvānara*, identical or synonymous. Why has he then altered the original word using for it *viśva* so many times? That it is owing to the metre is out of the question.

(The same is the case with *prajñānaghana* in the Up. (5) for which the kārīkā (I) has *jñānaghana*. In this connection there are three words more, which should have been mentioned here in the kārīkā viz., (i) *jāgaritasthāna*, (ii) *svapnasthāna*, and (iii) *suṣuptasthāna*; but they are entirely omitted in them. But why? It cannot be explained away by simply saying that they are not so important or difficult as to require any explanation; for to understand the main thought of the passages there, those three stages, wakefulness, dream, and deep sleep, must be borne in mind.)

(The fact is that the kārīkāś are the older work from which as from the others the Up. is compiled¹, and in doing so some of the thoughts in those works as well as in the kārīkāś are simplified, modified, or explained, adding also something more to the Up.) (Thus in the present case the author of the Up. having found the word *viśva* in its special sense nowhere in the Ups.² appears to have substituted it for *vaiśvānara* used in such great Ups. as the *Chāndogya* (V, 11, 12) and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (V, 9, 1). Now, the author of the *Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīya Up.* I, where the whole of the *Māndūkya Up.* is quoted with some different readings³, seeing both the words, *viśva* in the kārīkāś and *vaiśvānara* in the Up., has adopted both of them⁴ and simplified the text to some

1 See infra and P. Deussen's *Upanishads des Veda*, 1921, p. 574.

2 Excepting perhaps *Maitrī. Up.*, 6, 7, whose origin is also later.

3 The *Māndūkya Up.* is almost entirely quoted also in the *Nṛsp. Up.*, I.

4 *Sthulabhuk caturatma visvo vaiśvānaraḥ prathamah pādah.*

extent¹. And why these two terms are taken together and what might be their special significance is clearly shown by Vidyāranya in his *Ṭīkā* on the *Nṛsu. Up.* and *Pañcadāśī*, I, 28-29,² adding some new colour. (In the same way though without any authority the three states *jāgarita*, *svapna* and *suṣupta* (*Up.*, 3, 4) are later additions for a clearer exposition of the terms *bahispṛajña*, *antahpṛajña*, and *ghanapṛajña* (*Kā.*, I).)

The words *saptāṅga* and *ekonavīṃśatimukha* referred to above are also mere later additions though without any particular importance. As regards *ghanapṛajña* (*Kā.*, I) the author of the *Up.* (5) has adopted the original word *pṛajñānaghana* from the *Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 5, 13. on which, too, the former is undoubtedly based, for we see that the author of the *kārikās* profusely quotes from it.)

That the *Up.* itself has borrowed from the *kārikās* (as well as from others) will be evident also from the comparison of both the texts. In the *kārikā* we have simply *ghanapṛajña* (1) and *ānandabhuj* (3) or *ānanda* (4) while the *Up.* (5) reads as follows:—

“Yatra supto na kañcana kāmam kāmāyate, na kañcana svapnam paśyati (*Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 3, 19) tat suṣuptam. Suṣuptasthāna ekibhūtaḥ³ ‘pṛajñānaghana’ (*Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 5, 13) eva ‘ānandamayo’ (*Tait. Up.*, II, 5, 1) hyānandabhuk cetomukhaḥ pṛajñāstṛīyaḥ pādah”.

Which of these two, the *kārikās* and the *Up.*, is original and which is the exposition can now easily be inferred. (The word *ghanapṛajña* in the *kārikā* is no doubt

1 This is also with the *Nṛp. Up.* For example, *sūkṣma* is substituted in the *Nṛsu. Up.*, I for *pravivikta* in *kārikas*, 3, 4. Here *sūkṣma* is undoubtedly more simple than *pravivikta*. For details the reader is referred to that *Up.*

2 See also *Vedāntasūtra*, 17.

3 See *Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 12 ; *Praśna*, IV, 2 ; *Muṇḍ.*, 3, 2, 7 ; also *Nṛsp.*, 4 ; *Nṛsu.*, 1 ; *Rāmot.*, 3.

identical with *prajñanaghana* though in a somewhat different form, and to explain it the Up. has introduced the word *ekībhūta* found in the form of *ekībhavati* in so many Ups.¹ Similarly *ānandabhuḥ* (kārikā, 3) is explained by *ānandamaya* taken from the *Tait. Up.* (*loc. cit.*.)

The Kārikā I, 19 runs as follows :—

“Viśvasyātvavivakṣāyām ādisāmānyam utkaṭam,
Mātrāsampratipattau syūd āptisāmānyam eva ca.”

And the corresponding passage (9) of the Up. is this :—

“Jāgaritasthāno vaiśvānaro’kāraḥ prathamā mātrāpte-
rādimatvād vā, āpnoti sarvān kāmān ādiś ca bhavati ya evam
veda.”

‘*Vaiśvānara* whose sphere is waking state is the first *mātrā* ‘measure’ *a*, on account of its all-pervasiveness (*āpti*) or on account of its being first (*ādimitva*). One who so knows has all his desires satisfied and becomes the first (of all)’.

Now, if these two texts are compared, it will at once be evident that the second is merely the exposition of the first with a tinge of the language used in the Brāhmaṇas. Here is one point more. In the first extract the reason is advanced as to why *Viśva* (= *Vaiśvānara* of the Up.) is to be regarded as *a*. And the reason is similarity (*sāmānya*)—similarity between *Viśva* and *a-kāra*. And this similarity is the ‘beginning’ (*ādi*) and ‘pervasion’ (*āpti*). According to the order of *Viśva*, *Taijasa*, and *Prājña*, *Viśva* is in the beginning or first (*ādi*) ; just so is in the beginning or first *a-kāra* of *a*, *u*, and *m* of which *Oṃkāra* is composed. Owing to this similarity *Viśva* is said to be identical with *a-kāra*. The second similarity which is *āpti* is explained thus : As *Viśva* pervades all the visible world so does *a-kāra* all the speech. On account of this similarity, too, *Viśva* is to be regarded as *a-kāra*. The passage of the Up. under discussion, however, gives a somewhat different explanation of this identity. For the kārikā

1 See the previous note.

says that owing to *both* the similarities of *ādi* and *āpti* they are identical, while the Up. clearly says that it is owing to *either* of them "*āpter ādimattvād vā*." All these seem to be later developments.

The case is invariably the same with the *kārikās* I, 20, 21 and the corresponding passages, 10, 11 of the Up. which for want of space I refrain from quoting and explaining here. As regards the passage 10 there is a curious point to be noted. The author says that *Taijasa* is *u-kāra* because of *utkarṣa* 'superiority' or *ubhayatva* 'state of being in both or in the middle'. He then explains the first term¹ only leaving out the second entirely. And this seems to be due to oversight on his part. Besides what is already said there is one thing to be noticed as regards the *kārikā* I. 21 and the corresponding passage (11) of the Up. In the former one of the two similarities is *māna* measure from $\sqrt{mā}$, while in the latter the word is not *māna* but *nīti* from \sqrt{ni} . The difference between the modes of expression of the same thought here and elsewhere as noticed will also show that these two texts, though they deal with the same subject and are closely connected, are independent, both of them having such a freedom as is hardly found in a text and its commentary.

(The conception of *ātman* as having four quarters (*catus-pāda*)² is not quite explicit in words in the *kārikās*, though it may be inferred from some of them³. It is, however, fully developed in the Up. (2) from the beginning. This fact also goes to show the priority of the *kārikās* to the Up.)

(The distinction between *turya* or *turiya* 'fourth' and the other three, *Viśva*, *Taijasa*, and *Prājña*, as made in the *kārikās* (I, 10-14), is not at all to be found in the Up. but its nature which is described in a *kārikā* (I, 29) simply by

1 "Utkarṣati ha vai jñānasantatiṃ samānaś ca bhavati".

2 Up. 2 : "So'yamātmā catuṣpat".

3 I, 10-15 (where the fourth state is described), and 24 and 29 (where *Oṃkāra* is described with and without *mātrā* respectively).

two words, *śiva* 'blissful' and *dvaita-upaśama* 'cessation of duality', is thus delineated in the following two passages of the Up. (7, 12) :

(i) *nāntahprajñam na vahiṣprajñam nobhayataprajñam na prajñānaghanam naprajñam nāprajñam. Adrṣtam avyavahāriyam agrāhyam alakṣaṇam acintyam avyapadeśyam ekātmapratyayasāram prapañcopaśamam sāntam śivam advaitam caturtham manyante. Sa ātmā sa vijñeya.*

(ii) *Amātraścaturtho'vyavahārya prapancopaśamaḥ śivo dvata evam'oṅkāra ātmaiva.*

(These two passages are mere amplification or exposition of what is briefly said in the *kārikā* (I, 29) and consequently are to be regarded as later developments.)

Compare the *kārikā* I, 24 with the passage (8) of the Up. and it will be perfectly clear that the former is explained in the latter in details.

The *kārikā* I, 6 opening the discussion about the origin or creation (*prabhava*) of things may be connected with the last part of the passage (6) : "prabhavāpyau hi bhūtānām." *Prabhava* is described in the *kārikās* (I, 6-9) at some length but *apyaya* 'disappearance' or 'vanishing' is not even touched. This would hardly be likely if the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* were meant to explain the Up.

All these considerations coupled with the views of Madhvācārya and others strongly lead us to the conclusion that (i) the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* are not the exposition (*vyākhyāna*) of the *Māndūkya Up.*, (ii) the latter is mainly based on the former, and (iii) as such, is later than it.²

Moreover, there is no evidence whatever for assigning it a date before the great Śaṅkarācārya. Nowhere does he or any of his predecessors quote it, nor has he made any

1 Here *prabhavāpyayau* is undoubtedly taken from *Kātha Up.*, 2, 2."

2 Cf. Max Walleser : *Der altere Vedānta*, 1910, p. 5, where he says that the *kārikās* do not show that the Up. was before them.

mention of it even in the case where he could or should have done it¹.) That he never feels tired of quoting *śrutis* is well-known and so his silence about the Up. naturally gives rise to grave doubt as to whether it existed before him or in his time. That some of the minor Ups. were before Śaṅkara cannot be denied, for instance, the *Brahma* or *Amṛta-bindu Up.*, which is a minor and later Up. This Up. existed prior to Śaṅkara as he himself has quoted it as one of the *Mokṣasāstras* though not as an Up. (*Brahmasūtras*, III, 2, 18). But as regards the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* there is no such evidence.

One may say here that in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* (I, 1, 9) there is a line which runs as follows :—“prabhavāpyayāvityut pattipratyayayoḥ prayogadarsanāt”. Here the word *Prabhavāpyayau* is evidently quoted from some work and that work is the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* in which (6) one reads the words in the following line “eṣo’ntaryāmi eṣa yoniḥ sarvasya prabhavāpyayau hi bhūtānāṁ”. It is therefore not true that Śaṅkara does not quote the Up. But this cannot be accepted conclusively, for there is a passage in the *Kaṭha Up.* (IV, 11), too, where the same word occurs in the same way “yogo hi prabhavāpyayau” and as one sees Śaṅkara quote so much from this Up. one naturally inclines to think that the quotation might also be from it and not from the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* At least there is nothing to prove that the passage invariably refers to the latter, and so the citation referred to from the commentary of the *Brahmasūtras* does not serve any purpose here.

VIDHUSHIEKHARA BHATTACARYA

¹ *Ch. Up.*, II, 23, 3. See my paper *Śaṅkara's Commentaries on the Upaniṣads* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, ii, p. 104.

Bengal School of Art

II

Art-culture under the Sena kings of Bengal

In Varendra kingdom Vijayasena Deva claiming descent from a Kṣatriya clan of Karnāṭa in Southern India snatched away the government from the hands of the Pālas. His son and successor Ballāla Sena was too deeply engaged in the extension of territories and consolidation of his conquests and too much interested in social reforms and foundation of Kulinism in Bengal to leave any marked trace of his patronage of art and religion. Ballāla's son Lakṣmaṇa Sena during the earlier part of his long tenure of sovereignty annexed the whole region from the Sunderbans to Benares and established peace and order, under the shade of which poetry and fine arts flourished with great splendour. Many copper-plates and stone-inscriptions of these three kings have been discovered and correctly deciphered. Vijayapura in the Rajshahi District seems to have been the capital of Vijayasena and the record of his dedication of the temple of *Pradyumneśvara* in the vicinity is now known as the Devanara inscription. Some of the Pāla kings had established their seat of government in Gauḍ, a part of which has been suggested to have been the city of Rāmavati, founded by Rāmapāla. Ballāla Sena took that city and had one of his capitals in its neighbourhood, now identified as Ballālabāḍī. Lakṣmaṇa Sena erected his fort of Gauḍ on a branch of the Bhāgīrathī and the extensive city of Gauḍ is still marked by many large tanks, glorious monuments of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, even after all the attempts of the Pathan lords of Gauḍ to demolish the traces of the Hindu rule. In Gauḍ and Pandua, both in the District of Maldah are seen many buildings, ruined temples, broken or unbroken images, misplaced pillars and carved plates, with distinct marks of the art-culture under the patronage of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

The epoch of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is the high-water mark of the Sena-culture. He had a *Pañcaratna sabhā* like the Navaratna of king Vikramāditya and members of his court were erudite pandits. Not only was there a renaissance of Literature but also of Fine Arts, especially of sculpture and architecture for giving a stimulus to Hindu religion by dedicating images and enshrining them in fine buildings. From the workshop of the great city of Gauḍ were imported, by river routes, into all parts of his vast realm from Samatāṭa to Benares, fine images of Hindu Tantric gods and goddesses carved from black marble or basalt rocks of the Rajmahal Hills in the vicinity of his capital. Most of the images were of four-armed Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu, of Tantric goddesses, and of Gaṇeśa. As the people of the country were at the time mostly converts from Buddhism or were Viṣṇuvites, the Tantric worship was restricted within the precincts of the capital cities and so the greatest number of images exported from Gauḍ was of Viṣṇu. According to the hard and fast rules of the *śilpasastras* and in deference to the Tantric *Dhyānamantras*, the iconography of the images, their poses and gestures, their 'finger plays', and visual expression were fixed, but embellished with a halo of divinity, wherein the artist could show his genius and stamp his personality.

In architecture the Bengal artists had a peculiar style of their own distinguished from the Āryāvarta style, and for this they depended on the native style of house-making and utilised the available materials of their locality. As stone is not easily available in Bengal they had to work mainly with bricks, which, though useful for the display of artistic ornamentation, are a sort of short-lived material specially in the damp and saline climate of the country. In the masonry works of bricks, particularly in the construction of temples, the native artists followed the manner of their *Docālās* called *Bungalows* or *Carcālās* called *Maṇḍapas* or *Miṭhs*. For provision of space the *Docālā* buildings were doubled and were called *Joḍ-Bungalows*

and the *caucālās* were made two-storied and called Pañcaratna or Navaratna or the like, according to the number of *cudās* or spires built on their quadrangular domes.

Thousands of sculptures of the Sena period were destroyed by the iconoclastic Islamic conquerors and thousands of them again were thrown into tanks or buried underground by their Hindu owners, when frightened by the shock of invasion or fleeing for the sake of religion. A few only of the specimens of the Sena Art are here cited, as they can still be noticed with interest or examined with profit:

1. At Pandua in the Maldah District in the Adina and Eklakhi mosques as well as in the Golden mosque and near Saint Nur Qutb Alam's tomb, and at Gauḍ the ancient capital of Bengal in the same District, in the one-domed *Chika*, and other Hindu monuments of the city, Hindu images on the door-posts and lintels, and artistically carved black marble pillars are still observed. In the Adina mosque, images of *Lakṣmī* and *Sarasvatī*, the attendant deities of a Viṣṇu image already removed, images of goddesses and a water-pipe with a carved figure-head of *Makar*, presumably belonging to an earlier huge Hindu structure, have been utilised though it was against the principle of Islamic custom. The gate-way of Makhdum Shah's *Dargah* at Pandua is an old *Bāṅglā Torāṇa* of the Sena period. In the ruins of Gauḍ many stone plates with scenes from *Purāṇas* in relief have been discovered.

2. A stone image of *Caṇḍī* found at Dacca with an inscription showing that it was dedicated in the 3rd year of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena Deva.

3. A beautiful stone image of a Tantric goddess *Bhuvaneśvarī* still worshipped at Shaikhati village in the Jessore District, which, I have reasons to hold, was once a provincial capital of the Sena kings in the Bagri division of Bengal. This image was highly eulogised by Mr. V. A. Smith from an artistic point of view, and an account of it has been given in my "History of Jessore and Khulna".

4. A large image of four-armed Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva discovered (in January, 1923) by excavations in the modern town of Jessore (the main figure is 5ft-9inches in height). This was once enshrined in a huge temple, some stone door-frames of which had been previously discovered by me.

5. Hundreds of four-armed Vāsudeva images are still discovered all over Southern Bengal where the Sena Kings had once a firm rule. Three such images have been unearthed in the district of Khulna alone in the current year. One such image of Viṣṇu was unearthed in the heart of the town of Jessore in the month of November last.

6. It is known from an unpublished Ms. *Digvijaya Prakāśa* that king Lakṣmaṇasena Deva erected the temple of *Caṇḍa Bhairava Śiva* at Isvarīpur or old Yaśohara, the famous capital of King Pratāpāditya. An exquisitely fine image of Gaṅgā Devī standing on a *Makar* is now preserved in the temple of *Yaśoreśvarī* at the place, testifying to the successful culture of Art under the noble patronage of the Sena kings, and disproving the remark of Tārānāth about the inferiority of Hindu images subsequent to the Pāla period.

Art-culture under the Pathan kings of Bengal

It took a long time for the Pathans to take possession of Bengal since their first conquest. Newcomers as they were, at the outset they were more busy with the assertion of their power and extension of their annexations than with any attempt for the erection of any palace or mosque. Subsequently, when they had a settled government of their own in place of anarchy or revolts and were seated safely on the *masnad*, they adopted themselves to the products and the climate of their colony; and when they had enough of the destruction of Hindu and Buddhist temples, they turned to replace the old edifices by building mosques 'on a grand scale and in a distinctive style', utilising the old materials as best as they could.

But they imported no particular style of their own into Bengal. Fergusson has rightly remarked "wherever the Mahomedans went, they introduced no style of their own but employed the native people to build their mosques for them and this accounted for the fact that some of the most beautiful Mahomedan buildings in India were purely Hindu from first to last"¹. The Pathan kings of Gaud and Pandua called for native artisans who had almost all lost their crafts for want of patronage, and had their guilds broken, workshops dismantled, and their disciples dispersed or massacred. Those that still survived were pining for employment. They had no Hindu customers as none dared enshrine an image. It is forbidden by the Moslem canons to draw, carve or paint any animal figure. So the art of iconography was practically lost and sculptors had to maintain and satisfy themselves by chiselling massive columns, carving tastefully decorated prayer niches of mosques with flower work, and embellishing their front with plates of artistic Arabic inscriptions in Tagrah characters.

When Bengal declared her independence and it was acknowledged by the Delhi emperors by the middle of the 14th century, the Pathan kings of Bengal became great builders and under their noble auspices architecture flourished. The architects were mostly Hindu, working with materials generally vandalised from old Hindu structures and the process of construction and mortar-making was also Hindu. The only modification was by the suggestions of the patrons to give the whole thing a new appearance decidedly Islamic. This was done by the introduction of the pointed arches and domes after the manner of some Delhi mosques believed by Mr. Smith to have belonged to the style of Baghdad². That may be true with regard to domical vaults but the pointed arch had been known to Bengali masons from a very early age. Mr. Havell observes: "The Bengali builders being brick-layers

¹ Fergusson's lecture "On the Study of Indian Architecture", p. 32.

² History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 392.

rather than stone-masons had learnt to use the radiating arch whenever it was useful for constructive purposes long before the Mahomedans came there."¹

So the Pathan architecture in Bengal was a hybrid of Hindu and Moslem art but still it was a distinctive Bengali style. "It is (Fergusson says) neither like that of Delhi, nor Jaunpur, nor any other style but one purely local, and not without considerable merit in itself; its principal characteristic being heavy short pillars of stone supporting pointed arches and vaults in brick—whereas at Jaunpur, for instance, light pillars carried horizontal architraves and flat ceiling."

The peculiarities of the Pathan style of Bengal mosques, even if built in the Moghul period, may be thus briefly noted (1) Pointed arches supported by heavy short pillars of stone. (2) Ceilings of a number of brick-built domes. (3) The number of domes was odd in any one row or aisle and was the multiple of odd numbers from 1 to 13.² (4) Minarets in the four corners occasionally with 2 or 4 more in the

1 Indian Architecture, pp. 52-6; see also in this connexion, Fergusson's History of Architecture, vol. II, p. 353; Mitra's Bodhgaya, pp. 102-3.

2 Some examples of the odd number of domes may be cited :—Mausoleums and Dargahs were generally in one-domed mosques, rarely with verandahs as Eklakhi at Pandua, Chika, Gumti and Kadam Rasul mosques at Gaud, tomb of Khan Jahan at Bagerhat. Domestic mosques were generally of 3 domes, occasionally 3×3 or 9 domes, found all over Bengal. Examples of 5 domes in each of two rows are Rajbibi mosque of Gaud, Golden mosque of Pandua, Hussain Shah mosque at Bagerhat; of 5×3 or 15 domes—the small Golden or Eunuch's mosque at Gaud; of 3×11 or 33 domes—the great Golden mosque of Gaud with a verandah of 11 more domes; of 3×7×3 or 63 domes—the mosque of Pandua near Hughly; of 7×11 or 77 domes—the so-called Satgambuz building at Bagerhat, and the combination of several multiples like 3×5×5, 3×3×13, 5×5, and 3×3 in different cloisters is to be found in the great Adina mosque of Pandua, of which the total number of domes is 391.

middle of the walls. (5) Front on the east and closed on the west side, (6) Prayer niches, often ornamented on brick or stone in the western wall; and (7) Raised pulpit for the Muazzim close to the centre of the western wall.

Conclusion

With the fall of the Pathan rule in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century, the Bengal school of art died out. The Mughal never settled permanently in Bengal. Mughal Bengal nurtured no particular style of architecture of her own and built no edifice worthy of notice from an artistic point of view. The architecture of the British period in Bengal is an admixture of many types, both eastern and western, having no local stamp or district characteristic. The only revival of art in recent years that may be referred to is the rise of a new Nationalist Bengal School of Painting in Calcutta, inaugurated by the great artist Mr. Abanindranath Tagore and a host of his enthusiastic and promising followers.

SATIS CHANDRA MITRA

The Date of Kālidāsa

The object of this paper is to fix the date of Kālidāsa after sifting the various conflicting traditions and scrutinising all available data. I have tried to avoid mixing up facts with inferences and theories, and facts certain with bare possibilities. As far as possible, I have verified all the facts for myself and have not allowed unproved theories like Dr. Fleet's as to the origin of Indian planetary astrology to weigh against facts and inferences which are certain.

The Aihole inscription of Śaka 556-634 A. C. refers to the fame of Kālidāsa (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 6, p. 4). Bāṇa Lowerlimit. (c. 620 A. C.), the court poet of Harṣavardhana (607-648 A. C.) praises his sweet sayings (*Harṣacarita*, intro., st. 16); and Subandhu, whose prose *Vāsavadatta* Bāṇa refers to as having humbled the pride of poets (*ibid.* st. 11) mentions Durvāsā's curse on Śakuntalā (Śrīrangam ed., p. 191), an incident invented by Kālidāsa and absent in the *Mahābhārata*. Kālidāsa must therefore have certainly lived before 600 A. C.

There are data pointing to his date as the 6th century A. C. The *Rājāvalī* (c. 1550 Upham : *Mahāvamśa*, vol. 2, p. 245) and *Pūjāvalī* (1311) make Three Kālī- him and his friend Kumāra Dhātusena of dāsas. Ceylon (542-551) die together. Dakṣiṇāvarta and Mallinātha, commenting on *Megha-dūta*, st. 14, see therein a reference to Diṇnāga of the 6th century A. C. The reference is not a necessary one, but they must have been led to it by a tradition that Kālidāsa and Diṇnāga were contemporaries. The *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa* of 1242 (as indicated by its data in ch. 4, st. 30) makes Kālidāsa a contemporary of Varāhamihira and Amarasiṃha. Now Varāha uses the epoch of Śaka 427 (*Pañca-siddhāntikā*, ch. 1, st. 3), criticises Āryabhaṭa (*ibid.*, ch. 15, st. 20), who wrote in Kali 3600 (*Kāla-kriyā-pāda*, st. 10), and died in Śaka 509 (Āmaraja : com. on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādya*). He therefore lived in the 6th century A. C. Amara too belongs to the same period, as he follows Varāha and not Āryabhaṭa in equating the *manvantara* with 71 instead of 72 *mahāyugas*, and as, on the other hand, his *Kośa* was translated into Chinese in 561 A. C. (Max Müller's *India : What can it teach us*, 1st ed., p. 328). If therefore Kālidāsa was their contemporary, he must have lived in the 6th century A. C. But he identifies Yakṣa with Guhyaka (*Meghadūta*, sts. 1&5), while his reputed contemporary Amara distinguishes them. The Kālidāsa of the *Meghadūta* must therefore be distinguished

from the one who lived in the 6th century A. C., and Rājasekhara, in fact, mentions three Kālidāsas (Jalhana : *Sūkti-muktavali*) before his own time (c. 900).

The *Aha-nānūru*, a Tamil Saṅgham work, identifies Paraśu-rāma with Viṣṇu (*malu-valnediyon* Lyric 220), while Kāli-dāsa regards him only as a sage, not as an *avatāra*, even where

Pre-Sangh-
am age. he encounters Rāmacandra (Raghuvamśa, canto 11, sts. 85, 89), and, according to later versions,

the spirit of Viṣṇu passes from him to the latter.

Again Kālidāsa makes Uragapura the Pāṇḍya capital (*Ibid.* vi, 59, 60). The Gaḍwāl plates (7th century A. C.) locate Uragapura on the south bank of the Kāvērī (*Epi. Ind.*, vol. x, no. 22). Since, in the Saṅgham age and later, both its banks were subject to the Cholas till their displacement by Pallava Simha-viṣṇu in c. 600 A. C., Kālidāsa must date before the entire Saṅgham age. The period of the Saṅgham age is much disputed, but its close must date before c. 600 A. C., as the tract between the Kāvērī and Tirupati, which in the Saṅgham age was subject to the early Cholas, fell in c. 600 A. C. under the Pallavas, from whom it passed to the later Cholas before c. 900 A. C., and as the Saṅgham works mention at least four generations of kings, Kālidāsa cannot date after 500 A. C.

Comparing Vatsa-bhaṭṭi's verses 10 and 11 in the Mandasor inscription of Samvat 529 (472 A. C. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, no. 18) with st. 66 (Pāṭhak. ed) of *Meghadūta*, we find that Vatsa-bhaṭṭi is only cataloguing the items of Kālidāsa's organic description in almost the same words, and the former's *prāsāda-mālā* (st. 12) seems to have been copied from *Kumāra-sambhava* (vii. 56). Kālidāsa must therefore have lived before 472 A. C.

In the *Raghuvamśa* (iv, 67-68), Raghu is said to have routed the Hūṇas after resting on the banks of the Vaṅksū or the Sindhu. If the Huns had been living south of it, Raghu should have defeated them before resting on its banks. The Huns must therefore have lived north of it. Vaṅksū is the reading

Huns beyond
the Vaṅksū.

adopted by Vallabha-deva, the earliest of the commentators. But Mallinātha prefers Sindhu. If Sindhu is adopted, the northerners whom Raghu defeats (iv, 66) should have been the Kāmbhojas, who however are mentioned separately (iv, 69). Vañkṣū must therefore be the correct reading; and it is now called the Oxus. The Huns therefore then lived in Sogdiana, and not in Bactria, which they did from c. 120 B. C., when they supplanted the Yue-chi, to c. 420, A. C., when they crossed the Oxus. Kālidāsa thus dates between c. 120 B. C. and c. 420 A. C.

A careful comparison of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (iii, 13-24) with the *Raghuvaṃśa* (vii, 5-17) and *Kumārasambhava* (vii, 56-70) compels the inference that Aśvaghoṣa.

Aśvaghoṣa took many of his ideas from Kālidāsa. If Kālidāsa were the debtor, he would not have repeated the entire description in the same words in two of his works, thereby parading the stolen goods. The orderly development of appropriate ideas, the melodious phrasing and embodied imagery that we find in Kālidāsa are entirely lacking in Aśvaghoṣa. The latter's description is only patchwork poetry. His poetic poverty is such that he repeats the same ideas twice in this short passage (cf. sts. 16&20 with sts. 19&22). We have only to compare *Raghuvaṃśa* vii. 11 & xvi, 56 with *Buddhacarita* iii, 20 & 16 to find out who is the poet and who the plagiarist. Besides, Aśvaghoṣa himself indicates who is the earlier of the two. When he says that the ladies looking at Buddha exclaimed that his wife was lucky, *with pure minds alone and not with any other motive* (*suddhair manobhiḥ khalu nānyabhāvāt* iii, 24), he has evidently a fling at the remark of the ladies in *Kumārasambhava* that *even a woman who should become Śiva's slave might be deemed lucky, what then of her who should attain his lap?* (*yā dāsyam apyasya labheta nārī sā syāt kritārthā kimutāṅka-śayyām* vii, 65). Kālidāsa must therefore have lived before Aśvaghoṣa. The *Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka* and *Dharma-piṭaka-nidāna*, translated into Chinese in 472 A. C. (Bunyo

Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, nos. 1329 & 1340), state that Aśvaghoṣa was the *guru* of Kaniṣka. As Kaniṣka was the founder of the Śaka era, Kālidāsa must have lived before 78 A. C.

In the *Raghuvamśa* (iv, 61), Raghu is said to have defeated the Yavanas on his way from Trikūṭa to the land of the Pārasikas, i. e., in the Indus delta. Since before 70 A. C. the Yavanas there had been displaced by the Parthians (*Periplus*, ch. 38), who in turn were ousted by the Kuṣāṇas before 89 A. C. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1881, p. 524), Kālidāsa must have lived before 70 A. C.

The Bhitā medallion (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, p. 29, no. 81) represents a king and his charioteer seated on a chariot, with a hermit in front stopping him from hunting the deer figured below, and in the background a girl watering a tree in front of a hut. The scene at once recalls the only similar scene in early Hindu literature, i. e. the first act of the *Śakuntalā*; and the situation is Kālidāsa's own invention. As the medallion was found in the Śuṅga strata, Kālidāsa must have lived before the Śuṅgas were wiped out with the Kāṇvas by the Āndhras. Now Magas of Cyrene, who died in 258 B. C. was living in Aśoka's 13th regnal year (Rock-edict, xiii); and as Candragupta (24 yrs.) and Bindusāra (25 yrs.) preceded Aśoka, Candragupta's accession must date before 258 *plus* 12 *plus* 24 *plus* 25, i. e. 319 B. C.; and, as the Mauryas, Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas ruled altogether for 137 *plus* 112 *plus* 45, i. e. 294 yrs., the Śuṅgas were extinct before 319-294 i. e. 25 B. C. Kālidāsa must therefore have lived before 25 B. C.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* evidences an intimate knowledge of the history of the Śuṅga period of which no trace is found in the *Purāṇas*. Its information that Puṣyamitra was called Senāpati, and that his grandson Vasumitra fought the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu, thus enabling Puṣyamitra to perform an *aśva-*

medha, is confirmed by Patañjali, who refers to Puṣyamitra's sacrifice and the Yavana invasion of Sāketa and Mādhyamika as a recent event, and by the Ayodhyā Śuṅga inscription (1st century B. C.), which refers to Puṣyamitra Senāpati and his *aśvamedha*. The other details of the play have yet to be confirmed. But all this information is not found in the *Purāṇas*. So Kālidāsa must have had access to sources of information not available for later writers. The plot of a Hindu drama should moreover be well-known (*khyāta-vṛtta*). But later generations remembered nothing noteworthy of the Śuṅgas, at least nothing to their credit. Kālidāsa must therefore have derived his materials from the Śuṅgas themselves or their contemporaries, as otherwise the choice of the now insignificant Agnimitra for his hero becomes inexplicable. Kālidāsa must thus have lived before 25 B. C.

On the other hand, this same choice of Agnimitra for his hero fixes his upper limit. Agnimitra was the son of Puṣyamitra Senāpati the father of Vasumitra, and the foe of Mauryasaciva (Act 1, st. 7 ; Act 5). He must therefore be the Śuṅga Agnimitra of the *Purāṇas*. Kāṭayavema (15th century A. C.) suggests that Agnimitra must have been Kālidāsa's contemporary, as the latter mentions Agnimitra by name in the *Bharata-vākya*, which should be of universal application. But the *Mudrārākṣasa* (v, 11) which includes Hūṇas among wild Indian tribes and must therefore have been composed after 420 A. C. when alone the Huns crossed the Oxus, likewise mentions the Maurya Candragupta in its *Bharata-vākya*. Kālidāsa and Agnimitra need not therefore have been contemporaries. But Kālidāsa must have lived after the Śuṅgas came to power. Now the Śuṅgas succeeded the Mauryas as kings of Magadha ; and Candragupta Maurya, at the earliest, began to rule only after he had met Alexander in 326 B. C. (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. 52). So the Śuṅga rule dates after 326 minus 137 i.e. 189 B. C. as the Mauryas ruled for 137 years ; and 189 B. C. is therefore the upper limit of Kālidāsa's date.

We have seen already that Kālidāsa's location of the Huns in Sogdiana places him after 120 B. c. In the *Raghuvamśa* (iii, 13) again, he gives five ascendant planets as a Solar signs. mark of great fortune. This implies a knowledge of solar signs and planetary astrology. In the *Kumārasambhava* (vii, 1) he uses *Jāmitra* the Hindu variant of Gk. *diametron*. Strictly it means the 7th sign from the *lagna*, but, as it was deemed to affect the daughter's fortune, it was derivatively applied as here in the sense also of 'auspicious to the daughter.' Now the Balance (*tulā*), which always figures as a distinct sign in Hindu astrology, was unknown even to Hipparchus (c. 125 B. c.) and appears first in Geminus and Varro (c. 100 B. c.). Kālidāsa must therefore have lived after 100 B. c.

Of the Kalinga king alone, Kālidāsa says that he was the lord of the Mahodadhi (Bay of Bengal—*Raghuvamśa*, vi, 57), while even his heroes, the Ikṣvākus, had their Sea-power of Kalinga. realms bounded by the sea (*āsamudra kṣitīsānām—Ibid.*, canto 1); and in this connection the poet refers to the Spice Islands (*Raghuvamśa*, vi, 57). The reference here to the Kalinga colonisation of Sumātra in 75 B. c. is obvious. Kālidāsa must therefore have lived after 75 B. c.

Kālidāsa therefore lived between 75 and 25 B. c. This conclusion confirms the earliest tradition that the poet was a protégé of Vikramāditya Śakāri of Ujjain, who gave his name to the Saṃvat era of 58 B. c. The *Jyotiṛvid-abharṇa* of 1242 A. c. claims to have been composed by the Kālidāsa of the *Raghuvamśa* in the court of Vikrama Śakāri of Ujjain in Kali 3068, i. e. 34 B. c. The claim must be false, as the work mentions Amara and Varāha of the 6th century A. c., but it proves at least that in 1242 A. c. Kālidāsa was believed to have been a protégé of Vikrama Śakāri of 58 B. c. Again, Bhoja of c. 1050 A. c. quotes in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* a dialogue between Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya on the former's embassy to Kuntala, and his contemporary Kṣemendra actually men-

tions in his *Aucītya-vicāra-carcā* a work of Kālidāsa named *Kuntaleśvara-dautya*. Earlier still, Abhinanda says in his *Rāma-carita* that Kālidāsa gained his fame through the Śakāri. Kālidāsa's own testimony also seems to favour this tradition. Pāṇini (4, 3, 88) requires the suffix *īya* to be applied only to *dvandva* compounds. But we can construe the title of his *Vikramorvaśīya* only by *vikrameṇa labdhā Urvaśī* etc. (Urvaśī attained by *valour*); as Vikrama was neither the name nor title of Purūravas, Kālidāsa evidently chooses to break a rule of Pāṇini so that he may indicate his patron Vikrama Śakāri.

Thus the earliest and most authentic traditions as the results of modern research point to the same Conclusion. conclusion that the poet was a protégé of Vikrama Śakāri of 58 B. C. and it may therefore be now accepted as established beyond all reasonable doubt.

K. G. SANKAR

Some old Bengali Books and Periodicals in the British Museum

While writing my *Bengali Literature 1800-1825*, which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1919, I had no direct access to certain important printed Bengali books and periodicals of that period, which were not available in India and for which I had to rely on the information supplied by Grierson, Blumhardt and others. An opportunity of supplementing a part of this deficiency occurred later on in 1920-21, when I came across some of these early publications in the Bengali collection of the British Museum in London. I propose to give in the following pages a brief account of such interesting information as I could gather by examining these early documents.

I. *Herasim Lebedeff and his Bengali Plays*

The name of Herasim Lebedeff had been omitted through an oversight in my account of early European writers in Bengali ; and my attention was kindly drawn to this omission by Sir George Grierson in a letter to me dated June 11, 1920. Lebedeff is stated to have been a Russian, but more accurately he was a Ukraine peasant who visited London in the latter part of the 18th century. He came to Madras in the capacity of a bandmaster, and in 1787 arrived in Calcutta, where he appears to have learnt Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindustani. He published in London in 1801 a Hindustani Grammar which is a curious production and which is entitled "A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects, arranged according to the Brahmenian System of the Shanscrit Language". On the title-page he gives a quotation from the *Vidyāsundar* ; and in the preface which contains his autobiography, he states that he wrote several Bengali plays, one of which was acted with great success on November 27, 1795. He does not mention the name of any of his Bengali plays. From old Calcutta publications it appears that a theatre was opened by Lebedeff in "Doomtolla" with the permission of the Governor-General in 1795. The locality of "Doomtolla" has not yet been identified ; some say that it was a street off Old China Bazar Street, while others think that it was the name of a locality at the opening of the Cosaitolla (or what is left of Bentinck Street of today) and was so named in those days on account of the jail and gallows situated there. The Theatre was advertised to open with a play entitled "The Disguise", the characters of which were to be of both sexes and which was to commence with an Indian Serenade and scenes decorated "in the Bengalee style". This was probably a play translated from English into Bengali. Lebedeff also appears to have translated another English play, entitled "Love is the Best Doctor" (is it an adaptation of Molière's well-known farce ?) into Bengali. He subsequently became 'Theatrical Manager to the Great

Moghul' and returned to England in 1800 or 1801. He was later sent to Russia by the London Ambassador, was employed in the Russian Foreign Office and subsidised by the Russian Government in founding a Sanskrit Press. He died in 1815¹.

II. *Manoel da Assumpcao's Bengali Dictionary and Grammar*

At p. 75 of my *Bengali Literature*, mention is made (chiefly on the authority of Grierson) of Manoel da Assumpcao's *Vocabulario* which is perhaps the first dictionary (with a short Grammar) of the Bengali language. This book was not available in any Library in India, but there are two copies in the British Museum, in one of which pp. 41-46 are missing. The title-page reads thus; VOCABULARIO/ EM IDIOMA/ BENGALLA/ E/ PORTUGUEZ/ Dividido em duas partes/ DEDICADO/ AO EXCELLENT. E REVER. SENHOR/ D. FR. MIGUEL/ DE TAVORA/ Arcebispo de Evora do Concelho de sua Magestade/ Foy deligencia do Padre/ FR. MANOEL/ DA ASSUMPCAM/ Religioso Eremita de Santo Agostinho Congregacao/ da India Oriental./ LISBOA/ Na Office. de ERANCISCO DA SYLVA/ Liveiro da Academia Real, e do Senado/ Anno. M. DCCXLIII/ Com todas as licencas uecassarias/. The size of the book is duodecimo, convenient for the Missionary to carry in his pocket².

There is a short Preface (Prologo) in Portuguese at the beginning addressed to the Reader and the Young Missionary, calling upon the latter to learn Bengali. The author's object is to supply a short grammar with vocabulary, Bengali and Portuguese as well as Portuguese and Bengali ; for a mission-

1 I am indebted for some information to Sir George Grierson and to a paragraph in the *Statesman*, Calcutta.

2 For information regarding the author and his other works in Bengali see my work referred to at pp. 69-76. A facsimile of the title page is given in Kedar Nath Majumdar's *Bāṅgālā Sāmāyik Sāhitya*, vol. i, p.17 ; the source of this facsimile is not indicated.

ary who is ignorant of the language of his congregation is no missionary at all. If it is objected that many of the congregation can speak Portuguese, it may be replied that many of them speak Bengali also, and there are some who cannot speak Portuguese. Below this Preface, there is the certificate of the censor Fr. George da Apresentacao.

The work is divided roughly into three parts¹; and, as in his other work *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed* (কৃপার শাস্ত্রের অর্থ-ভেদ), the whole is in Roman character, the words having been transliterated according to the rules of Portuguese pronunciation. The first part, pp. 1-40, consists of a brief compendium of Bengali Grammar (Breve Compendio Grammatica Bengalla), and gives us four Declensions of Nouns, followed by Pronouns (pp. 1-9), Relative and Interrogative Pronouns (pp. 9-11), Conjugation of Verbs (pp. 12-21), and Syntax (pp. 21-40). This is followed by the second part, which comprises the Vocabulary, Bengali and Portuguese, pp. 41-302. The total number of separate entries in this vocabulary amounts to over six thousand. Some peculiarities of East Bengal pronunciation (for the book was probably written in East Bengal where the author spent his missionary life and learnt the language) are curiously preserved in the (phonetically) transliterated Bengali words. After this come three short appendices, pp. 303-6, which deal with Bengali words (with Portuguese equivalents) indicating the attribute of God, names of planets, and terms used for the ten celestial signs. The Portuguese-Bengali Vocabulary comes thereafter and occupies pp. 307-577, followed by seven interesting appendices, in which we have words denoting (1) the days of the week,

1 I have not attempted here to appraise the linguistic or lexicographical value of the work, as my friend Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, who has copied out the whole Grammar, made copious notes from the Vocabulary and has got facsimiles made of many interesting pages of the book, intends writing a fuller account of the subject with illustrations.

(2) numerals, (3) names of the seven planets, (4) names of the different Indian *sāstras*, viz., Agom Xastro (আগম শাস্ত্র), Puran Xastro (পুরাণ শাস্ত্র), Bhagbot (ভাগবত), Guita (গীতা), Torco Xastro (তর্ক শাস্ত্র, called argumentos sophisticos by the missionary), Niaco (? ন্যায়) Xastro (described as Trata de varios argumentos, contra Torco Xastro), Zoutex Xastro (জ্যোতিষ শাস্ত্র), Boidioc Xastro (বৈদ্যক শাস্ত্র), (5) the *gāyitrī mantra*, quoted as Gatri dos Bramenes : Ongbhurbhoboxo, tothoxobitur bhoroniong bhorg de boxio dhimohi o ono pros-sodoiat, (6) the attributes of God etc.

III. Ellerton's Bible-translation and Catechism

Ellerton's Bengali version of the New Testament, which was begun long before Carey but which was not published still 1819 in Calcutta, is mentioned at p. 108, footnote, of my *Bengali Literature*. Some detailed description of the book is necessary, as it is probably the earliest attempt at translating the Bible into Bengali, if we do not take any account of Thomas's version which appears never to have been published.

The full title of the book appears thus on the title-page :

জগদ্বারক / প্রভু যিশু খ্রীষ্টের মঙ্গল সমাচার / বাঙ্গালা ভাষাতে / রচিত / এবং পরমেশ্বরের বাণী গ্রন্থ প্রচারার্থে / যে সকল মহাশয়েরা ইংলণ্ড দেশ ও রুম / জার্মানী প্রভৃতি পরদেশে একযুক্তি হইয়া / প্রবৃত্ত থাকে তাহারদিগের প্রতি নিবেদিত / কলিকাতা হিন্দুস্তানি ছাপাখানার ছাপা হইল / খ্রীষ্টের মে ফিলিপ পেরেরা সাহেব / ইং ১৮১২ সাল/

It contains a full translation of the gospels of Matthew (মঙ্গল-সমাচার মাতিউর রচিত pp. 1-128), Mark (pp. 129-213¹), Luke (pp. 215-350), John (pp. 351-453), the Acts of the Apostles (প্রেরিতেরদের ক্রিয়া, pp. 455-546), the Epistles of Paul (to the Romans পাওলের পত্র রুমীরদিগকে pp. 547-637, also to Corinthians প্রথম ও দ্বিতীয়পত্র করিন্থীরদিগকে pp. 639-725, to the Galatians গালাতীরদিগকে

1 The pagination is wrong in the British Museum copy ; it is continuous from 129 to 136, then again begins p. 129 going up to 136, then 145 ; correct thereafter.

VOCABULARIO
EM IDIOMA
BENGALLA,
E
PORTUGUEZ.

Dividido em duas partes

D E D I C A D O

AO EXCPLLENT. E REVER. SENHOR.

D.F. MIGUEL

D E T A V O R A

Arcebispo de Evora do Concelho de Sua Magestade,

Foy deligencia do Padre

FR. MANOEL

D A A S S U M P C , A M

*Religioso Eremita de Santo Agostinho da Congrega-
cao da India Oriental.*



L I S B O A :

Na Offic de FRANCISCO DA SYLVA.

Livreiro da Academia Real , e do Senado.

Anno M. DCC XLIII.

Com todas as licenças necessarias.

pp. 727-745 and so forth up to p. 873), Epistles of Jacob (যাকুবের সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 873-816), of Peter (পিটারের প্রথম also দ্বিতীয় সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 826-909), of John (যোহনের প্রথম also দ্বিতীয় ও তৃতীয় সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 910-928), of Jude (যহুদার সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 928-932) and lastly the Revelation (দৈব্যপ্রকাশিত, pp. 932-993).

A specimen of its Bengali may be quoted here from the passage on the Crucifixion (Matt. xxvii, 35-52, p. 122f)¹ :

তখন তাহারা তাহাকে ক্রুশেতে চড়াইয়া এবং গুলীবাঁট করিয়া তাহার পরিচ্ছেদ ভাগ ২ করিয়া লইল সেই কথা যেন পূর্ণ হয় যে ভবিষ্যৎ বক্তার দ্বারা উক্ত ছিল যে আমার বক্তা তাহারা আপনাদের মধ্যে পরিবর্তন করিল এবং আমার জামার কারণ গুলীবাঁট করিল। পরে তাহারা সেইখানে বসিয়া তাহারে প্রহরিতে থাকিল। এবং তাঁহার মস্তকের উপর তাহার অপবাদের লেখন লাগাইয়া দিল যে এই যিশু যহুদীরদের রাজা। এবং দুই চোর তাঁহার সঙ্গে ক্রুশেতে চড়ান গেল এক জন দক্ষিণ পার্শ্বে ও অন্য জন বাম পার্শ্বে। এবং পথগামি সকল তাঁহাকে তিরস্কার করিতে লাগিল তাহারা আপনাদের মস্তক লাড়িয়া কহিল। ওরে মন্দিরের নাশক ও তাহার তিন দিনের মধ্যে [p. 124] নির্মাণ কারক তুই আপনাদের রক্ষা করিস যদি ঈশ্বরের পুত্র হইস তবে ক্রুশ হইতে নামিস। এবং প্রধান যাজকেরাও পরিহাস করিয়া অধ্যাপক ও প্রাচীন লোকের সহিত বলিতে লাগিল। সে অশ্রুরদিগকে পরিত্রাণ করিল আপনাদের বরিত্রাণ (sic) করিতে পারিল না যদি সে যিশুরালের রাজা হয় তবে সে ক্রুশ হইতে এখন নামুক ও আমরা তাহাকে প্রত্যয় করিব। সে ঈশ্বরেতে বিশ্বাস করিল এখন হো উনি তাহার উদ্ধার করুন যদি তাহাকে রাখিতে ইচ্ছা করেন কেন না সে কহিল আমি ঈশ্বরের পুত্র। এবং যে চোরেরা তাহার সঙ্গে ক্রুশেতে চড়ান গেল তাহারাও তাহাকে সেইরূপ নিন্দা করিতে লাগিল। পরে দুই প্রহর অবধি তিন প্রহর পর্যন্ত দেশ সমুদয় অন্ধকারাবৃত হইল। এবং তিন প্রহর সময়ে যিশু উচ্চৈঃস্বরে চৈঁচাইতে লাগিলেন ঈলী ২ লামা শাবাকতনো অর্থাৎ হে আমার ঈশ্বর তুমি কেন আমাকে ছাড়িয়া গিয়াছ। ইহা সে আশপাশ উপস্থিত লোকেরদের কেহ ২ শুনিয়া কহিল এই মনুষ্য ঈলিয়াকে স্মরণ করিতেছে। এবং তাহাদের এক জন শীঘ্র দৌড়িয়া এক ঢুকী সপঞ্জ লইয়া ছিরকায় ভরিয়া দিয়া তাহা এক বেতের অগ্রভাগে লাগাইয়া তাহাকে পান করিতে দিল অন্য সকল কহিল থাক থাক ঈলিয়া তাহাকে পরিত্রাণ [p. 125] করিতে আসিবেন কিনা আমরা দেখি। যিশু উচ্চৈঃস্বরে চৈঁচাইয়া প্রাণত্যাগ করিলেন।¹ তখন দেখ মন্দিরের পরদা উপর হইতে নামো পর্যন্ত ফাটিয়া গিয়া

I I have preserved the spelling and punctuation of the original.

ছুইখান হইল ও ভূমি কাঁপিতে লাগিল ও পর্বত কাটিয়া গেল। এবং কবরস্থান উদলা হইয়া গেল ও অনেক পুণ্যবানেরদের গুপ্ত দেহ উঠিল।

Ellerton's other work, in the form of a Catechism or question and answer between a religious instructor and his pupil, gives an account of the Creation and of the First Ages from the Old Testament in the form of dialogues in Bengali and English. The title page reads thus : গুরুশিষ্যের প্রশ্নোত্তর ধারাতে/সৃষ্টিাদির বিবরণ।/বাক্সালা আর ইংরেজী ভাষাতে।/নয় অধ্যায়।/An account of/The Creation of the world/ and of the First Ages/in the form of/Dialogues/Between a Master and his Pupil/in/Bengalee and English/by J. Ellerton/Calcutta/ Printed for the Church Missionary Society/By P. Pereira at the Hindoostanee Press/1820/.

As indicated, the book contains nine chapters, and there is a separate title-page and separate pagination to each chapter. The chapter-headings given below, both in English and in Bengali (as in the original), will give an idea of its contents.

- I. The Creation of the world (সৃষ্টির বিবরণ), pp. 1-23.
- II. The Fall of Man (আদমের পতন বিবরণ), pp. 1-27.
- III. An Account of the Increase of Adam's offspring. First Part (আদমের বংশবৃদ্ধির বিবরণ। প্রথম ভাগ।), pp. 1-39.
- IV. An Account of the Increase of Adam's offspring. Second Part (আদমের বংশবৃদ্ধি ও জলপ্লাবিতের বিবরণ। দ্বিতীয় ভাগ।), pp. 1-39.
- V. The History of Noah's Offspring and the Confusion of Tongues (নোহের বংশ বিবরণ এবং তাহাদের ভাষা ভঙ্গ হওনের বৃত্তান্ত), pp. 1-53.
- VI. The History of Abraham (আব্রাহামের বিবরণ), pp. 1-63.
- VII. The History of Abraham's Posterity, Isaac, Jacob etc. (আব্রাহামের বংশ ইশকাহাদির বিবরণ), pp. 1-67.
- VIII. The History of Jacob যাকূবের বিবরণ), pp. 1-65.
- IX. The History of Joseph and his Brethren (য়ুসুফ ও তাহার ভ্রাতৃগণের বিবরণ), pp. 1-63.

The following short extract from ch. iii, p. 11 will give an idea of its style and language :

শিষ্য। তবে সত্য ভক্তি কেমন মহাশয় ও কি ২ লক্ষণেতে জানা যায়।

গুরু। সত্য ভক্তি যে জনেতে থাকে সে আপনার নিতান্ত লাঘবতা জানিয়া নত্মাস্তঃকরণ হইয়া পরমেশ্বরের গুণ ও কৰ্ম্ম এবং আপনার তাঁহায় সৃষ্টিস্বজ্ঞের সম্বন্ধ ও তাঁহা হইতে আপনার অত্যন্ত হিতপ্রাপ্তি এই সকলের প্রকৃত বোধ করিয়া পরমেশ্বরের নিকট সঙ্কোচপূৰ্ব্বক প্রেমাকর্ষিত হইয়া পূজাদি দ্বারা আপনার সেই প্রেম ও কৃতার্থ জ্ঞান দেখাইতেছে এবং তাহার এই মত করা অতি কর্তব্য জানিয়া তাহার অশ্রু অশ্রু ফলাফলের কিম্বা ধর্ম্মাধর্ম্মের কিছু জ্ঞান করে না তাহার চিন্তা কেবল যে আপনার পূজাদি যেন ঈশ্বরের গ্রহণ যোগ্য হয়।

শিষ্য। এ অতি পরমা ভক্তি গুরো আর বুঝি যে হাবল (Abel) তিনি এমত ভক্ত ছিলেন।

গুরু। হে শিষ্য যে ভক্তি আমি বর্ণনা করিয়াছি সে তো সাধারণ ভক্তি এবং পাপী নিষ্পাপী সকল জীবতেই যোগ্য ও আবশ্যক বটে কিন্তু পাপিজীবের ভক্তি যাহাতে যোগ্য ও উচিত ও ঈশ্বরের গ্রাহ্য হয় তাহার মধ্যে অনেক বিশেষ ভাব চাহে এই মত ভক্তি হাবলে ছিল।

(*To be continued*)

S. K. DE

Politics and Political History in the Mahābhārata

II

General political condition of India

The original historical kernel of the great Epic gives us a detailed account of the Kuru rulers of that time and incidentally furnishes us with a contemporary general account of Indian states and clans and it is with this only that we are concerned. Before attempting to show the amount of popular authority and control over their princes or their government we may survey the political condition of India about the time of the Great War.

1. The whole of Northern India was divided into a number of states more or less independent as far as internal government was concerned but acknowledging the suzerainty of the paramount power of the day.

2. That the Madhyadeśa or the region round the Kuru country was regarded as the intellectual and also the cultural centre of the Aryans. The manners and customs of the people of the western border, e.g. those of Madras and Vāhikas, were looked down upon by the people of the central region. On the other hand, Eastern India was regarded as the land of the Śūdras par excellence, and this is apparent from the denunciation of Aṅga by the king of Madra. Aṅga and Vaṅga are described in at least more than one place as being ruled by a *mlecchā* prince. In addition to these, some of the ruling Kṣatriya families are regarded as Vrātyas. The Yādavas who were the ruling race in the extreme south were a sort of oligarchic ruling confederation.

The form of government varied. In the west the old Aryan tribal principle was supreme and there were numerous petty states ruled by local princes who were guided in all matters by popular opinion. In the central region, e.g. in the land of the Kurus and Matsyas the rulers were princes in name only. In the Kuru country this popular sovereignty was so great that it is difficult to form easily an impression as to whether the government can be described as a true monarchy at all. It is only in the east that the princes had a greater chance of ruling irresponsibly. The large number of wild tribes differing from each other in language, religion, race and temperament, the large number of elephants, a potent instrument in ancient warfare found there in abundance, the cheapness of other materials required for a fighting force made it easy for the eastern princes to easily raise large armies with which to rule absolutely without even consulting the opinion of his subjects. The Aryan settlers were few and these consisted mainly of the ruling families and their hereditary officials, and hence there was no opposition from them. This made not only absolutism possible but fostered a lust for dominion outside the tribal territory which was the limit of domination in the west and centre of India. To this again must be attributed

the fact that the east was the land where imperialism took its rise—an imperialism which meant something more than mere suzerainty and was nothing less than universal rule to the exclusion of local princes and absolutism to its utmost limit.

In such a state of affairs, Jarāsandha the Magadha king thought of pursuing a policy of blood and iron. He had many allies, the most prominent of whom were Vāsudeva the king of Puṇḍra and Vaṅga, Bhagadatta of Kāmarūpa, and a number of central Indian rulers including the Cedi Śiśupāla and some of the Bhoja princes.

I. Having thus described the state of political development we proceed to cite evidence from the great epic in order to show the extent of popular sovereignty in those days. As regards the central region we take the Kuru country and describe its history in detail, because the Mahābhārata records the traditional history of the Kuru country. As to other states we only have some passing reference or some detail only when we are on the eve of the great war. Under the circumstances, lack of information prevents us from giving details as to most of the circumstances, except those relating to the Kurus.

II. For the South we must confine ourselves to the detailed description of the Yādava constitution and narrate some instances from Yādava history as recorded in the Epic to prove our point.

III. Lastly we must conclude by giving some details as to the tribal republics which retained their democratic constitution in the various parts of the country. These as a rule flourished on the frontier regions to the west and north or in the secluded areas. In the Mahābhārata these states are described as gaṇas. Of these we shall give a list, and this will be supplemented by short historical notices of each of them. But before we pass on to the other subjects we must make some attempt to describe their general characteristics e.g.

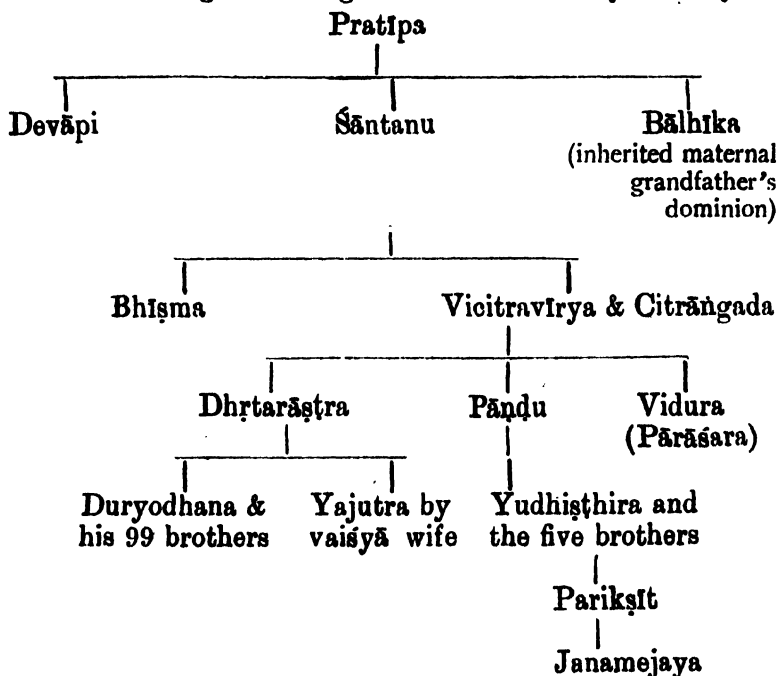
(1) They were outside the influence of their political forces, which operated in the Madhyadeśa.

(2) They were dominated by some tribe or members of one particular caste.

Thus the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Trigarta and some other gaṇas were mainly kṣatriyas. The Vātādhānas and the Mādhyamakeyas were Brāhmin gaṇas, while the Grāmaṇiyas of the Indus region and the Ābhīras on the bank of the Sarasvatī were Śūdras by caste.

The Kuru Country

To all readers of the Mahābhārata it would be apparent that the epic is primarily the history of the Kuru country; for the historical kernel which forms now only a small fraction of the vast encyclopædia we have the traditional account of the reigns of five generations of the royal family.¹



1 A complete history of the Kuru line of kings as well as the relation of the Kurus to the earlier Vedic tribes is out of place here. But as we hold that the Mahābhārata is nothing but the traditional history of the Vedic period, we shall try to establish our point elsewhere. In

Now from the account recorded in the great epic we find that in the reign of each of these kings we have some constitutional event of importance to record, and from these we can form an idea as to the extent of popular sovereignty.

Pratīpa had three sons e.g. Devāpi, Bāhlika, and Śāntanu. Devāpi suffered from some skin disease. When old the king thought of installing Devāpi on the throne and made preparations for his investiture. Thereupon the Brahmins, the old people, and the citizens prevented him. They approached him and said that though the young prince was worthy and otherwise agreeable, he suffered from skin disease and was not acceptable to the gods.

Dissuaded by the force of their argument and the weight of their opinion the king had to give way and abandon the idea of crowning Devāpi. This however made him unhappy and he retired to the forest. On his withdrawal the second son Bāhlika became king for a time, but he too abdicated in favour of his younger brother Śāntanu who was crowned king by the people and the magnates.

Śāntanu's reign otherwise uneventful is marked towards its end by an event of constitutional importance. It was the voluntary abdication of his only legitimate son and heir to the throne the celebrated Bhīṣma. The king being smitten with love for the daughter of a fisherman, and yet not accepting her, on account of the hard terms proposed by the father of the girl, who insisted on the stipulation that the son of his daughter by the king would be the heir to the throne to the exclusion of the virtuous Bhīṣma, was in a difficult position. The dutiful son to fulfil his father's wishes boldly went to the fisherman, and asked him to bestow his daughter on the king, and to remove all objections on his part, he

the paper entitled "Early Indian Chronology" an attempt will be made to identify the rulers of the Kuru line as given in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva, Chs. 94 & 95) with the names of princes, where names are found in the Ṛgveda and the other Saṃhitās.

voluntarily renounced his claim to the throne in a Sabhā in the presence of the members. The whole story is given in the Ādi-parva, ch. 101. The whole thing took place in the presence of the members of the Sabhā. Śāntanu by this marriage had two sons Chitrāṅgadā and Vicitravīrya. The elder succeeded as king but soon he was killed in a war with the Gandhāras while the faithful Bhīṣma acted as the real ruler of the state, though ever he acted as the servant of the younger brother and administered the state, according to the counsel of his step-mother Satyawatī.

Bhīṣma distinguished himself by his noble and disinterested service to the state and very soon he signalled his devotion by acquiring three brides for his step-brother Vicitravīrya (see Ādi, ch. 96) One of these brides Ambālikā was, however, sent back to her own kinsmen on account of her entreaties that she had chosen the king of Kāśī as her lord.

This however proved a great misfortune for her. The king of Kāśī rejected her since she was the victory prize of another according to the customs of those days. Rejected by both the parties she in revenge implored the assistance of Rāma Jāmadagnya—the great champion of military brahminism, who came to persuade Bhīṣma to take her for one of his brothers. This being refused the two decided to appeal to the supreme arbitration of force and fought for several days.

The combat ended in a draw. The rest of the events is narrated in the Ādi-parva. But here again we meet with another event of constitutional importance which though not mentioned in the Ādi-parva is incidentally narrated in the Udyoga-parva which seems to have preserved the true historical account. In the 129th chapter of that Parva we have an account of the history of the Kuru country recorded by Bhīṣma himself. From that we know that Vicitravīrya who succeeded Śāntanu was too fond of woman and consequently fell a victim to Yakṣhma (Phthisis) and consumption, and at the

same time the Kuru country being invaded by the terrible Brahmin warrior Paraśurāma the king was banished by the citizens.

Next a pestilence broke out and carried away a large number of inhabitants and only a small portion of the population survived. There was no king, the government fell into disorder and the misery of the people knew no bounds. Thereupon the people headed by the elders approached Bhīṣma the rightful heir to the throne. They together with Kālī, the wife of Śāntanu (step-mother of Bhīṣma) besought the worthy prince to take up the reins of government and to save the country from destruction.

This however Bhīṣma refused. He reminded them of his vow (which he had taken before the assembly) of celibacy and of renunciation and persuaded the queen-mother to allow the widowed queens of the late sovereign to raise issue by the practice of Niyoga.

Of these three sons the eldest Dhṛtarāṣṭra was not eligible for kingship as he was blind (Udyoga, ch. 147, v. 38.). Vidura too was excluded being born of a slave-girl. Pāṇḍu became king though for a time Bhīṣma acted as a real ruler of the country.

Pāṇḍu however soon forsook the world and with his wives spent his time in the forest, making over his kingdom to his blind elder brother though this point is not clear in the account of the Ādi-parva (ch. 119). The story of the handing over of the kingdom to his brother by Pāṇḍu is again put in the 148th chapter in the mouth of Bharadvāja. Droṇa is the speaker with the statement that the people accepted Dhṛtarāṣṭra as king.

The blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra then became the next king. His claims thus rested on his brother's abdication and gift and popular sanction. Probably this popular support enabled him to rule, for there existed a section of elders, who never recognised him as king (Udyoga, ch. 147).

Thus it would appear from the ślokas that Dhṛtarāṣṭra

held the throne by virtue of his brother's abdication, and acceptance by the people. Some of the Kuru elders like Droṇa regarded Dhṛtarāṣṭra as a rightful king, though they never thought of this as constituting a bar to the succession of the Pāṇḍavas. Others like Bhīṣma regarded Dhṛtarāṣṭra as a mere figure-head representing royalty and sought to further the cause of the young prince the son of Paṇḍu to the exclusion of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons.

(To be continued)

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJI

The Bhāsa Problem

II

III. Implications of the theory

There are certain implications connected with the theory which the Bhasites make much of and utilise to substantiate it. Because of the importance now attached to them, it behoves us to comment upon them. These implications may be put down to be three in number ; and they are :

(A) the numerous archaisms, the apparently rugged simplicity of diction, and the queerness of Prākṛt are evidences to prove that the 'Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra' may be assigned to the age of Pāṇini ;

(B) the queer dramatic technique shows that they must have been produced before Bharata laid down the rules of dramaturgy in his Nāṭya Śāstra ;

(C) these dramas, thirteen in number, are the works of one and the same author, Bhāsa. These implications we shall now proceed to consider.

A. *Language evidence*

Mm. Ganapati Sastri praises high the sweet diction of these dramas, especially of Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Pratimānāṭaka, dwells upon the so-called archaic flavour and draws pointed attention to the queerness of Prākṛt. Regarding the first of these, he is so much enamoured of it, that even Kālidāsa, the prince of poets, is, in his opinion, much indebted to him. While we can admire his consistency to his own theory, we regret we cannot bring ourselves to endorse his opinion, unless we yield to the glamour of a theory. Every scholar has his own opinion about literary works, and Mm. Sastri is perfectly entitled to have his own opinion, but when he proceeds to institute comparisons—and all comparisons of master poets are odious—when he proceeds to draw conclusions, when he utilises these comparisons and conclusions to bolster up a theory, it is time 'to register a protest' and remind him of the 'absurdity of his procedure. If the evidence of style is to be used as an argument to prove the age of a work, it behoves the theorist to first analyse the constituent elements of the different styles of the different ages and then to theorise. But no such analysis has yet been attempted, either by the editor, or his faithful adherents. Secondly, the probabilities of borrowing and copying have to be argued and established on a sufficiently satisfactory basis. In these matters mere dogmatic statements are of no value and deserve to be ignored. And lastly, a careful examination of the styles of these plays clearly shows that all the thirteen dramas cannot be assigned to the same age, much less to the same person. Thus while Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Pratimā belong to one type, Avimāraka and Pañcarātra belong to another, if the use of long-winded compounds and of long metres, the concluding of one verse by different speakers, the sacrifice of ideas amidst verbiage are of any significance.

Coming to archaisms, if the presence of non-Pāṇinian forms of words can give any archaic flavour, then these dramas can be said to possess it to a certain extent. But after all, are the

mistakes as many as have been pointed out ? For, of the existing solecisms many are accepted forms. Of the rest a majority may be put down to the illiteracy of the copyists and the actors. Further, the manuscripts of these dramas are after all not so rare, as Min. Sastri seems to imply. A sufficiently large number of copies is available here, and there is scope for a critical edition. And what the exact number is of the so-called archaisms could be settled, only after a variorum edition is prepared. And after all it is very doubtful, if archaic flavour arises out of merely grammatical mistakes, ancient or modern. If not, a drama, which I or you may write could easily be made the most ancient drama.

Coming to Prākṛt, we are afraid that scholars are possibly misled ; for they do not seem to have realised the queer position that Prākṛt has been occupying in Kerala. It must be pointed out and clearly emphasised that here it had only a purely literary and hence artificial existence. While elsewhere in India Prākṛt was being greatly influenced by the local vernaculars, here it never came under that influence. The only influence that was ever brought to bear upon it was that of Pāli, for Buddhism was once, during the early centuries of the Christian era, the religion of the land. Hence it is that the Prākṛt of these dramas appears to be queer. The representative type of this Prākṛt may be found in *Dhaṇāñjaya*, *Samvaraṇa*, and *Cūḍāmaṇi*, which are purely Kerala productions. The same type is found copied even in the Prākṛt of *Śakuntalā* and other North Indian dramas, as found preserved in the ancient local manuscripts. Whatever has been said regarding the Prākṛt of the dramas included in the 'Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra' could as well be said of the Prākṛt of *Kālidāsa*, *Harṣa* or *Bhavabhūti*. Hence the queerness of Prākṛt, on which so much appears to have been said, reveals not its antiquity but its queer position in Kerala.

B. *The peculiar dramatic technique*

The second, and what is apparently the strongest of their

implications is the peculiar dramatic technique of the series of dramas included in the Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra. But so far as we have been able to study them, the so called peculiarity centres round the prologue, and this, it deserves to be pointed out, is certainly queer to the casual reader. However, it is not such as would justify their being assigned to an age before Bharata. The peculiarities are three in number ; (1) the opening of the drama with the sentence *nāndyante itataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ*, (2) the omission of the names of the author and the work, and (3) the use of the term *sthāpanū* for *prastāvanā*.

The opening of the dramas of the series with the sentence "*nāndyante*" is made much of by the Bhasites. In drawing the conclusions necessary for their theory they quote the authority of Bāṇa who refers to the works of a Bhāsa in the following verse :

sūtradhāraḥkṛtārambhaiḥ nāṭakair bahubhūmikaiḥ,
sapatākair yaśo lebhe bhāso devakulair iva.

Interpreting this verse as lying down the characteristics of Bhāsa's dramas, they say that the first characteristic is opening the drama with the Sūtradhāra. Since the Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra opens with the Sūtradhāra, they say that this is an incontrovertible proof of Bhāsa's authorship. Even granting such an interpretation is correct, it has first to be settled as to which Bhāsa Bāṇa is referring to, the ancient one or the modern one. We incline to the view that Bāṇa is referring to his own contemporary, rather than to the predecessor of Kālidāsa. And after all what does Bāṇa mean ? Unless and until we have at least one authentic drama of Bhāsa Bāṇa refers to, we cannot be quite certain of the exact significance of this verse. In the absence of anything authentic we can interpret it only in its natural way. We believe, and many local Pandits also are of the same opinion, that Bāṇa is here concerned only with the statement of the fact that Bhāsa has acquired fame by writing dramas, as much fame as he earned by building temples, and not with the laying down of

the peculiarities of Bhāsa's dramas. The three common qualifications cannot have much significance attached to them, for every drama has practically these three qualifications : it is the Sūtradhāra that opens it, there are many characters, and every drama has a *Patākā* incident or a *Patākā-sthāna*. In using these adjectives we believe that Bāṇa is only satiating his love of *śleṣa*. In view of this, the statement of Bāṇa could not be squeezed to yield any historical support for the Bhāsa theory, since, as it is, it is vague and indefinite for all historical purposes.

If at all any significance deserves to be attached to the opening words of these dramas, it is only this much : viz., that these dramas open not with the usual Nāndī-Sūtradhāra but with the Kathā-Sūtradhāra and that the dramatists' benedictory verse is sung not by the former, but by the latter. Dramaturgy demands two Sūtra-dhāras, one to perform the Nāndī and the other to announce the play. And Bharata himself has suggested a line of economy, when he says that both the Sūtradhāras have the same cast of character. In a place where there is a thriving theatre, it is but natural that the actors will try to reduce the characters to the lowest limit possible. This will necessary be a practice, when convention has ceased their work in demanding a full and regular Nāndī only on the opening day, and not subsequently, even when the drama is changed, provided the representation runs on the same stage without a break. Such a procedure—and it is so as far as the local stage is concerned—makes one overlook the intimate connection that exists between the Nāndī ceremony and the staging of a play. This, then, the local stage tradition is sufficient explanation for the opening of these dramas in that peculiar way. So strong has been the force of this tradition, that in ancient manuscripts here, every drama opens thus: even *Śakuntalā* is no exception. In view of this, all theorising from such an opening becomes irrelevant ; if not, the number of Bhāsa's dramas could be easily swelled.

Another peculiarity of the Prologue, which the Bhasites point out and utilise to establish their theory, is the omission of the names of the author and the play. The explanation suggested and accepted (?) by them is that these thirteen dramas had come into existence before the practice of giving names came into vogue. This is only begging the question. We believe for a *prima facie* reason that these dramas have omitted these two, because they have no definite author and no definite name. Regarding Svapna-Vāsavadatta, enough has already been said to show that it is only an adaptation, and hence nobody could claim its authorship. The same, we hold, is true of Cārudatta. Coming to the indefiniteness of names, we find that Svapna-Vāsavadatta has three names—Svapna-Nāṭaka, Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Vāsavadatta-Nāṭaka; Cārudatta is also known as Daridra Cārudatta, Pratimā Nāṭaka as Vicchinnābhiṣeka and Pādūkābhiṣeka, Karpabhāra as Karpakavaca, Dūtavākya as Śrī-kṛṣṇadūta. In the case of Avimāraka, Bālacarita, Abhiṣeka and Pratijñā, one manuscript, the oldest in the local library, gives no names at all. This variety of names may probably be taken as an indication that the dramas are not genuine, but only adaptations. Since adaptations by their nature cannot have any names connected with them, the absence of names only proves their anonymity and not their antiquity.

In this connection I may be permitted to refer to another practice of the local professional actors; namely, the practice of giving a short introduction, when they change one scene of one drama to another of another drama. This introduction consists of a benedictory stanza and a short Cūrṇikā to announce the character that first appears on the stage, or the incident which is described in the scene to be enacted, and may be termed for want of a better expression 'Inter-Prologue.' Such Inter-Prologues, one Oakyar tells me they have for every one of the scenes they are trained to act. When a number of such 'Inter-Prologues' is obtain-

ed—and I have made arrangements for it—it may likely turn out that the editor's so-called Prologues are nothing but 'Inter-Prologues'¹. In which case it may be seen that the so-called peculiarity may only be the result of local stage tradition, and not a proof of antiquity.

Now coming to the last of the prologue peculiarities the use of *STHĀPANĪ* for *PRASTĀVANĪ*, in the first place it deserves to be pointed out that the local ancient manuscripts uniformly use only *Sthāpanā* and not *Prastāvanā*, whether they be the dramas included in the *Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra* or not. And such a usage is also sanctioned by Bharata. For the sentence "*prastāvanām tataḥ kuryāt*" there is found a variant which runs "*sthāpanām ca tataḥ kuryāt*". The usage of *Sthāpanā* instead of *Prastāvanā* in Kerala manuscript is, therefore, not a sign of antiquity, but this only shows that the Malayalees have accepted the second of the readings. And this, however, suggests a better critical taste for in what precedes Bharata says "*sthāpakaḥ praviśet tatra*." Hence the use of the term *Sthāpana* is also no argument in support of the *Bhāsa* theory.

C. *Unity of authorship*

The third of the implications, which is both a conclusion of, and an argument for, the theory is that all these thirteen dramas are the works of one and the same author, the renowned *Bhāsa* of old. This has already been invalidated, because ancient *Bhāsa* has not been yet proved to have written a drama named *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, and because Mm. Sastri's *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* is not genuine. We shall, therefore, in this section content ourselves with an examination of the nature of the argument by which Mm. Sastri tries to establish it.

1 The opening verse of the Inter-Prologue to announce the change to *Śephālīkāṅka*, act IV of *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, is given in my notes to the translation of *Dūta-Ghaṭ*. Vide the *Shama*, vol. iv, no. 2, pp. 141-142.

The only argument that he has brought up is the presence of common sentences and verses. This is at best only a very dubious kind of evidence, when it is remembered that our professional actors, who have been acting all these thirteen dramas, are not very scrupulous in borrowing. They are and have always been quite ready to appropriate to themselves any good verse they come across anywhere¹; and because their hand is seen in these dramas, common expressions cannot be taken as an argument for unity of authorship. Secondly, the one principle that underlies Mm. Sastri's process of reasoning is the improbability of the Hindu writers being plagiarists. If Mm. Sastri accepts this principle as regards all standard writers and not merely of Bhāsa, we are forced to come to just the opposite conclusion. An examination of the prologue of Śakti Bhadra's Cudāmaṇi shows that there also is the sentence 'mayi vijñāpanavyagre'. And we believe it is a saner and more legitimate conclusion to assign these dramas to Śakti Bhadra than to presume that Śakti Bhadra has plagiarised from authorless and nameless dramas. This is enough we hope to prove the hollowness of Mm. Sastri's unity of authorship. In our opinion the presence of common sentences is a powerful argument to prove that these dramas are all playwrights' adaptations, made to meet the popular craving for new plays in the days, when the local Sanskrit stage was in a flourishing state.

Enough has now been said to prove that the implications connected with the theory stand on grounds as flimsy as those on which the theory is built up. The apparent peculiarities that we see in these dramas are not a sign of

1 A striking illustration of this can be found in the Rāmāyaṇa Prabandham, which is composed of all the good verses in all the kāvyas and dramas which describe the story of Rāma. Tradition says that Mahānāṭakam also is of the same type.

antiquity; they are only a proof of their intimate connection with the local orthodox stage.

IV. Bhāsa-Nāṭaka Cakra renamed Kerala-Nāṭaka-Cakra

A study of the Kerala stage and its sources, as far as now available, shows that the dramas that have been or are popular on our stage are the following¹: (i) Dhanañjaya (ii) Saṃvarana, (iii) Cūḍamaṇi, (iv) Nāgānanda, (v) Bhagavadajjuka, (vi) Mattavilāsa Prahasana, (vii) Kalyāṇa Saughaṭṭika, (viii) Śrī Kṛṣṇa Carita, (ix) Vicchinnābhiseka, (x) Mahānāṭaka, and (xi)-(xxiii) the thirteen dramas of the so-called Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra. Of these, the first four, the seventh, the tenth and Pratimānāṭaka, locally known as Pādukābhiseka, Abhisekanāṭaka, also known as Valia-Abhisekam, and Mantraka of Pratijñā yangandharāyaṇa are popular on our stage even to-day. The fifth must have been very popular here because a Cakyar's recension, with complete directions as how to act it, is available². The eighth is not yet available, though some actors say it is none other than Mm. Sastri's Bālacarita. This, however, is popular, because one act of this is well-known to them as Mallāṅka. Regarding the rest the various names given by Cakyars to the various acts are sufficient proof of their stage popularity; for instance, Bhrama-Cāriṅka, Pantattāṅka, Pūttuḍāṅka, Śephālikāṅka, Svapnāṅka and Citraphalakāṅka of Svapna-Vāsavadatta; Anottāṅka, Dūtāṅka, Abhisarāṅka, Parvāṅka, and Mādamettāṅka of Avimāraka; Vettāṅka, Bhīṣma-dūtāṅka of Pañcarātra; Bālivadha, Torāṇayuddha,

1 Nos. 3 and 4 are unpublished. Transcripts are being prepared with a view to publication. The ninth tradition ascribes to the last of the Perumals, Bhāskara Ravi Varmā. It is unknown, but I incline to believe that it is none other than Pratimā, the first act of this is locally called Vicchinnābhiseka.

2 A manuscript copy of this has been promised me by a Cakyar and I expect soon to have a copy of it.

Hanumaddūtāṅka, Māyā Sītāṅka and Abhiṣekāṅka of Abhiṣeka ; Vicchinuābhiṣekāṅka, Vilāpāṅka, Pratimāṅka, Adavyamaṅka, Rāvaṇāṅka, Bharatāṅka and Abhiṣekāṅka of Pratimā : Mahāsenāṅka, Mantrāṅka, Arāttāṅka of Pratijñā ; all the one act dramas, the Cakyars say, are used to be acted and is further proved by the fact that a manuscript, containing select scenes to be acted in a temple in Travancore has selections from these dramas¹. But so far I have not been able to gain any clue regarding the stage popularity of Cārudatta. But because this also is found together with the rest of the series in the local manuscripts, and such manuscripts the Cakyars term 'Nāṭakamālā', we may presume that also must once have been stage popular. And, when it is also remembered that all these thirteen dramas are found only in Kerala, and that in the houses of Cakyars or their patrons, that many copies of them offering a wonderful variety of readings are available even now, one may come to the legitimate conclusion that these are only dramas prepared for our stage some being original productions², such as Cūḍāmaṇi and others, playwrights' adaptations, such as Svapna-Vāśavadatta. In view of this, I make bold to suggest that the series may be renamed Kerala-Nāṭaka-Cakra.

I am now come to the end of my paper. In conclusion I wish to be permitted to point out that though the Bhāsa theory has been exploded, Mm. Sastri's services to the cause of Sanskrit are not to be belittled. It deserves to be rightly emphasised that but for his efforts, and here he was and is laudably encouraged by the Government of

1 Now in the possession of my esteemed friend Mr. A. K. Pisharodi, Trivandrum.

2 It appears to be very significant that the authentic dramas in the series have no names for the various acts except Cūḍāmaṇi the acts of which are named. Cannot this be taken as suggesting this anonymity ?

Travancore, this series of dramas would not have seen the light of day, at least not so early. And especially the thanks of all Malayalees are due to him, for it was reserved for him, a foreigner in the land, to open our eyes to this glorious heritage left by our forefathers. We also thank him for his theory, for otherwise it is unlikely that Sanskritists would have turned to these dramas so earnestly. Thus for more than one reason he deserves our thanks and this I offer unto him in the name of all Malayalees.

K. R. PISHAROTI

The Stotra Literature of Old India

Man's entry into the world launches him at once into a state of submission and surrender to cosmic forces ; and this is true as much of man as an individual, as of his being an entity of a group or a group of interests. And it is a paradox that his strength lies in and arises out of this inherent weakness of his. There can be no greater proof of this inevitable fact than what we meet with in literature. The earliest literature of India, and for the matter of that, of the human species—in which, however, man is far from primitive and shows a varied substratum of culture—contains indelible traces of how the primary (immediate) feelings of the poet in him open out a vista of grandeur and sublimity, a scene of sweetness and serenity, in which he himself shines best in the *role* of an humble and cheerful devotee. It may seem dogmatic to assert that the Vedic Aryan's religion was feeling, pure and simple at the early stage of its manifestation—and it is now unanimously held by scholars that *R̥gvedic Samhitā* is a composition of different states of consciousness of varying degrees, the product of many centuries of thought or prayer—that his *Upāsana* was *upa āsana*, literally sitting near, near his worldly environment as well as his supermundane mind but it is nevertheless true, as true as any psychological truth. Equipped with a rosy view of life and its relations, and not cowed down into sullen renunciation, born of disgust and despair, which has found

a significant expression in proverbs of a later age such as *namas tat karmabhyo vidhir api na yebhyaḥ prabhavati*, the Vedic Aryan approaches his gods with meek submission, intertwines them with his own self, and gathers strength on and on. Many a *Stotra*¹, *Udgīta*, *Uktha*, *Śastra*, *Stoma* may be cited to show how this spirit of submission, little affected or caused by a layer of imbedded intellectuality, operated as *the factor* in his religious life.

But this was not long to be. He could ill help participating in the fruits of the "Forbidden Tree" and with the dawn of intellectuality in him, life assumed a sterner and more exacting aspect. His religious leaning did not become sullen, sombre all at once; it became more practical, of the more matter of the world type. His gods became less 'transcendent', more needy, watchful and sensitive, greater task-masters, and with the lapse of time, as he fancied, less ready helpers to him. From *karma* or *kratu* (Gr. *kratosk*)—assiduously carried on through the sacrifices, an attention to which forms a striking element in the evolution of the mind of the Vedic *ṛṣi* (seer), sacrifices, as bargain with the gods at stipulated prices, a surrender to which as a religious factor or mystic speculation is conspicuous in the *Brāhmaṇas*, and in the bulk of the *Sūtra* literature,—to the *naiṣkarmyasiddhi* hinted at in the *Upaniṣads* and insisted on as a *sine qua non* in the many philosophical *sūtras* or to the revolt from the orthodox ways of thinking and doing, which culminated in other rationalistic forms of religion is a long but a logical step to step way, of which the *modus operandi*, the incidental and accidental causes do not concern us here. A cursory glance at the process by which hymns, the primary religious feeling-note in which is too obvious to escape notice, were incorporated in (and, of course, preserved through) and subordinated to sacrifices, or were regularly and ingeniously introduced into the less formal daily practices² of the average Hindu, would go to prove how *dharma* was going to lose its vocation, so to say,

1 RV. I. 5. 8; X. 58. 11; etc. *Yad enam ṛgbhiḥ śamsanti yajurbhiḥ yajanti sāmabhiḥ stuvanti*—Yāska. *Śatarudriya* is a collection of 100 *udgīthas* later used for other purposes (e. g. *Śānti* and phallic worship in Sivapurāṇa).

2 Cf. Śaunaka's *Rgvidhāna* for a full reference to these applications. Cf. also his statement at the beginning of the work; *ṛṣibhir-vividhā mantrā dṛṣṭā dṛṣṭaproyajanāḥ* and his ingenious attempt to in-

becoming more and more a matter of the intellect, speculations often grotesque and fantastic, in a word, losing hold of its universal sway. The incidental references in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Gṛhya* and *Śrauta Sūtras* would convince us that the hymns had well-nigh foregone their appealing nature, they had become stereotyped into implements of almost as much avail as the *udūkhala*, *mūṣala*, *soma*, etc ; or lost themselves into a catechism of symbols, charm and incantations, their part wherein was growing more and more subordinate and supplementary. The heavenly heroes, the *shining* ones (*devāḥ*), be they the transformations of living gods or the personifications of pantheistic forces, were fast fading away, and the mind of the average Hindu, perhaps as much as that of his more gifted and intelligent brethren, was yearning for something of a concrete manifestation, in which he could well satiate his growing thirst for the quest of the Infinite.

This period of stress and strain was followed by one, in which the rational element had to tone itself down to give scope to the so long latent tendencies of devotional fervour and personal submission. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* came as welcome relief,—as nucleus to the then budding modes of thought as reflected in literature. But they could not satisfy the yearning they were called on to ; they only intensified it, for in spite of their professed treatment of the living heroes, their heritage of and close participation in the tendencies of the preceding age (one of them even categorically styles itself the fifth *Veda*) could well be looked upon as disqualifications. It is in the *Purāṇas* which have carried to a degree of nicety the concrete, narrative and active tendencies of the two great epics that the old Hinduism of feeling and fervour re-asserted itself. The stereotyped forms and practices of the preceding age left little room for real worship—the efficiency of *Praṇava*³ and of the *Gāyatrī*

corporate the *pañcamahāvratas* (*Kṛcchra*, *Parāka* etc.) of the later monastic codes into the Vedic ritualistic system.

3 Cf. the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad* III. 12. So also in *Chāndogya* I. 1 ; I. 5. The ingenuous way of rather allegorical or symbolic interpretations given to them in the earlier *Upaniṣads* go to prove that they were going to lose their old esteem in the eyes of even the intelligent : *samastasya khalu sāmna upāsanaṃ sādhu yat khalu sādhu tat sūmetyūcakṣate yad asādhu tad asāmeti.....Kalpānte cāsmāi lokā*

was insisted on ; but nothing further could be done with the old *stotras* or hymns. They could not be divested of the heap or crust of wild speculations gathered over them ; and, with the lapse of time and the prevalence of current speech (*bhāṣā*), they were becoming unintelligible to the masses. Something more was necessary to fill in the gap and have the ground for real popular *upāsana*. Thus the *Stotra* literature was resuscitated and got a new lease of life granted to it. The philosophical doctrines of transmigration, cycle of existences, of *karma* and salvation were availed of in the theory of incarnation (*avatāra-vāda*), which formed a stable plank in the *Paurāṇika* theology and an abiding place for sentiments of humility and submission. The code of worship was revised in the light of these ideas and ideals, and included *vandanā*, of which *Stava-stuti* ere long formed an essential ingredient. The *Purāṇas* became charged with this spirit of devotional fervour—the angle of vision as to life was changed and even literature of professedly secular type (e. g. the *Kāvya poetry*), bedewed itself with this spirit. As apt instances, indicating the tendencies which have ever since been harped on by generations of poets, we may cite the two *Stāvas* by the gods of the Supreme Being in Kālidāsa's *Raghu* and *Kumāra*, the *Stāvas* of the great Mahādeva by Arjuna in the closing canto of the *Kirātārjuniya*, that of Kṛṣṇa by Bhīṣma in canto XIV of the *Śiṣupālavadha*, of the long *stava* (extending over 164 verses) of the great Caṇḍī by the gods in Rājānaka Ratnākara's *Haraviṣaya* (canto XLVII).

The *Tantra* literature with its many manifestations and cogent adjuncts carried on the torch of popular and devotional religion and was thus a parallel phase with the *Purāṇas* in this direction. The *Tantras*, in spite of the mysticism of their basic principles and the queer, irregular, often illegitimate character of their rites and practices, got hold over the popular mind from about the third century A. D. because of the wide franchise they preached in religious matters—(man irrespective of his caste, creed and sex could be an initiate in the *Tāntrik* order),—and of the novel mode of thinking they represented as distinctly opposite to the liturgical spirit of later Vedic Hinduism. The *Vastu* as much as the *Puruṣa Tantras* were availed of with avidity by saints and philosophers all over the country, and man's outer environment, and his material aggrandisement, no less than his inner

ūrdhvhvācūvṛttaica ya etad evaṃ vidvān lokeṣu pañcavidhaṃ sāmopāste.
Cf. also the *Taittirīyopaniṣad*, *Śikṣādhyaṃ*, *Anuvāka* 5.

spirit and final (great) liberation became real entities in the counter of the religious devotee. The *Purāṇas*, which in their earlier phases of evolution were almost confined to the theory of culmination in *Bhakti*-spirit, must have been influenced by this growing *Tāntrik* creed, as in many of them we find the same strain and importance laid on the worship of gross cosmic forces. All this coupled with an ever-sustaining belief in the influences of the planets (*grahas*), the most direct and visualised (*dṛṣṭa*) agents of man's outer environment, gave an impetus to the humble and resourceful spirit of prayer, and produced a mass of religious hymns, which have vied in intensity of feeling and sincerity of purpose with the earlier hymns of the inspired sages and outnumbered them in volume and value. The *Varman* (armour) an exquisite instance of which is the *Nārāyaṇavarman*¹ in the *Bhūgavatapurāṇa*, and the *Kavaca* (lit. coat of mail) in its many categories, such as the *bāla-akṣā*, *vajrapañjara trailokya-vijaya*, *ūbad-uddhara*, *mṛtyuñjaya*, *graha-śānti*, with their *jāpas* of mystic syllables (*bījas*), which, again, in a later age and with more sensitive temperament, were replaced by *Kīrtana*², is to the orthodox Hindu as much a part of his *Stotra* literature, as the more poetic, contemplative, less practical and monotonous pieces and have exercised no less an influence in the framing of the complex tissue of Hindu social and moral life.

The manuscript collections, which are now being rather assiduously made in the different parts of India, afford testimony to the wealth and universality of this literature. We in Bengal very rarely find a load of disintegrated book-units, in which there is not an index or appendage of *Stotras*, serving as the family reference book for familiar every-day use. It would be idle ingenuity to explain this fact away by saying that these collections do, more often than not, come from *Brāhmaṇa-paṇḍit* families and represent the

1 *Bhūgavatapurāṇa*, VI. 8.

2 Cf. The instructions about *japa*, *stava*, etc. in the *Tantrasūtra—Japaṣṭho dvijaśreṣṭho' khilayañjāphalaṃ labhet*. The efficacy of *Paurāṇik* and *Tāntric mantras* as contrasted with the nonefficacy of earlier hymns and syllables ascribed to the Vedic *ṛsis* is a constantly harped on theme in the writings of these ages, Cf. *Mahānirvāṇatantra*, II. 14&16 :—It is superfluous to add that the *mantras* in this text mean *stotras* as well; for there is hardly any *Tāntrik* work or mode of worship which does not mention hymns as essential requisites.

sum-total of what they were called upon to use and cite in the quest of their maintenance. That is a point contradicted by history as much as by the rigid tradition of many a family, which has chosen to die away rather than take to *yājana* as a means of subsistence. Moreover, many of the *Stotras* preserved in such collections, being *anārṇeya* and recognised in standard ritualistic works of the Paurāṇik period, could hardly have been meant to be stereotyped for such use. It was individualistic tendencies that gave them being, and strange as it may seem to assert, it was individualistic appeal again that guaranteed them currency and life. The hundreds of copies, analogues, amplifications, etc. in this department of literature that have taken little notice even of the change in the outlook on life, afford proofs, if proofs are necessary, of this fact ; indeed, the soil of India has ever been congenial for the springing up of these tendencies. Besides the *Purāṇas*, amongst which the *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Padma*, *Skanda*, *Bhāgavata*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Devībhāgavata* and the *Bhaviṣyottara* may be singled out as the store-houses of these *Stotras*, the *Tantras*, of which the *Jñāna-saṅkalinī*, *Mahāmūṛṭa*, *Prapañcasāra*, *Brahmayāmala*, *Rudrayāmala*, *Vārūhi*, *Bhairava*, *Viśvasāra*, *Sāradātīlaka*, and in later times, the *Nīlatantra*, *Tantrasāra* may be regarded as fair specimens, contain the occasional classical unitary *Stotras* like the *Mahimnaḥ-stotra* and *Mukundamālā*. There must have been collections and compilations (as is evident from a cursory glance at their grouping in works like the *Tantrasāra* and the *Pūjānibandhas*, of lesser stotras of doubtful authorship handed down to us from a remote date. The *Bṛhatstotra ratnākara*, *Bṛhatstotramuktūhāra*, and *Bṛhatstavaśavacāmālā* ¹ (which, by the bye, is a fairly exhaustive collection and is far better edited and arranged than many other works printed in Bengal), each of which has run into several editions, only testify to the value the average Hindu still attaches to this department of literature.

A mere glance at the index of these printed anthologies is sure to lead us to the impression that the old division of *Pañca Devatā*² (that the so-called Paurāṇik Trinity was more or less a philosophical or theoretical doctrine is evident from the study of the code of worship of these days ; indeed, as is well known, one of these

1 *Āryadharmagranthāvalī*, III (8th ed.—Calcutta).

2 Cf. *Gaṇeśamahimnaḥ Stotra*.

three deities *Brahmā* was almost given the go-by, and the paucity or rather lack of *stotras* addressed to him in his personal capacity and the absence of a cult associated with him are sufficient evidences thereof)—has been a working hypothesis and a worked up plan all along. Gaṇapati, or in his more familiar South Indian name *Dhruṣṭirūjā* has got a tolerable number of *stotras* dedicated to him—he is *Jyēṣṭha*, *Kapila*, *Cintāmaṇi*, *Mayūreśa*, *Siddhiāutr*, *Vināyaka*, *Vighnarāja*, *Vighnāntaka*, *Śeṣaputra*, *Pūrṣvaputra*¹. Then comes *Sūrya* or *Savitṛ* with his old Vedic and neo-Vedic associations but with more of flexibility and materialism. He is best represented in the later Paurāṇik *Ādityahṛdaya* of the *Bhaviṣṣapurāṇa*, a classic in point of real poetry, and a memorable *Stotra* by way of the indication of the different phases of *Vedic*, *Paurāṇik* and *Tāntrik* conception in the culmination of the idea of the Great Being. With him is tagged the group of the other minor *Grahas*, who are often regarded as his manifestations (Cf. the *Ādityahṛdaya* itself²) and who typify the influences of the cosmic forces on man. The place of honour seems to be divided between the other three, *Śiva*, *Śakti* and *Viṣṇu*, though one is tempted to give the laurel to *Śiva*, seeing that he is best represented in devotional lyric literature; and as an analogue of *Rudra* of the Vedic pantheon, he has acquired in the Paurāṇik period more appealing, spiritual and agreeable characteristics, and has risen to the highest position amongst gods in many of the hymns addressed to him. He is *maheśa*, *mahādeva*, *śaṅkara*, *vīreśvara*, *paśupati* as much as he is *rudra*, *mahākāla*, *hara*, *sthānu*, *śūlapāṇi*. The wisest and strongest, including the greatest gods *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu*, the terrible demon *Rāvaṇa*, lord of *Laṅkā*, and saintly seers amongst men, legendary and historical, such as *Vyāsa* and *Śaṅkara*, are said to have offered their heart's devotion to him.³ *Viṣṇu* rises out of his Vedic nucleus into the greatest of the gods; he is far ahead of the other Paurāṇik deities, incarnate in no less than ten forms, each of which receives its share of offering from the devotional lyricist, and among which *Rāma* has a unique place with his

1 Ibid. Also *Ganeśūṣṭottaraśatanāmastotra*. Similar references hold good for other gods. Not improbably Paurāṇik Gaṇapati was moulded out of the Vedic *Brahmaṇaspati* or *Bṛhaspati* (Cf. *ṚV.*, II, 23, 1).

2 Verses 34-39.

3 Cf. the *Śivatāṇḍava-stotra*; *Brahmakṛta Śivastotra*, etc.

relations, friends and devotees including the great monkey General Mahāvira Hanūmat,—and in the form Kṛṣṇa, transcending all limitations of an *avatāra*, and standing, second only, if at all, to Śiva, in point of the place occupied by him in this literature. The two *stavas* of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations current in Bengal—the one¹ by Jayadeva, the melodious bard of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's time, the other of unknown authorship but apparently pre-Muhammadan—form a type by themselves. We have other *stavas* where each *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (with the doubtful exception of Buddha² who has had, however, *stavas* dedicated to him in Buddhist literature) is invoked separately. He is the *brahmaṇyadeva*, *nārāyaṇa*, *puruṣa*, *acyuta*, *hari*, *govinda*; again he is the *trivikrama* of Vedic fame, *jagannātha* of eternal sanctity, and *pāṇḍuraṅga* of the Deccan. Śakti with her manifold names of the *Purāṇa* and the *Tantra* has hundreds of *stavas* to her credit. She is the mother of the universe with sixteen names and functions; she is *mahiṣamardini*, *dakṣiṇakalikā* and *vagatāmukhī*. Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are sometimes described as her daughters; while the latter has got *stotras*, not many, addressed to her, the former, the goddess of speech, is very poor in eulogies in her honour in later times.⁴ Minor deities of the later Purāṇas (such as *Śaṅkṛī*, *Śītalā*, *Manasā*, *Vāstudeva*), that have been born of

1 *Ādya vedāḥ* etc. quoted in the *Sāradātīlaka* and found also in the *Tantrasūtra*. The 'Bhujāṅgaprayāstotra' attributed to Śaṅkara is presumably a later production.

2 Cf. Poussin's *Way to Nirvāṇa*, p. 6—"But it happens that an ascetic, for instance, the Buddhist of the *Mahāyāna* school, believes that gods or deified saints may help him towards the path, or even in climbing along the first slopes of the path: prayer and worship are, in such a case, useful or even necessary."

3 As the *Śāktānandatarāṅginī* puts it, she, being the *mahādevī*, enters into all forms as *Sarasvatī*, *Lakṣmī*, *Gāyatrī*, *Tripurasundarī*, *Annāpūrnā* and into her more popularly known manifestations, the *dakṣamahāvidyās*. There are but *avatāras* of the great *Brahman*, *tanus* in the language of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. *Ibid.*, *Ullās* IV, 12 and 16; she is the prototype of the Vedic deities *Śrī*, *Vāc*, etc.

4 We have both direct and indirect invocations of her in the Vedic hymns. (e. g. x, 58). The Tāntrik *stava* of Sarasvatī, *hrīṇ hrīṇ hrīdyekabīje śaṣirucikamalabhrājamāne vimāne* etc. translated by A. Avalon in the *Hymn to the Goddess* and that of her as part and parcel of

the synthesis of the Paurāṇik and the Tāntrik orders have their share ; even the rivers of India (consistently with the custom of the Vedic *ṛṣis* but more directly and significantly) such as the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Godāvarī, the Narmadā and the localised deities such as *Vīṣṇu-nātha*, *Annapūrṇā*, *Maṇikarṇikā*, *Kūlabhairava*, *Daṇḍapāṇi*, *Veṅkaṭeśa*, *Śrīraṅganātha* are recipients of devotional offerings in the shape of fine *stotras*.

While the task of compiling and arranging these *Stotras* has thus been comparatively easy, the task of allocating them to their proper time and authors is by no means an easy one. The inherent difficulty of the historian of Sanskrit literature has been increased here for at least two obvious reasons,—first, the writers of most of these gems of lyrics cared little for making themselves known even by their names, whom several of whom use *nom-de-plumes* ; secondly, there was hardly much scope for a close study of many of them, for readers are liable to miss their real nature (and the charm is broken) when they are brought within the range of the intellect. But it would be unfortunate if we are to dismiss them altogether as things of never-to-be-determined origin. On the other hand, the internal and external evidences regarding many of them, and the direct testimony from some of them, especially of late origin, do actually help us in surmounting difficulties on this head ; and contrary to general apprehensions, it would seem that the bulk of these productions, about sixty per-cent of them, dates backwards from about the 12th century, that is, are pre-Muhammādan, while not a few of them can claim a still remoter antiquity (from the 8th to the 10th century). From the standpoint of their age, these lyrics may conveniently be divided into the following groups:—(i) Those that are found in the inexhaustible store-houses of the *Purāṇas*, *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, *Nārada-pañcarātra* and the *Tantras*—it would be idle to dispute the fact that at least three-fourths of such lyrics are pre-Muhammādan. (ii) No less than hundred *stotras*, which are fathered on the great Śāṅkarācārya. It would be the height of temerity to assert that not one of them came from the great Vedantist philosopher of the 8th century, for to compose *Stotras*, dealing with many gods and goddesses is certainly a thing not irreconcilable with holding a brief for undiluted monism,—indeed it is held by many that no less than

Tripurā in the *Prapañcasūtra* (VIII, 64 76.) (Vanivilas Press edn.) form notable exceptions.

half a dozen¹ are from his pen. It goes without saying however that the majority came from later Śāṅkarācāryas, later teachers belonging to the school of the great philosopher, and often, the occupants of the places of honour in the several *maṭhas*, and even from people who have had no pretensions to that title and concealed their littleness of status and learning under the shelter of a great name². (iii) The relatively few classical *stotras* like *Śivamahimnaḥ stotra* of Puṣpadanta (the *Ganeśa mahimnaḥ stotra*, though ascribed to Puṣpadanta is presumably of later redaction, and the *Viṣṇumahimnaḥ stotra* does not even profess to claim the antiquity of being associated with Puṣpadanta) and the *Mukundamālā* of the king Kulaśekhara. Puṣpadanta or Kusumadaśana (the apparently plausible surmise of a

1 The hymn to the Gaṅgā (*Bhagavati tava tīre nīramātrūśano'haṃ* etc. pp. 101-103, vol. 18), that to Annapūrṇā (nityānandakārī etc., pp. 75-78, vol. 18), even row sung during the *ārati* of the great mother at Benares, the *Vedaśāra Śiva stotra* in *Bhujāṅgaprayāta* metre (pp. 71-73, vol. 17), the *Carpaṭapañjarikā* hymn, the *Ānanda-laharī* (pp. 125-50, vol. 17) and that excellent short gem the *Kāśīpañcaka* (pp. 143-44, vol. 18) may safely be ascribed to the great Vedantist himself.

2 Cf. the names Ādiśāṅkara, Abhinavaśāṅkara etc. as names of these writers. The *birudas* (appellations) *draviḍaśiṣu*, *śāṅkaramūrti*, *bhagavat*, found in some of these hymns may serve to distinguish them from many of their inferior imitations. We should, however, be on our guard against the universal ascription of authorship on each ground; for titles and claims of honour have been in the past, as they are now, assumed and served to conceal persons rather than to identify them. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jahlaṇa (13th century A. D.) ascribes the following verse to Rājāśekhara (probably the reference is to the dramatist and rhetorician):—

Sthitā mādhvīkapākatvānnisargamadhurā'pi hi,

Kimapi svadate vāṇī keśāñcid yadi Śāṅkarī.

The verse brings to a head the controversy about the different Śāṅkaras and hints at the fact that more than one Śāṅkara preceded him and wrote *stotras* in this new style (*pāka*). As an apt instance of internal evidence throwing doubts about the authorship we have the verse in the *Viṣṇusatpadī* (*satyapi bhedāpagame nātha tavāhaṃ*) which one may justly hesitate to ascribe to the great Vedantist. The Tantrik writer Śāṅkara of Bengal forms a separate class by himself; to him to have been ascribed a few *stotras* of indifferent merit.

writer in the Indian Antiquary of only a few years ago that his name was Grahila is only a perverted way of taking the text and has been due perhaps to the editor of the *Yāśastilaka campū* printing the word in bold types)¹ cannot be assigned a date earlier than the 7th century and later than the middle of the 10th century A. D.² If the tradition current about him at Benares³ has any foundation of reality and if the last verse in *anuṣṭubh*⁴ metre had been originally a part of the *Stotra* itself, then there comes no difficulty in assigning him at least to the early decades of the 9th century. *Mukundamālā* is quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha as a well-known composition⁵. (iv) The *Śataśas* like the *Devī Śataka* of Ānandavardhana, the *Caṇḍīśataka* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the well-known *Sūryaśataka* of the poet Mayūra, all of which represent a fixed type of literary tendency and belong to the purely or obtrusively literary wing of the literature on the subject,—these are of fixed periods (7th-9th century A. D.). (v) Those of a *cūṛṇaka* type,—and these number many,—sometimes of doubtful authorship often attributed to great names like Kālidāsa, Vyāsa, Vālmiki, etc.,

1 In *Āśvāsa*, V (vol. II, p. 258) the rathaḥ kṣauṇī yantā...(verse 18 of the stotra has been described as grahilaśya bhāṣitam (grahila = importunate). Cf. *Naiṣadha* II, prasasāda grahileva mānini. The *Yāśastilaka*, according to its author, was composed in A. D. 959.

2 Jayantabhaṭṭa of Kashmir (circa 10th century A. D.) the father of the Gauḍa Abhinanda, in his *Nyāyamañjarī*, refers presumably to Puṣpadanta when he says :—Puṣpadantopyāha bhraṣṭaḥ śāpena devyāḥ śivapuravasater vandyahaṃ mandabhāgyo bhavyaṃ vā.....There is however a discrepancy here and that is about the imprecator of the curse.

3 Jagannātha cakravartin, one of the many commentators on the stotra refers to it, though none the less, he makes a mystery of it in his introduction to the commentary thereon. (Vide A. Avalon's ed.).

4 Ityeṣā vaṇmayī pūjā śrīmacchankarapādayoḥ, arpitā tena deveśaḥ priyatāṇca sadāśivaḥ. The claim to an earlier date rests on the term Śrīmat as applied to Śaṅkara. It does not matter much whether this verse along with the seven preceding it formed part of that of the original stotra or not, for the tradition itself is valuable.

5 Under :bhāva = devādiviṣayā ratiḥ. chap. III, Vide also *Kāvya-mālā*, I (1886).

sometimes anonymous, a few of which like the *Sūryāryā Stotra*¹ (*Ravigāthā*) attributed to Yājñavalkya, the *Śivastotra* by Upamanyu, the *Viṣṇu śatpadī* wrongly ascribed to the Vedāntist Śaṅkarācārya, can, by the internal evidences of the preponderance of the purely kāvya style, of metrical peculiarities, and of later copyings be roughly assigned to dates earlier than the 10th century. (vi) *Stotras* by later writers (e.g. Liṅāśuka or Vilvamaṅgala, Śrīcāitanya Jagannātha Paṇḍita, whose dates are matters of almost historical certainty. There certainly remain several stotras which are still ubiquitous and it is in the light of their historical, social, philosophical, as much as literary bearings that they are to be studied in order to fix the period of their composition.

Here we must take account of the value which the student of the history of ancient India and her culture should attach to these stotras. It is a truism to assert that history takes as much account of society as of politics, or to be nearer the mark, the social element in the history of India is no less important than the political element; but it often comes as an unwelcome surprise that while the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Śrauta* and the *Gṛhya sūtra* are availed of with avidity by the modern student of history, there is still a rather gross neglect of the *nibandhas* and allied literature of a later age. The stotras certainly form an important link in the chain of the intricacies of religious evolution. So much from the analytic view of life. But their claims to rank high in the estimation of the student of history rest no less on the synthetic and constructive aspects of life presented by them. Western scholars for the last fifty years or more have consistently and steadily complained of the lack of the spirit of manly effort in the classical literature of India and have, in their way, deprecated the tone of submission and self-surrender, so often traceable even in poetry other than professedly religious. Dr. Keith in his recent manual on *Classical Sanskrit Literature* where he has given a very brief account of the devotional lyrics has in his masterly way drawn attention to the other side of the picture as well² which is the ideal with which the old Indian, to whatever school of thought or creed he may

1 Cf. *nidhiresa daridrāṇāṃ rogiṇāṃ paramaṃśadham, siddhiḥ sakalakāryāṇāṃ gātheyam saṃsmṛtā raveḥ*. This gāthā, short though it is (it contains 9 āryās only), arrests attention as one breaking new ground in this literature.

2 "We may justly recognise that there remained often a field

belong, has been permeated all along. Indeed we are apt to under-estimate the place of *bhakti* (feeling) in ancient Indian life and seem to be led over too much by doctrines of *Karma* (Volition) and *jñāna* (Cognition)—disquisitions on which have often crossed the domain of philosophical literature to think that they alone were the two guiding tendencies of Indian life. But a careful study of the trend of the Indian mind would lead us to the conclusion that these disquisitions, while voicing the opinions of a certain section of the intellectually strong people, were at least academic—and that *Karma* and *Jñāna* in matters of religious worship existed to the generality of people as the supplement and appendage of *bhakti*. Considered in this aspect, the *Stotra* literature is more real and penetrative than the other lyric and gnostic compositions which bear a close affinity to them in point of intensity of feeling. History has repeated and has even now been repeating itself in the promulgation of different modes of worship and prayer, orthodox and unorthodox; all of whom are fundamentally at one in their goal and in the enunciation of the principle which leads them to it.

Looked at in a more concrete way, the *Stotra* literature takes us face to face with some of the differentiating tendencies of these *prasthānas*² and helps us to form an idea of how and why the different cults came into existence. The *iṣṭa* and *pūrta* view of the functions of life, has, as we have seen, had to be abandoned in the rise of the *yoga* and *kṣema*³ view which brought into prominence the question of *Śāntika-pauṣṭika*, or *Śānti-svastayaṇa Bhakti* as the dominant principle in life lived in and through such practices, and made the life of the Indian householder a complex, but none-the-less an

in which much could be accomplished of universal appeal and abiding worth and that in richness and beauty of form and sound Sanskrit presented a medium worthy of the highest flights to which any poet could soar".—*Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 128.

2 Vide *Śivamahimnaḥ stotra* 5, 7; *Gaṇeśamahimnaḥ stotra*, 2-5.

3 *Upeyādīśvaraṇcaiva yogakṣemārthasiddhaye* (*alabhyatābhacintū yogah, labdhasya rakṣaṇam kṣemah*). The *iṣṭa-pūrta* view of a householder's life was the dominant note in the earlier *Dharmasamhitās* like that of Manu; the *yogakṣema* view obtained amongst those who growingly believed in the efficacy of *Paurāṇik* and *Tāntrik* practices. The *śat karmans* of an earlier age also acquired a peculiar meaning. Cf. *Sārādātīlaka*. xxiii, 124; and the practices referred to or hinted at in the Buddhist *Sādhanaṃālā* and other works bear comparison.

enjoyable thing. The place of *stotras* or *stavas* in this round of duties can best be gauged by a reference to the practice of *Śānti* in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita*¹. One's personal welfare may be thought to depend not only on safety from, but also victory over antagonists.² In some of the *Purāṇas* and *Tantras*, particularly in many of the latter, we have some rites and practices as essential adjuncts to religion, though they smack of totemism or superstition. In the stotra literature we have many *stotras*, where these rites are mentioned and not a few of these *stotras* in spite of their nauseating setting have redeeming features of poetic appeal and grace, by which they have withstood the ravage of critical examination. As apt instances we may cite those in the *Ādityahṛdaya*³, and the *Śani Kavaca*⁴ (these are the two planets (father and son) who are constantly sought to be appeased by *stavas* and *stutis*, because in the light of later astrological investigations, they were regarded as evil planets) and the queer, and often intensely gross and sensual Tāntrik practices as in the *Vagālāmukhī* and *Dakṣiṇakālīkū stotras*⁵, a prototype of what we actually meet with in profane literature (Cf. Bhavabhūti's *Mālāṇī-mūṭhava*) and in the account of the *Kūpālikas* at the time of the great Śaṅkara and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. That all the Tāntrik orders approved of such extreme forms of *Vāmācūra* is far from true; many Tāntrik *stotras* of *śakti* (cf. the *Mahīṣamardīnī Stotra*⁶ of classi-

1 *mandam mandam dvārapālāḥ prapamya mūṇāśca.....pūjyamūṇa-kuladevatam.....kriyamūṇaśaṭhutiḥomam.....pāṭhyamūṇamahāmāyuvī pravartyamūṇagrhaśāntijapyamūṇarudraikādaśī śabdāyamūṇaśiva-grham rājakulam vivesa* (Ucchvāsa V).

2 Cf. practices like *vaśīkaraṇa*, *stambhana*, *vidveśaṇa*, *māraṇa*, *uccālana*. Some of the *Purāṇas* (*Vāyu*, *Līṅga*, *Padma*) have assigned particular attributes and colours to the respective Vedas and especially, to particular *mantras* in or coming out of them. Compare *Līṅgapurāṇa*, xvii.

3 Cf. *Ādityahṛdaya* :

tribhiḥśca rogī bhavati jvarī bhavati pañcabhiḥ.

4 Cf. the practice in mediæval Europe of burning the effigy of an enemy often hinted at in Shakespearian literature.

5 *Vagālāmukhīstava* (verses 6 and 7). *Dakṣiṇakālīkāstava* (verses 10, 15 and 16) in the *Stavakavacanmālā*.

6 Verses 3, 7. In the end there is, however, a reference to *stambhanas*, *māraṇas* etc.

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cal fame) afford glowing testimony to the use which they made of prayer and self-purification.

A look at another important branch of the *Stotra* literature (e.g., the *Tārū Stotras*) would convince us of the eclectic tendencies in religious worship which culminated in the adaptation of many deities into later Hindu pantheon from non-Hindu religions. In the *Tarapajjhatikā*, ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya we have 31 verses, in which are expressions smacking of Buddhist terminology (*vide Tūrātāntra*, Varendra Research Society Ed., Introduction, p. 19). So in the three hymns of Tārā in the *Tūrārāhasyavārttika*, a ms. of which work is in the possession of the Varendra Research Society, the essential peculiarity of the deity lies in her identification with the *Prajñāparamitā* of Buddhist ritualistic philosophy. More than one scholar has expressed their doubts about the Hindu origin of some of the minor deities like Śītalā, Viśālākṣī, in no uncertain terms. These have had their origin in the synthesis of the later Paurāṇik and Tāntrik ideals, which could not help contagion or contamination from unorthodox rites and sentiments. Indeed these individualistic, disintegrating tendencies are in their own way but proofs of the solidarity and fundamental unity of Hindu religious life; the respectful mention of different views and schools of thought, which is to be contrasted with the fastidious and often cantankerous criticism of the antagonist's views at the hands of the philosophers of the same age, indicates not only the healthy tone of the *Stotra* literature, but also its tolerance and catholicity, born of an inevitable belief in the real unity in the outlook of life; and this is the characteristic, which has in spite of the obvious disadvantages in the way of publicity and the varying levels of literary merit, won for them the admiration of all.

The question of literary excellences in the devotional lyrics has hardly been seriously and systematically thought out by the historian of Sanskrit literature, who has been at best content with time-worn and fine-spun categories of poetry of an altogether different ideal. Nay, it is often held that the *Stotra* literature is surely disappointing from the purely literary point of view. That this is an erroneous estimate will be evident to many who have cared to read the voluminous literature. Of course, some of the *stotras* as we find them in the *Purāṇas* (in the form of *māhātmyas*),—most of them in which the materialistic view of life has come to the forefront, and in which the *Praśasti* or *Phalaśruti* element is obtrusive—are rather commonplaces. And this may have been the reason why in works on *Alaṃkāra* and in anthologies (like

the *Subhāṣitāvalī* and the *Śūrngadhara-paddhati*) the Stotra literature as literature has not been given a prominence. But if we apply the same canons of criticism as are applied in the testing of purely profane and secular verses, it will be seen that many of these canons have as good a claim to be recognised as poetry. To start with, the manner of expression, in form and metre, in rhythm and cadence—has nowhere been so successful and charming as in this literature. The classical Sanskrit has acquired an attractive form in and through them. Rhyme and alliteration, the intricate niceties of versification, the principle of symmetry and external harmony standing as the background of internal serenity and sweetness are there in all their pristine simplicity. The Āryā verse, the ordinary śloka forms of Upajāti, Vasantatilaka, etc. the more musical adaptations of originally Vedic metres, the *tolāka*, *paṇḍarikā*, *drutavilambita*, *bhujāṅga-prayāta*, *pañcacāmara*, etc. and the infinite variations of *mātrā chandas* which are almost restricted to this branch of literature, have nowhere been so charmingly put as here. A few examples are given below :

- (1) vṛṣopariparisphuraddhavaladhāma dhāmaśriyā,
kuberagirigaurimaprabhavagarvanirvāsi tat
(Lāṅkeśvarakṛta Śivastotra).
- (2) padmadalāyatalocana he raghuvaṃśabibhūṣaṇa deva dayālo,
nirmalanīradanīlatano'khilalokaḥṛdambujabhāṣaka bhāno.
komalagātrapavitrpadābjaraḥkaṇapāvitagautamakānta,
tvām bhajato raghunandana dehi dayāghana me
svapadāmbujadāsyam
(Sītārāmāṣṭaka, verse 2).
- (3) vahasi vapuṣi viśade vasaṇaṃ jaladābham,
halahatibhitimilitayamunābham.
(Jayadeva—Daśāvatāra stotra).
- (4) namaste namaste samastasvarupe
samasteṣu vastuṣvanusyūtaśakte
(Prapañcasāra—Hṛllekhastava, x, 69).
- (5) namaste śaraṇye śive sānukampe
namaste jagadvyāpīke viśvarūpe
(Āpaduddhārastava).
- (6) devi sureśvari bhagavati gaṅge
tribhuvanatāriṇi taralataṛaṅge
(Gaṅgāstava).
- (7) vṛṣo vṛddho yānaṃ viṣam āśanam āśā nivasanam...
(Ānandalahari 16).

The alterations of metres like the play of light and shade or the rays in the solar spectrum have often produced a marvellous effect as in the two *stavas* *Mukundamuktāvali*, and *Bhagavāṭpādyapuspāñjali* (both of which seem to be rather late productions), in the former of which there have been used no less than fifteen metres in the course of thirty stanzas¹.

And if the claim of the *stotras* for literary recognition rests on their artistic expression, it rests no less on the charm and nobility of sentiments contained in them. Here of course is a fundamental and inevitable difference, the sentiments have got to be of one uniform type, the *Rasa* that figures in them is ultimately one of the nine or more *rasas* in the code of the rhetoricians. The whole *stotra* literature is a series of expressions of *bhakti* included later in the category of a *rasa* by Vaiṣṇava rhetoricians. In the smaller lyrics, where the verses generally are charged with the same sentiment or *rasa*, there is much room for monotony in the *stotra* considered as a *kāvya*. Conventionalities and customs, conceits and intellectual caprices except by way of mere catchwords and affectations do not disturb the smooth flow of feeling here as in other allied departments of *kāvya* and the dart-like directness of aim (*tanmayabhāvatā*) gives rise to undiluted pleasure.

The following examples culled from the less ambitious lyrics serve to illustrate this point :—

- (1) tvadarcana parāyaṇa pramathakanyakālunṭhita-
prasūnasaphaladrumaṃ kam api śailamāśāśmahe,
alam taṭavitar dikāśayitasiddhistmantinī-
prakīrṇasumanomanoramaṇameruṇā meruṇā
(Laṅkēśvara kṛta Śivastotra).
- (2) tvayā samuddhṛtya gajāsya hanitum
ye śikarāḥ puṣkararandhra muktāḥ.
vyomāṅgane te vicaranti tārāḥ
kālatmano mauktikatulyabhāṣaḥ.
nāgānane nāgākṛtṭattariye.
kṛtṭārāte devakumārasaṅghaiḥ,
tvayi kṣaṇam kālagatiṃ vihāya
tau prāpatuḥ kandukatām ravīndū.
(Gaṇapati stotra in the *Sūradātīlaka*, Paṭala, XIII).
- (3) tvadanusmrtireva pāvaṇī
stutiyuktā nahi vaktumīśa sā,

¹ *Stavakavacamūlā*, pp. 596-602, pp. 278-284.

madhuraṃ hi payaḥ svabhāvato
 nanu kīdṛk sītāśarkārānvitam.
 sa viśo'pyamṛtāyate bhavāñ-
 chavamunḍābharaṇo'pi pāvanaḥ,
 bhava eva bhavāntakaḥ satām
 samadṛṣtir viśamekṣano'pi san

(Upamanyukṛta Śivastotra).

The philosophical background of the literature arrests the attention of the casual reader and constructs the really Indian element of stamp in them. In some of these lyrics called *Ātmabodha stotras*, philosophising is rather keen; constant iteration of the unreality of the world seems to be overdone, thus impairing their literary value. As accompaniments and subsidiaries of meditation like trances or psycho-physical exercises, they certainly have their uses;—but they fall flat on the ears of the ordinary man. In them the substratum of *jñāna* has tried to shut its doors against all limitations of *karman* and commingle itself with *bhakti* which is placed in a rather unenviable position. That that *stotras* of this type (e. g. the *mohamudgara*) were meant only for the select few is self evident. No question of serial conventions and individualistic free will disturbs us here. As a *stotra-kūra* puts it, *nistraiguṇye paṭhi vicarataḥ ko vidhiḥ ko niṣedhaḥ*—the refrain in the *Carpatāpañjarikā stotra*—*bhaja govindaṃ bhaja govindaṃ bhaja govindaṃ mūlhamate* are types of thought met with in these *stotras* but it is to be noted that these very seldom deviate from the orbit chalked for them, as will be evident from the extracts noted below from *Paramēśvara*¹ which has almost touched the danger zone between *jñāna* as *naiṣkarmya* and *bhakti*. In the *stotras* of another, though distinctly learned, type best represented by the *Śivamahimnalī stotra*², we have occasional refer-

1 Kadāham bhoḥ svāmin niyatamanasā tvām hr̥di bhajann-
 abhadre samsāre hyanavarataduḥkhe'tivirasaḥ.
 labheyaṃ tām śāntiṃ paramamunibhir yā hyadhigatā
 dayāṃ kṛtvā me tvām vitara paraśāntiṃ bhavahara.
 vidhātā ced viśvaṃ sṛjati sṛjatāṃ me śubhakṛtiṃ
 vibhuścet pātā mā'vatu janimṛterduḥkhajaladheḥ.
 haraḥ saṃhartā saṃharatu mama śokaṃ sajanakaṃ
 yathā'ham muktaḥ syāṃ kimapi tu tathā te vidadhatām.

(verses 3 & 4).

2 Verses 4-7, 9.

ences to the dogmas and academic queries of the accredited schools of philosophy, orthodox and unorthodox ;—but they serve merely as digressions. The *stotrakūra* (lyrist) makes no capital out of them and is disposed even to speak lightly of them as *kuṃṛkas* (irrelevant and fruitless surmises) ; he bases his appeal on the firm rock of really vital philosophical beliefs which are ingrained in every human heart and are simple and effective. In that philosophical *Śataka* (*stotrasūtra*) the *Ānandalaharī* or the Waves of Bliss, which tradition has rightly ascribed to the great Śaṅkarācārya we find this point very clearly hinted at in the following verses :—

avidyānāmantastimiramihiroddīpanakarī

.....bhavati. (verse 3).

śrutinām mūrdhāno dadhati tava yau śekharatayā

mamāpyetau mātah śirasi dayayā dhehi caraṇau.

yayoḥ pādyaṃ pāthah paśupatijaṭājūṭataṇi

yayorlākṣālakṣmīraruṇaharacūḍamaniruciḥ (verse 84)

Man is, by constitution, weak, aggrieved (*ārta*), forlorn (*anūtha*) ; he has no other way of deliverance from his bondage of sins and sorrows than to surrender himself to the grace of the almighty 'kindly spirit'. This is the rock on which the primrose of human redemption shines out and from this has come the expression of the *bhakti* of the *Śūṇḍilya sūtra* an earnest of which is to be traced in the *madhuvidyā* of the *Chūndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*¹. Only at the concluding stage of his *sādhanā* and *upāsana* can he think of freeing himself from the clutches of dualities of relations and perceive intuitionally but unambiguously his blissful spiritual self² :—

manobuddhyahamkāraccittāni nāhaṃ

na ca śrotrajihve na ca ghrāṇanetre.

na ca vyoma bhūmir na tejo na vāyu

ścidānandarūpaḥ śivo'haṃ śivo'haṃ (Nirvāṇaśatak).

1 For a discussion on this vide Dr. B. M. Barua's *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy* published by the Calcutta University (1923).

2 Says Arthur Avalon :—"It is customary now-a-days to decry external worship but those who do so presume too much.....Before *brahmabhāva* can be attained the *sādhakabhāva* must have passed from *pūjābhāva* through hymns and prayer to *dhyanabhāva*". (Hymns to the Goddess, p. 9). Cf. also *Sūradātīlaka* a 'XXIV. 102-103) and the comments of Rāghavabhaṭṭa thereon.

The *stotra literature* were to miss its mark if it did not culminate in the realisation of this blissful reality¹. A Bengal rhetorician of the 16th century brought up under the influence of the *bhakti* cult holds up this high mission of *kāvya* before its readers² :—

yaśaḥ prabhṛtyeva phalaṃ nāśya kevalam iṣyate,
nirmāṇakāle śrīkṛṣṇaḥ ṇalāvanyakeliṣu.
cittasyābhiniveśena sāndrānandālayastu yaḥ,
sa eva paramo lābhaḥ svādakānāṃ tathaiva saḥ.

It would be the height of temerity to say that this high level is attainable to all through profane poetry as it would be idle to deny that the *stotras* are the portals to it. In the stages of evolution of the *pūjāpaddhati* through *ādhyaṇa*, *mānasapūjā* right up to *vandana* we find the gradual shifting of the elements of knowledge from feeling and the ultimate merging of the individual self in the supreme soul. The speech of the lyrist cannot express the state of his mind and the lyrist thinks that the mercy and virtues of his gracious deity are comprehensible ; that is why the great Vyāsa is thought by many to have spoken in deprecating terms of his endeavour to bring the supreme Being within the range of *stava-stuti*³—an idea very frequently met with in the *stotra* literature. He makes another effort to humiliate himself still further and anon flashes on his mind's eye the image of the All-protector ready to help him and his heart speaks out thus in intensity of feeling⁴ :—

1 *hariharakathā sū ca vitathā/
na yatra svādātīnā sphuradanubhavapratyayamayāḥ*
(*Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, verse 4180).

2. Kavikarṇapūra's *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*, *kiraṇa* I (page 7, Varendra Research Society Ed.).

3 *Stutyānirvacanīyatākḥhilagurorddūrīkṛtā yanmayā.....* Also Cf. the *Sapta-śati*—*kā te stutiḥ stavyaparā paroktiḥ*. Of similar strain is the sentiment in the following line from an exquisite hymn to Ambikā in the *Sāradātīlaka* (*Paṭala* xxiv) :—*stutvā giraṇi vimalayāmyahamambike tvam* a parallel to which is found in the third verse of the *Śiva-mahimnal* *stotra*.

4 Cf. the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* :—*tadejati tannaijati tuddūre tadu antike*. For the last stage in the evolution cf. A. Avalon's *Hymns to the Goddess*, Introduction :—“The highest stage is *nirādhāra* worship. By one's own direct experience of *maheśvarī* as the self, she is with reverence made the object of that worship which leads to liberation.

na janako janani na ca sodaro
 na tanayo na ca bhūribalaṃ kulam
 avati k'opi na kālavaśaṃgatam
 bhajata re manujā giriajāpatim

(Paśupatistotra.)

namaḥ purastād atha pṛsthataḥ te
 namo'stu te sarvata eva sarva

(Bhagavadgītā).

namaḥ sarvasmai tadidamatisarvāya ca namaḥ

(Śivamahimnaḥ stotra).

And the spirit of prayer gushes out intermittently and purifies and fortifies itself with the thought :—

namaste sate sarvalokāśrayāya
 namaste cite viśvarūpātmakāya,
 namodvaitatattvāya muktipradāya
 namo brahmaṇe vyāpine nirguṇāya.
 tadekaṃ smarāmas tadekaṃ bhajāmas
 tadekaṃ jagatsākṣirūpaṃ namāmaḥ,
 sadekaṃ nidhānaṃ nirālambamīśaṃ
 bhavāmbhodhipotaṃ śaraṇyaṃ brajāmaḥ.

—undoubtedly a thought that has served as the final note of consolation to many a lover of this literature.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA

MISCELLANY

The Bhāsa Problem

In his paper on 'The Bhāsa Problem' (*IIIQ.*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 103 ff.), Mr. K. R. Pisharoti cites some verses from *Kavi Vimarśa*, which, he says, is ascribed to Rājaśekhara, and tries to make out that Rājaśekhara is not reliable. If we were certain that *Kavi Vimarśa* was written by Rājaśekhara, and that the source from which the laudatory verse quoted in Jahlāṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* as Rājaśekhara's was *Kavi Vimarśa*, we may, perhaps, reject Rājaśekhara's testimony in regard to the authorship of *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. But are we certain of these facts ?

In their introduction to the edition of *Kāvya-mimāṃsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. I), Messrs Dalal and Anantakrishna Sastri write: "Some say that Rājaśekhara wrote a work named *Kavi Vimarśa*, wherein are to be found the appreciatory verses attributed to him in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*; but it does not seem probable that Rājaśekhara should ever have written any such work when he had composed such a large work as the *Kāvya-mimāṃsā* with 18 Adhikaraṇas". The learned editors do not obviously accept the view that Rājaśekhara wrote *Kavi Vimarśa*. Mr. Krishnamachariya in his edition of *Priyadarśikā* also rejects this view. I have heard from Sanskrit Pandits that as a matter of fact *Kavi Vimarśa* is a literary forgery. It is said to be the work of a South Indian Sanskrit Pandit, Bhaṭṭa Śrī Narayana Sastri of Kumbakonam, who created uncommon stir in literary circles and among Sanskrit Pandits in South India about 40 years ago by his successful imitations of the old poets. He was known to be a prolific writer in different styles and after different models. *Kavi Vimarśa* appears to be one of his practical jokes.

K. G. SESHIA AIYAR

Progress of Historical Research in Travancore

The first part of volume V of the Travancore Archaeological Series recently published has a descriptive note on the cave temple (rock-cut cave) at Kaviyur in the Quilon Division of the State. The site plan of the cave presents many points of similarity to the early type (Pallava) of rock-cut temples and has the orientation of a Śiva's shrine. The *dvārapāla* in the niche to the left of the entrance is "limb for limb a replica of the doorkeeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahendravarman cave at Trichinopoly". The Epigraphist suggests that the cave was possibly excavated on the design of similar caves existing elsewhere in the Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely Districts and that the boast of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman of having vanquished the Keralas might mean that this meeting possibly served as an occasion for the knowledge of the cave architecture of the earlier Pallava style to filter into the Kerala country. This together with the dates fixed for another rock-cut temple at Tirunandikkarai within the State itself and for the Nṛsiṃha Cave Temple in the Anaimalai Hills in the Madura District, can "very well be assigned to the second half of the eighth century if not earlier, although a tendency to give it a slightly earlier age is justifiable from its close resemblance to early Pallava work".

Among the important copper-plates published in the number is a Tamil record presented in the Trivandrum Palace (dated *śaka* 1691, *Kollam* 945 i.e. A. D. 1769) which registers the sale-deed of a village presented by the Travancore sovereign to the Ramesvaram Temple, after purchasing it from the Setupati of Ramnad. The Travancore sovereign is the well-known Rama Varma Dharmarāja who ruled from 1758 to 1798 A. D. and who is said to have composed a work on the dancing art. More important than this is the Record of Kollam 925 of the famous Mārttanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore, preserved in a palmyra leaf in the Trivandrum Vernacular Records Office, being a copy of the original copper-plate. It is the solemn dedication of the whole kingdom to the deity Padmanābha, the king conducting the administration only as the deity's agent—a measure calculated to safeguard his newly acquired dominions against the aggressions of his neighbours. The idea however that the Tirunadi-Rājya (Travancore) was God's country was current even two centuries earlier when there was an invasion of the region of Venādu by Acyuta Raya of Vijayanagara.

An inscription which is however much defaced, found in the Rāmēśvarasvāmi Temple at Quilon, dated Kollam 278, (A. D. 1103) contains the record of the king ordering certain grants of land to be made to the temple as "an atonement for the enmity incurred with the Āryas." Possibly, the Editor thinks, this has a reference to the Cālukya-Cola king, Kulottuṅga I, who at this time invaded the Pandya country, crushed the five Pandyas, burned the fort of Kollam and defeated the army of the Keralas (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 168). The gift is an expiatory donation and might have been made on account of some molestation to which Ārya-Brahmaṇas were probably subjected. Such penalties were called *garuakkattu* or "amercelements for high-handedness," and the Editor gives several similar instances.

The Editor gives a very interesting account also of a manuscript called *Rāmavarma-Yasobhūṣaṇam* which on examination proved to be an exact reproduction of the *Pratāpa Rudriya* (of the 14th century) with regard to rules, definitions and their explanatory notes except that the illustrative verses were composed in praise of the Travancore king Ramavarma Dharmarāja mentioned above. He also describes another manuscript work *Vasulakṣmī-Kalyāṇam* which was composed in Kollam 960 (A. D. 1785) with the same king as hero, but by a different author. The section dealing with these two literary works appeared as an article in the *Indian Antiquary* for January, 1924.

C. J. SRINIVASACHARI

Inscriptions in Siam

In the kingdom of Siam altogether 210 inscriptions have been discovered up to now. These may be classified in seven groups according to their geographical distribution.

I. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Dvārāvati, 6th-8th cent. A.D. Language—Pāli and Mon.

II. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya, 8th-12th cent. Sanskrit and Khmer.

III. Inscriptions of the eastern and north-eastern provinces, 6th-13th cent. Sanskrit and Khmer.

IV. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Haripuṇḍjaya, 12th-13th cent. Pāli and Mon.

V. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Sukhodaya, 13th-16th cent. Pāli and Siamese.

VI. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Yonaka (in the north-west), 14th-16th cent. Pāli and Mon.

VII. Inscriptions of the dynasties of Ayodhyā and Bangkok. Post 14th cent. Pāli and Siamese.

(From B. E. F. E. O., January—June, 1924, p. 266.)

U. N. G.

The German Orientalists' Day

At the conference of German Orientalists held at Munich (Oct. 2-4, 1924), in the Indian, Iranian and East Asian section, Prof. Lüders, Geiger and Franke presiding, Prof. Lüders spoke about the canonical and non-canonical poetry of the Sarvāstivādins and the progress in the revision of Sanskrit Mss. from Turfan and he showed by citation of texts and of mistakes in their translation that the Pāli as well as Sanskrit texts that have been handed down to us must go back to an Ardha-Māgadhi original.

(From Z. D. M. G., New Series, Vol. III, p. 12.)

U. N. G.

Oriental Research in Baroda

His Highness Dr. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., *Sena Khaskhel Samsher Bahadur*, Maharaja of Baroda, who is widely known to be a fervent lover of ancient Sanskrit lore and has a great enthusiasm for the promotion of Sanskrit research in his State, established in 1914 a Sanskrit section attached to the Central Library, instituted an expensive search for Sanskrit manuscripts, and passed orders to commence the publication of rare, useful, and important Mss. in Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Apabhraṃśa in a Series called the Gaekwad Oriental Series. He also deputed the then Librarian, an erudite Jain Sanskritist, the late Mr. C. D. Dalal, to inspect and examine the manuscript treasures in the *Bhāṇḍārs* of Jaisalmer, and Pattan, the old capital of king Kumārapāla in his own territory. Mr. Dalal gladly undertook this laborious task and brought with him rough notes to be developed in the form of a Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. deposited in these *Bhāṇḍārs*. It is a matter of the deepest regret that he could not finish the work owing to his untimely decease in 1918. He was never of very robust health but in four years he was able to publish at least 16 works in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

The search instituted by His Highness was very fruitful and in the course of a few years, the manuscript library swelled to 13000 Mss. He also lavishly spent money for the preservation of this valuable treasure, provided the Library with a fire-proof building, costly iron safes and book-racks, and supplied funds for the preparation and publication of a *Descriptive Catalogue*, of which the first volume containing descriptions of Vedic Mss. is now in the press and is expected to be published during the current year.

To help the editorial staff, His Highness provided the Library with printed Sanskrit books and the latest works of research published in India and elsewhere and awarded annual grants to keep up the efficiency of the Library by the purchase of up-to-date publications.

The Series of publications was first started in 1915 under the editorship of Mr. C. D. Dalal. After his death, the work was supervised by Mr. J. S. Kudalkar M.A., LL. B., an erudite Sanskrit scholar who filled the post of the Curator of State Libraries. But providence also snatched him away from our midst and he died in 1921. After this the work of writing proceeded very slowly till the beginning of 1924.

Though the Series is still in its infancy, it includes at present 24 works. Among the publications there are 3 Kāvya, 4 Dramas, 3 on Philosophy, 1 on Poetics, 1 on Grammar, 1 on Music, 1 Romance, 1 Biography, 1 Collection of Gujarati works, 2 Catalogues of Mss. (one being a *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in the Jaisalmere Bhāṇḍārs*), 1 Vedic, 1 Apabhraṃśa work, 3 on Tantra and 1 on Architecture. It will be seen that a wide field of Sanskrit literature is being traversed with the help of specialists in the different branches of knowledge.

As the Sanskrit-knowing public is already conversant with our publications, it is needless to give further details about them. One of the recent publications, namely, the *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in the Bhāṇḍārs of Jaisalmere* deserves however some notice. It is a very scholarly work and is edited by our erudite Jain Pandit Mr. Lalchand Bhagavandas Gandhi. This work has brought to light a large mass of unknown and important Indian literature as also a large number of blunders committed by previous writers on Jaisalmere Bhāṇḍārs. It contains plenty of details about the ancient writers (mostly Jain).

Mr. Dalal discovered amongst the Ms. remains in the Pattan Bhāṇḍārs numerous rare, important, and unique Mss., the most notable of which is the *Nyāya Praveśa* of Dinnāga, the original of which was believed to have been irrevocably lost. This work is accompanied with a commentary of Haribhadra Sūri and a sub-commentary by

Pārśvadeva, both famous in Jain literature. It has been edited by the veteran and well-known scholar of Guzerat, Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Central Hindu College. It is being printed and expected to be out by the end of this year. The next work worthy of mention is the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita with the *Pañjikā* of Kamalaśīla both of whom belonged to the middle of the 8th century and were connected with the famous Vihāra of Nālandā. In the mediæval period, they kept up the high standard of Indian scholarship as evinced in their effective teachings and preachings to the kings and the people of Tibet. The book has been edited by Pandit E. Krishnamacharyya, a sound Pandit of the old school. This is also in the press and is expected to see the light by the middle of the current year. The third work in the press is the *Nūtyaśāstra* with the commentary entitled *Abhinavabhārati* by Abhinavagupta of Kashmir. The writing of this book has been entrusted to Pandit Ramakrishna Kavi of Rajamundry, well-known to scholars through his many contributions in the oriental journals based on materials afforded by this commentary. These articles are enough to give an idea to the public as to the importance of the work. It is to be complete in three volumes, of which the first is expected during the current year. The fourth work is the celebrated *Sūdhanamālā*, well-known through the writings of Prof. A. Foucher of the University of Paris, which induced the authorities of the Bibliotheca Buddhica in Russia to undertake its publication. It, however, never came out perhaps on account of the European war. The earliest Ms. of the work belongs to the middle of the 12th century. The edition will contain more than 300 small works called the *Sūdhanas* written by distinguished scholars of Buddhism. The book is expected by the end of this year.

The fifth publication *Lekhāpaddhati* is a curious work containing ample materials for the linguists. The text has been printed and the publication is expected by the middle of this year. The author here freely uses vernacular words tagging on to them Sanskrit terminations. Many words have now become obsolete altogether making the meaning of the Sanskrit language of the book a puzzle to scholars. Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar, M. A., the editor after a year of hard labour and by his visits to the Kaḍī district, has been able to bring out the hidden meanings, and where he has failed, he has suggested his own meanings worth consideration by scholars.

The works that have been taken up for publication have been judiciously selected. They cover a wide range of subjects and range from the Sūtra period down to about 1300 A.D.

The most important work undertaken in the Series is undoubtedly the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, a unique work of historical importance, which solves many a puzzling problem in the history of Indian Buddhism. The author Advayavajra was a voluminous writer of the mediæval period on philosophy, tantra, logic, and rituals, but the Sanskrit originals of his writings are lost. Translations of a few of them are however found in the Tibetan Tanyur. This work is being edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, M. A., C. I. E. We have in hand two more works giving details about the almost unknown branch of Buddhism called Vajrayāna. They are *Jñānasiddhi* of Indrabhūti and *Prajñopāyavinīścayasiddhi* of Anaṅgavajra. They have been taken up for publication departmentally. There is another small but interesting work on Buddhist Logic entitled *Tarkabhūṣā* of Mokṣākara-gupta belonging to the once famous Jagaddala monastery.

In *Tantra*, there is in our list the voluminous compendium of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* and a *Pāñcarātra* work entitled the *Jayasamhitā*.

In literature, only one very interesting drama written by Rāma Candra Sūri, pupil of Hemacandra has been undertaken and is being jointly edited by our Sanskrit Librarian Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar. M. A. and Mr. L. B. Gandhi.

Śāradātanaya's work entitled *Bhāvaprakāśa* on dramaturgy certainly deserves immediate publication. This work has been most ably edited by His Holiness Yadugigiri Yatiraja of Melkot and is awaiting publication.

Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī* an anthology based on an accurate Grantha Ms. has also been taken up departmentally for publication. This is the bigger recension of the work praised so much by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in one of his reports.

Mūnavaggrhyasūtra with the commentary of Aṣṭāvakra is also awaiting publication. It has been edited by Pandit Ramakrishna Harshaji Sastri of Ahmedabad who belongs to this particular śākhā (Maitrāyaṇīya) of the Yajurveda.

Besides these, the second volume of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss.* deposited in the Central Library, Baroda, is being prepared and will also be sent to the press soon.

The *Catalogue of the Pattan Bhūṇḍārs* has also made a rapid progress and is being edited from the rough, hasty and almost illegible notes left by the late Mr. C. D. Dalal, M. A., by our Jain Pandit, well versed in ancient Jain lore, and a scholar of Prākṛt, Apabhraṃśa, and Sanskrit. It is to comprise two volumes, one of which will be sent to the press soon.

The *Bhaviṣyatta Kahā* or *Pañcamīkahā* in Apabhraṃśa has already

been out. We have in hand three works to go in one volume entitled *Carcari*, *Upadeśarasūyaṇa*, and *Kūlasvarūpakulaka* with commentaries. The *Kumārāpūlapratibodha* is the only Prākṛt book and the *Prācīna-Guriara Kāvya-saṃgraha* is the only Vernacular work that have up till now been published.

While on one hand the editing is going on in full swing, we have not neglected the other branches of oriental research.

In Epigraphy the Tilakwada plate has been secured and deciphered by Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar of this Department. It gives the information that Surāditya the Senāpati of Bhoja Paramara of Dhārā fought against the Muhammadan general Śāhavaḥana and by defeating him made firm the tottering kingdom of his master. The other interesting copper-plate discovered very recently by the same scholar testifies unmistakably to the high imperialism of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It refers to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka Suvarṇavarṣa and to a grant of land made by him as attested by the signature of Amoghavarṣa, overlord of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarat. It shows clearly that the main line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings regarded their Gujarat brethren as mere vassals. A paper on the subject was read at the last session of the Oriental Conference.

In the domain of Indian Art, we have very recently secured a unique Ms. of *Bhagavadgītā* written on paper embroidered with gold and silver with 91 pictures, all of which are wonderful specimens of early Rajputana art. The author takes up passages from the *Bhagavadgītā* and by the touch of his brush transforms the passages into a delightful and picturesque scene. The masterly delineation, the forceful expression of the faces in the appropriate settings make these pictures an invaluable treasure.

With regard to the copying of Mss. we have dispensed with the idea of employing copyists, who are often very unwilling workers, charge heavy rates and take a lot of time. A year ago we purchased a huge photographic machine called *Photostat*, which operated by a single man, can copy about one hundred leaves of a ms. in a day. These copies are on bromide paper and last for a long time with a good contrast of black and white. To preserve brittle and dilapidated mss., we have been employing this machine with the greatest success.

His Highness the Maharaja Sahib has sanctioned 22000 rupees for the publication of Sanskrit works in the Gaekwad Oriental Series for which all scholars interested in Indology have reason to be grateful to him.

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

Notes on Buddhism

1. The *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* contains the following interesting note : "Philosophies while destroying the opinion of their adversaries must carefully respect the principles of logic, because these principles are useful to them ; just as kings, while destroying the soldiers of their enemies respect the field-labourer who is the common help of both armies". This observation can be compared to the observation of the Greek historians who saw with surprise that peasants peacefully practised their peaceful work in the middle of combating armies.

2: Vasubandhu (ii. 50) himself does not give a very pleasant idea of the government of the kings (or rather of the small chiefs). He establishes that there is a certain sort of cause (*hetu*), which in fact does not produce any effect : its causality only consists in the fact of not prohibiting the production of the effect by other causes. The objection is at hand : how can a thing which does not produce be called a cause ? Just as the villagers say, "We are happy owing to our Lord (*svāmin*, *bhojaka*)" not, (of course), because their Lord helps them in any way, but because, while he is powerful enough to harm them, he remains unharmed. In the same way Montaigne says : "Les princes me donnent prou s'ils ne m'ôtent rien" (Princes give me much when they do not take).

3. My friend G. K. Nariman has made a good collection of the Buddhist references to the method of dealing with the dead, incineration, *stūpas*, exposure to birds and beasts¹. The comparison of the Pāli and Sanskrit Mahānāmasūtras shows perhaps that eastern or central India (home of Pāli Buddhism ?) had not the rules which prevailed in western India (home of Sanskrit Buddhism ?). While Saṃyutta, V, 369 or Dīgha, ii, 295 refer only to the *śmaśāna* where corpses are abandoned to the beasts of prey, the Sanskrit redaction of the Mahānāmasūtra (quoted in the Abhidharmakośa, iii, 30a) gives an exhaustive enumeration of *m'tasya khalu kūlogatasya jhātaya imaṃ pūṭikakāyam agnīnū vā dahanti udake vā plāvayanti bhūmau vā nikhananti vātūtapābhyāṃ vā*

1 Quelques parallèles entre le Bouddhisme et le Parsisme, Revue de l'histoire des religions, 1912, i, 85. — Prof. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 80.

pariśoṇaṃ parikṣayaṃ paryūdānaṃ gacchati;—there is “incineration, immersion, sepulchre (“enterrement”) and exposure of the body in a place where by the wind and the sun it becomes dry and finally disappears”. No more mention of the beasts of prey. The end of the sūtra is worth quoting: *vat punar idam ucyate cittam iti vā mana iti vā vijñānam iti vā śraddhūparibhāvitaṃ śīlatyāgaśruta-prajñāparibhāvitaṃ tad ūrdhvagāmi bhavati viśeṣagūṇy āyatyūṇ svargopagam*: But what is called thought, mind or consciousness, when it is perfumed by faith, morality, gift, sacred instruction, sacred wisdom, that goes above, goes to a good state, goes in the future to the paradise.”

LOUIS DE LA VALLEÉ POUSSIN

The Bhāsa Problem—A Reply

I have read with some interest the paper on the “Bhāsa Problem” of Mr. K. R. Pisharoti.

Mr. P. thinks that the want of requisite materials, which are scrupulously guarded by the professional actors of Kerala known as the Cākyars, has prevented Sanskritists from subjecting the conclusions of Mm. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri regarding Bhāsa's plays to a critical examination; that, as a Malayalee scholar interested in the old Kerala stage, he has had many opportunities of acquainting himself with its inner life so as to enable him to get at some interesting data bearing on the question of those plays; that his study of them in the light of these materials has led him to the conclusion that the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* was a neo-Bhāsa, a contemporary of Śrīharṣa of Kanouj; that there must have been two SVs., of one of which the published Trivandrum text bearing that name may only be a playwright's adaptation; and that Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, who has been maintaining his ground consistently so long, has apparently not come across these materials till now. While complimenting Mr. P. on the special facilities that he has possessed for research in this direction, we shall consider the nature and validity of the materials that he has marshalled forth in support of his contentions.

At the outset, he attempts to knock the very foundation from under the feet of the supporters of Bhāsa's authorship of the plays by pointing out that the verse, *Bhāsanūṭakacakra*, the *terra firma* on which they have built up their vast discussions, has not been properly understood by them, on account of its being detached from its context. The context, the last important verse of which has figured largely in the Bhāsa controversy, is then produced in its entirety as an extract from a work called *Kavivimarśa*, vaguely ascribed to Rājaśekhara.

1. "Kāraṇaṃ tu kavitvasya na sampan na kulīnatā,
Dhāvako'pi hi yad Bhāsaḥ kavīnām agrimo'bhavat.
2. Ādau Bhāsenā racitā nāṭikā Priyadarśikā,
Nirīṣyasya rasajñasya kasya na priyadarśanā.
3. Tasya Ratnāvalī nūnaṃ ratnamāleḥ rājate,
Daśarūpakakāminyā vakṣasy atyantaśobhanā.
4. Nāgānandaṃ samālokyā yasya Śrīharṣavikramaḥ,
Amandānandabharitāḥ svasabhyam akarot kavim.
5. Udāttarāghavaṃ nūnaṃ udāttarasagumphitam,
Yadvikṣya Bhavabhūtyādyāḥ praṇinyur nāṭakāni vai.
6. Śokaparyavasānā yā navāṅkā Kiraṇāvalī,
Mākandasyeva kasyādyā pradadāti na nirvṛtim.
7. Bhāsanāṭakacakre'pi cchekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum,
Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako'bhūn na pāvakaḥ".

The muse of poetry has little regard for wealth or caste ; for Bhāsa, a washerman by caste, was the greatest of poets.

He wrote the three plays *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda* ; and king Śrīharṣa having been pleased with them made the poet one of the courtiers of his court.

Bhāsa wrote another play called *Udāttarāghava* which served as a model for Bhavabhūti and other poets, and his other work *Kiraṇāvalī* is a tragedy in nine acts.

When all his plays were thrown into the fire (of criticism), one that survived the ordeal was SV.

These are the extract and its summary.

While unquestioningly accepting these as genuine verses of Rājaśekhara, Mr. P., however, doubts their reliability in the matter of their contents, inasmuch as they ascribe the *Ratnāvalī* and other plays to Bhāsa, against all precedent and literary tradition. He therefore sweepingly condemns the whole extract, including even the last verse, which is the only genuine one in the extract, and in like manner dismisses Rājaśekhara himself as an unreliable

authority. This, it has to be noted, is the one underlying misconception throughout his paper.

The extract is, in fact, known¹ to be a patch-work of truth and falsehood, which an ingenious Pandit had palmed off on some credulous Sanskritists, as an excerpt from a hypothetical work called the *Kavi-vimarśa* whose authorship he had cleverly foisted on Rājaśekhara, in imitation of whose other verses the questionable ones were modelled. The last verse of this extract, *Bhāsanātaka-cakre*, occurs under *Sāmānya kavi-praśamsā* in the anthology, *Sūktimuktāvalī*, as that of poet Rājaśekhara. The anthology was compiled by Jalhaṇa,² a counsellor of the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa, who ruled over the Deccan in the second half of the 13th century A. D. It is an unpublished work and its manuscript exists in the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library and many other places. A large number of memorial verses about individual poets attributed to Rājaśekhara is found in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*, *Hārāvalī* and other anthologies, and as these verses have an important bearing on the history of Sanskrit literature, Dr. Peterson³ has already collected and grouped them together. The author of these verses is known to be the same as the author of the four dramas and the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*; and as these particular verses are not traceable in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* where they might naturally have been expected to be found, their source is surmised to be the *Haravilāsa*, a *kāvya* which has been also ascribed to him by Hemacandra⁴. But to the extract above quoted and its sources, namely the hypothetical *Kavi-vimarśa*, there is no reference to be found in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. We have heard of an *Udāttarāghava*⁵ quoted by Dhanika and others, and *Kiraṇāvalī*, an incomplete work on logic by Udayanācārya; but the curious statement that Bhāsa wrote the UR. and the tragedy *Kiraṇāvalī* is in itself an evidence of the spuriousness of the major portion of the extract under reference, excepting the last verse, which has been independently authenticated as that of Rājaśekhara. A plausible explanation as to how the idea of

1 Vide page 373, fn. 5.

2 Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the search of Sanskrit mss.*, 1887-1891, p. 7.

3 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xvii, pp. 57-71.

4 *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, intro., p. 17. (*Gaekwad Oriental Series*, no. I).

5 *Ind. Ant.*, xli (1912), p. 141.

this literary forgery originated, may be offered in this wise, that the subject-matter of the forged extract was coined in imitation of similar episodes mentioned in the following references—

1. Sarasvatīpavitrāṇām jātis tatra na dehinām.

Vyāsaspardhī kulālo'bhūd yad Droṇo Bhārate kavīh¹.

The hallowing touch of the Muse destroys all distinctions of caste. Did not the potter Droṇa write a Bhārata in emulation of Vyāsa himself ?

2. Aho prabhāvo vāgdevyā yan mataṅgadivākaraḥ,²

Śrīharṣayābhavat sabhyas samo Bāṇa- Mayūrayoḥ³.

All glory to the divine Muse. The outcaste poet Divākara, having been blessed by her, attained the position of a court poet of Śrīharṣa even as Bāṇa and Mayūra.

3. Dhāvakaḥ kavīḥ ; sa hi Śrīharṣanāmnā Ratnāvalīṃ kṛtvā bahudhanam labdhavān⁴.

Dhāvaka composed the Ratnāvalī in the name of his royal patron Śrīharṣa and obtained much wealth.

4. Prathitayaśasā n Dhāvaka-Saumilla-Kavi-puttrādīnām prabandhān atikramya vartamānakaveḥ Kālidāsaḥ kṛtau kimkṛto bahumānaḥ⁵.

Why do you praise so much the work of a modern poet Kālidāsa, disregarding the famous works of Dhāvaka, Saumilla, Kavi-putra and others ?

It is certain therefore that there is no work in existence called the *Kavi-vimarśa* and that the alleged extract is the product of a mischievous imagination. The theory that Bhāsa was the same as Dhāvaka, which was started by Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastri⁶, Madras, on the basis of this extract, was rejected by Sanskritists⁶, and all discussion about it was consigned to oblivion. We are

1 & 2 Ascribed to Rājasekhara in anthologies : vide *JBBRAS.*, vol. xvii, pp. 57-71.

3 *Kāvya-pradīpodyota* of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, p. 5.

4 *Mālavikāgnimitra*, edited by Tārānātha Tarkavācaṣpati, Calcutta.

5 Vide his dissertation "Śrīharṣa the Dramatist," Madras, 1902.

6 Ettinghausen's *Harṣavardhana*, pp. 100-102, n. 3 ; and R. V. Krishnamacharyar's *Bhūmikū* in his edition of *Priyadarśikā*, Srirangam, 1906.

sorry to note that Mr. P. has raked up this skeleton from a long-buried past, to terrorise us into accepting his neo-Bhāsa theory.

Then Mr. P. considers the genuineness of the published *SV.* and brings in his support the evidence of—1. The *Amarakoṣa-Trikūsarvasva* of Sarvānanda; 2. the *Locana* of Abhinavagupta; 3. the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra; 4. the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakoṣa* of Sāgaranandin and 5. the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātanaya. We shall now proceed to examine *seriatim* these five-fold items of evidence.

1. According to Mr. P. the quotation of Sarvānanda refers to the *kāma-śrīṅgāra* of Udayana and not to his *artha-śrīṅgāra*; and since the published text deals with the latter topic alone, it must be quite different from the *SV.* to which Sarvānanda refers and which might deal with Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā (*kāma-śrīṅgāra*). We have however to note that the quotation is defective and faulty; for in the exposition of the three kinds of *śrīṅgāras*, viz., *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, the quotation supplies references only to the first and the last, while the middle is left out of account. As it is quite unlikely that the author could have given such defective information, it has been suggested that the transposition¹ of a single word would give symmetry and completeness to the exposition; and in that case, the quotation may well be considered as referring to a single work *SV.* in illustration of the *Artha-* and *Kāma-śrīṅgāras*. These together, it must be noted, form the theme of the published text of the *SV.*; for to the main current of Udayana's undying love for Vāsavadattā, the underlying sentiment in the plot, his love for Padmāvatī is but a nourishing tributary. It is clear from this that the published text is the *SV.* referred to by Sarvānanda. The principal incidents in the story of Udayana are his capture by Pradyota, his elopement with Vāsavadattā, and the recovery of his lost kingdom and queen, his marriage with Padmāvatī serving only as a means to the last. The first two episodes have been employed in the plot of the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, while the last and momentous event in the story makes up the plot of the *SV.* Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā is not in itself such an eventful theme

1 Svadīśam ātmasāt kartum Udayanasya Padmāvatī pariṇayo'rtha-śrīṅgārah Svapnavāsavadatte: tṛtīyaḥ tasyaiva Vāsavadattāpariṇayaḥ kāmaśrīṅgārah. (*Triv. Skt. Series*, No. 15; Introduction, p. 7).

as to serve as the subject-matter for a drama ; and the vast literary sources for Udayana's story refer only to his *elopement* with his queen Vāsavadattā and his later recovery of his kingdom and queen, but not to his *marriage* with her. Hence there is no possibility of a drama ever having being composed with its plot based on the incident of Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā.

2. As regards the verse quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana*, we think that it cannot fitly belong to the published text, because not only is the context unsuited to the plot, but the literary style of the verse which is expressed in a long-drawn and grotesque metaphor contrasts very strongly with that true text of a pre-Kālidāsian composition, namely the simple and charming diction of the published text, unadorned with any rhetorical gloss. Moreover, Abhinavagupta quotes the verse as an example of poetry, where a poet unnaturally subordinates the *Rasa* (the poetical flavour) to a vain striving after rhetorical effect. We shall therefore be not far from right in considering that Abhinavagupta has in the present case wrongly attributed the verse to *SV*.

3. Mr. P. further argues that because the verse quoted in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* as from the *SV*. of Bhāsa is not to be found in the published text, there must be another *SV*. where the missing verse might have occurred. But the mere absence of a verse or two is not in itself a sufficient reason for arguing that there must be another *SV*. where these verses might be traced. One might as well argue that, because a certain verse quoted by Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa in his *Tantra-vārtika* as¹ from the *Manu-smṛti* is not found in the extant text, there must be another *Smṛti* where that verse might be found. The fact, however, is that the missing verse will have to be traced to a lost recension of the *Manu-smṛti* from which Kumārila must have quoted the verse. Similarly, if a variorum edition of the *SV*. could be published, the verse quoted in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* will certainly be discovered in that edition. But the learned editor of the Bhāsa plays has, however, proved that the absent verse must surely belong to the published *SV*. and that it very appositely fits in a clearly noticeable hiatus in the published text. (*Vide* his annotated edition, fourth impression, 1924).

4. Another arrow in Mr. P's quiver is that, because there is a variation between the quotation found in Sāgaranandin's work and

1 p. 110 (Benares edition).

its counterpart in the published *SV*. this author must have quoted from the genuine drama, of which the Trivandrum version is only an adaptation. Against this argument, it may be pointed out, that the style and nature of the quotation bear unmistakable evidence to the fact that Sāgaranandin is quoting a portion of the prelude of the published text, only from memory. The expression *Padmāvatiya parijanena* is unpoetical and is common only in later-day dry commentaries. Quotations in the *Daśarūpaka* and *Sūhityadarpaṇa* have also been found to vary from the published texts of their sources ; and these variations have similarly been explained as due either to the fact that the quotations belonged to lost recensions of the sources, or that the authors themselves made defective quotations from memory, in those days when there were not great facilities for reference and verification.

5. The *Bhūvapraṅkāśa* refers to six topics as dealt with in a *SV*. and these with one exception have been found to tally with the published text. This agreement coupled with the fact that the summary of the plot of the fifth act of a *SV*. given in the *Sringāraprakāśa* of Bhoja is the same as that of the published text, leaves no room for doubt in regard to the identity of the *SV*. referred to by the two writers¹ and the Trivandrum text. But to Mr. P. the single exception is enough to prove that the published text is an adaptation. One other fact, namely, that *Bhūvapraṅkāśa* which mentions *SV*. has nothing to say about the peculiarities of the prelude of the published text, confirms, in Mr. P's opinion, his surmise that the latter is only an adaptation. This argument is certainly misleading ; for the negative factor that *Bhūvapraṅkāśa* does not expatiate on the peculiarities of the prelude, it does not follow that it is not genuine. The *Pūdatūlītaka-Bhūṇa*, which is quoted by Kṣemendra, Kuntaka and others, shares with the published text some of the peculiarities in regard to its prelude, and Abhinavagupta who also quotes from the *Bhūṇa* in his commentary on the *Nāṭyaveda* is also silent on this point. Will Mr. P. say that the *Bhūṇa* also is an adaptation ? The statement of Mr. P. further implies the supposition that the author of the *Bhūvapraṅkāśa* evolved his dramaturgy from a close study of the numerous works in Sanskrit literature. This is far from the truth. The author is a fourth-rate dramaturgist, and he has faithfully followed mostly the beaten track of his predecessors in the field.

So much about the evidence of Mr. P. to show that the published *SV.* is not genuine.

Then the language, dramatic technique and unity of the Bhāsa plays are examined in the light of further materials, which are as weak and as untrustworthy as those already noticed. We have no mind to tire the patient reader by examining all of them here, as these have been controverted by the editor of the *Bhāsa* plays in his forthcoming "Bhāsa Studies—A Criticism." We shall content ourselves with criticising only a few among them, as typical of Mr. P's 'materials'.

1. Mr. P. analyses the archaic beauty of the language and discovers it neither in the diction, the expressions, nor in the *prākṛt*; even as the proverbial chemist who analysed the tears of his weeping wife into phosphates of lime, soda, and water, without being able to find out the reason of her weeping. The beauty of a piece of art consists not in its component parts but in its unity, in its manner rather than in its matter. That the *SV.* is characterised by a virile archaic beauty of language, compared with which even that of Kālidāsa looks modern, has however been acknowledged by the *Sahṛdayas* of the East and the West.

2. It is said that the variety of names such as *Vāsavadatta*, *Svapna-nāṭaka*, and *Vāsava-lattā-nāṭaka* under which the work has been known indicates that it is not genuine. Ancient writers are found to shorten the titles of the works they quoted; for instance, *Raghuvamśa* is found abridged as *Raghu*, *Kumārasambhava* as *Kumāra*, *Kirātārjunīya* as *Kirāta*; but the *SV.* has had no such abridged titles and the authors who have referred to it have done so by its full name. *Svapna-nāṭaka* and *Vāsavadattā-nāṭaka* appear to be only the titles of the scribe's coining. In illustration of this fecundity of the scribe's imagination may be cited one funny instance, wherein a manuscript of this drama found in the house of a Pisharodi gentleman of North Travancore bore the curious title of *Niṣkrāntasarva-nāṭaka*; and on enquiry it eventually turned out that this novel christening was the work of the owner himself, who seeing the ending colophon of the text *niṣkrāntāḥ sarve* forthwith docketed the manuscript as the *Niṣkrāntasarva-nāṭaka*.

3. Each act of the published text having a separate name is not a point in favour of its being a playwright's adaptation, as Mr. P. thinks; for each of the ten Acts of the *Mṛcchakatika* has a separate name, *vis.*, *Alaṅkāraṇyāsa*, *Dyūtakarasamvāhaka*, *Sandhiccheda*, *Madarikāśarvilaka*, *Durdina*, etc.

4. The non-mention of the name of the work and its author in the prelude of the published text does not necessarily connote that

the text had no definite name, shape, or author ; for we find similar omissions in the case of the *Ubhayābhisārika* which has a definite name, author, and shape.

From all these considerations, it will be evident that the materials, which Mr. P. has arrayed before us to establish that the published *SV.* is a playwright's adaptation and that there are more than one *SV.* and *Bhāsa*, have not achieved their purpose and the attribution of the *SV.* to the ancient dramatist *Bhāsa* remains on as solid a foundation as ever.

G. HARIHAR SASTRI

Hindu Theories of the Origin of Kingship and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

In his work entitled 'Hindu Polity,' Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has treated *inter alia* the speculations of the ancient Indian thinkers relating to the origin of kingship, or more generally, of the State. His views on this important subject, needless to say, deserve the most careful consideration of every student of Indian antiquities, and it is this task which we have attempted to set before ourselves in the present paper.

Let us begin by analysing the principal points of his thesis :

I The "vedic theory" implied that kingship had its origin in war, or to state more correctly, in election under the stress of war. This "suggests" that "that the institution of kingship was borrowed [by the Aryans] from the Dravidians" (Pt. II, pp. 4-5).

II The *Arājaka* democrats who propounded a "theory of extreme individualism" held that the State was founded on the basis of Social Contract (Pt. I, pp. 172-173).

III The "political writers" (otherwise called the 'scientists') laid down a "contractual theory of the origin of monarchy" which was a monarchist adaptation of the "republican theory of contract" (Pt. I, p. 173 ; Pt. II, p. 5).

IV The theory of the *Manusamhitā* which was the "nearest Hindu approach to the divine theory of kingship" had "no direct support in earlier literature". It was started to "support an

abnormal state of affairs opposed to law and tradition, viz., political rule by Brahmin" (sic.), and was "never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book" (Pt. II, pp. 54-58).

V From the above it appears that the Hindu king was held to be a servant of the State and his office was taken to be a trust (Pt. II, pp. 185, 188).

We shall now consider the above points in detail.

I As regards the vedic theory of the origin of kingship the text quoted by J. (Ait. Br., I, 14) is not the only evidence bearing on this point. Assuming, as J. does, that the divine sovereignty of Indra can rightly be taken to be a reflex of the human sovereignty of the earthly king, we have to mention in this connexion at least one other Vedic ākhyāyikā which leads to a quite different conclusion. The whole passage (Taitt. Br., II, 2. 10-12) may be quoted in full. "Prajāpatirindramasṛjatānujāvaram devātānām/ taṃ prā hiṇot/ pare hi/ eteṣām devānām adhipatiredhiti/ taṃ devā abruvan/ kastvamasī/ vayan vai tvacchreyāṃsaḥ sma iti/ mā devā avocanniti/ atha vā idam tarhi prajāpatau hara āsit/ yadasminnāditye/ tadenamabravit/ etanme prayaccha/ athāhameteṣām devānām adhipatirbhaṣiyāmīti/ ko'ham syāmityabravit/ etat pradāyeti/ etat syā ityabravit/ yadetat bravīṣīti/ ko vai nāma prajāpatiḥ/ ya evaṃ veda/ vidurenām nāmnā/ tadasmai rukmaṃ kṛtvā pratyamuñcat/ tato vā indro devānāmadhipatirabhavat/ ya evaṃ veda/ adhipatireva samānānām bhavati." It is evident that what we have here is not a theory of election, but of creation of kingship by the will of the Supreme Deity. As regards the further observation of J. that Ait. Br., I, 14 suggests the institution of kingship to have been borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from the Dravidians, it must, we are afraid, be treated as too original to deserve any serious notice. For its acceptance involves a number of unproved assumptions. These are :—

- 1 that in pre-Aryan times the Dravidians had kings,
- 2 that the aborigines with whom the Aryans came in contact belonged ethnically to the Dravidian stock,
- 3 that the Aryans with their known aversion towards the aborigines did not hesitate to borrow one of their most important institutions from them.

Nor, again, does the evidence of historical analogy support J's theory. In the parallel case of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain, it was not by borrowing from the conquered people but through the necessities of the situation, which called for a common and

permanent leader in war, that the institution of the kingship came into general use.

II No. 2 is a brilliant example of the author's ingenuity in discovering the hidden meaning of familiar facts. Before the publication of the Hindu Polity, 'arājaka' was held in all quarters to have only one meaning relating to kinglessness or anarchy. But J. with characteristic boldness gives it an original significance in the sense of a 'non-ruler State' and accords it a place in his list of Hindu 'technical constitutions'. By it he means an idealistic constitution in which law instead of an individual was taken to be the ruler and which was based on "mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens". Now what are the grounds on which this novel interpretation of a very familiar term is sought to be based? "The technical 'Arājaka,'" we are told (H. P., Pt. I, p. 97n), "cannot mean anarchy as this is indicated by a special term mātsyanyāya". But that 'Arājaka' was a technical term and not, as is ordinarily held, a popular expression for anarchy, is precisely the point requiring to be proved. The sole evidence on which J. relies (cf. Pt. I, p. 99) is the well-known and oft-quoted text of the Jaina Āyārāṅga Sutta (II, 3. 1. 10) forbidding monks and nuns to pass through certain countries which are specified as follows :—

arāyāṇi vā gaṇarāyāṇi vā yuvarāyāṇi vā verajjāṇi vā viruddha-
rajjāṇi vā.

Here there is nothing to justify J's assumption of a reference in every case to real and historical forms of government, and consequently his interpretation of 'arājaka' must be dismissed as not proven.

Having thus invoked an imaginary 'Arājaka constitution' "based on the rule of law," J. must needs father on its exponents an equally imaginary theory of the basis of the State. The texts quoted by J. in support of his view occur in the course of the two well-known stories of the origin of monarchy in the Śāntiparvan (chs. LIX and LXVII). Now admitting that the Śāntiparvan in its existing form has incorporated a mass of earlier materials, one may be permitted to doubt very much whether a portion of the text torn from its context and not described (as the ancient narratives are) in the form of 'itihāsaṃ purāṇam', can safely be attributed to a class of authors ('Arājaka democrats') whose existence is unknown to history.

III The theories of the origin of kingship in the Arthaśāstra, the Manusmṛiti, and the Mahābhārata, which J. ascribes to the 'political writers' (or the "scientists") are undoubtedly very remarkable of their kind. But to characterize them as examples of the contrac-

tual origin of kingship is to give an altogether one-sided, and therefore imperfect, view of their true nature. For, first, let it be noted that the person with whom the 'contract' is supposed to be made is not an ordinary mortal but is a superhuman being,—Manu Vaivasvata, progenitor of the present race of living beings (according to Aś., I, 13), Manu the father of the human race (Śāntiparvan, ch. LXVII), or else Pṛthu who traced his descent from Virajas, the mind-begotten son of Brahmā (Ibid., ch. LIX). In the first instance, again, the theory of election is supplemented by that of quasi-sanctity of the king, from which follows the doctrine of sinfulness of slighting royalty¹. In the last two cases we are told in graphic language how it was by the direct act of the supreme god, Brahmā or Viṣṇu, moved thereto by the acute distress of the people, that a ruler was set over them². How very remote this is from the idea of 'contractual origin of kingship'. And going back for a moment to the three accounts above mentioned, we are tempted to ask how very one-sided after all is the element of contract that actually enters into their composition. In the Aś. the contract is implied and not expressed, and its result is stated to be that the king is *spiritually* responsible for his misgovernment, while he is entitled to his usual one-sixth share even from hermits dwelling in the forest. It follows that the subjects have no explicit authority to bring the king to account for his misdeeds and inflict upon him temporal penalties, but he must needs be made subject to spiritual sanctions. Similarly in ch. LXVII of the Śāntiparvan the people are said to have entered into an agreement with Manu, the king-designate, but the agreement which was meant to overcome Manu's reluctance to rule only stipulated for the subjects' payment of the royal dues and their granting the king immunity from their own sins³. In ch. LIX, it is true, Pṛthu, the first 'king' (rājan) is said after his miraculous birth to have complied with a long list of promises ending in the famous pratijñā ('coronation-oath') (cf. H. P., Pt. II, pp. 46-47). But J., while quoting the context in which this important statement occurs in full, fails to reproduce the whole story and thus helps to present a distorted version of its true constitutional significance. For, in the lines following

1 Aś. I. 13. Indrayamasthānametadrājānaḥ pratyakṣaheḍaprasādāḥ/
tānavamanyamānān daivo'pi daṇḍaḥ sprṣati/ tasmādrājāno nāvaman-
tavyāḥ//

2 Cf. Śānti, LIX, 87 ff; Ibid., LXVII, 20 ff.

3 See loc. cit., 22 29.

those describing Pṛthu's consecration, Bhṛama is made to explain, obviously in reply to the latter part of Yudhiṣṭhira's query ("why does one man rule over the many who are his equals, in all respects" ?), that the Lord Viṣṇu entered the person of the king, whence kings are revered by the people as gods. Why should the people submit to one man, the royal sage goes on, except for his divine quality ? A god is born on earth as king after his stock of spiritual merit is exhausted, and is endowed with Viṣṇu's divine majesty. As he is established by the gods, no one transcends him and every person submits to his authority¹. It will be seen from the above that the idea of the coronation-oath is here swamped, if not superseded, by that of the king's divine nature which is explicitly declared to be the basis of his rule over his subjects.

IV The well-known account of the origin of kingship in the Mānavadharmaśāstra undoubtedly carries the king's authority to a high pitch. But is it correct to state that it had "no direct support in the earlier literature" ? The divine creation of the human king is already foreshadowed in the story of the creation of Indra's sovereignty by Prajāpati in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa that we have cited above. Furthermore, the description of the coronation ritual in the Brāhmaṇas would itself without "twisting" "support" the theory of the king's divine nature. In the accounts of the great ceremonies of royal consecration in the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, we are again and again told how the yajamāna is raised by the sacred act of the ritual to the status of the gods. The following passages that are relevant to this case may be mentioned in this connexion. The Śat. Br., describing one of the rites of the Vājapeya, says (V, 2, 2, 14-15) : tad bṛhaspater evainam etatsāyujyaṃ salokatāṃ gamayati...devebhyo nivedayatyaṃ mahavīryo yo' bhyaścītyaṃ yuṣmākaiko' bhūt tam gopāyateti. In another place (V. 2 1. 11) it states; prajāpateḥ prajā abhūmeti prajāpaterhyeṣa prajā bhavati yo vājapeyena yajate. In connexion with the Rājasūya, we have the following : Śat. Br., V. 4. 3. 4 : eṣa Indro bhavati yacca kṣatriyo yadu ca yajamānaḥ : Tāṇḍya Mahābr., XVIII, 10. 10 : yadvai rājasūyenābhiśicyate tat svargam lokamārohati. For the Aśvamedha, Śat. Br., XIII, 4. 3 says : tad yadenam devaiḥ saṃgāyanti devairevainaṃ tatsalokaṃ kurvanti ; Taitt. Br., III, 9. 20. 2 : aśvenaiva medhyena prajāpateḥ sāyujyaṃ salokatāmāpnoti/ etāsāmeva devatānāṃ sāyujyam sārṣṭitāṃ

¹ See Śanti, LIX, 128, 131, 134-135.

samānalokatām āpnoti yo'śvamedhena yajate. This doctrine of divine sanctity of the Kṣatriya yajamāna or the king is held in one important Brāhmaṇa passage to be the basis of his rule over his subjects. We refer to Śat. Br., V, 1. 5. 14 where it is said with reference to a Rājasūya rite making the sacrificer shoot to a certain distance with an arrow, 'tad yat rājanyaḥ pravidyati eṣa vai prajāpateḥ pratyakṣtamaṁ yat rājanyastasmād ekaḥ san bahūnāmiṣṭe.

Not merely in its antecedents but also in its later history is the Mānava account of the origin of kingship related to other canonical works. It would indeed be exceedingly strange if one of the most characteristic doctrines of the Manusmṛitā were "not" to be "approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book". For was it not a Smṛti writer who declared : vedārthopanibandhṛtvāt prādhānyaṁ hi manoḥ smṛtam/ manvarthaviparītā yā sā smṛtir na praśasyate¹. Nor does the reason advanced by J. for the alleged unique character of Manu's theory commend itself to our approval. For assuming that the Mānavadharmasāstra was written to support the rule of the Brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra, was not "political rule by a Brāhmaṇa" sanctioned by the Smṛtis as an *āpaddharma*² ? Reverting to the point which immediately concerns us, what is the evidence tending to show that Manu's theory "failed miserably" ? J. claims the authority of constitutional writers to the effect that the Mānava doctrine was transformed into a "divine theory of the servitude of the king to the subject". But the only "writer" who holds this view is the author of the Śukranīti, and his famous doctrine (I. 188) is not even once mentioned or attended to by J. either in the present context or in the two chapters to which reference is made in the footnote. On the other hand theories of kingship resembling that of Manu are found in many of the later "law-books" and Purāṇas. We have room for a few examples. Nārada (XVII, 21-22) rakṣadhikārādīśatvādbhūtānugrahadarśanāt/ yadeva kurute rājā tat-pramāṇamiti sthitiḥ// nirbalo'pi yathā strīṇām pūjya eva patiḥ sadā/ prajānāṁ viguṇo' pyevaṁ pūjya eva prajāpatiḥ// ; Ibid. 26 : pañca rūpāṇi rājāno dhārayantyamitaujaśaḥ/ agnerindrasya somasya

1 Bṛhaspati, quoted by Kullūka in his com. on MS., I. 1.

2 Cf. MS., x, 81 ; Yāj., III, 3, 5 etc. Medhātithi commenting on the former verse says : 'yadāśya śatirakuṭumbasvanityakarmāvasādo bhavati—tadā kṣatriyavat grāmanagararakṣādīnā śāstradhāraṇādīnā sati sambhave sarvādhipatyena jivet.

yamasya dhandasya ca// ; Ibid., 52 : śuciścaivāśuciḥ samyak katham rājā na daivatam/ ; Ibid., 54-55 : loke'sminmaṅgalānyaṣṭau brāhmaṇo gaurhutāśanaḥ/ hiraṇyaṃ sarpir āditya āpo rājā tathāṣṭamaḥ// etāni satataṃ paśyennamasyedarcayet svayam/ pradakṣiṇaṃ ca kurvita yathāśyāyuh pravardhate// ; Bṛhatparāśara (quoted in Rājānītiprakāśa, p. 23) : ājñā nṛpāṇām paramaṃ hi tejo yastāṃ na manyeta sa śastravadhyaḥ/ śrūyācca kuryācca vadecca bhūbhṛt tadeva kāryaṃ bhuvi sarvalokaiḥ// durdharṣattivrāṃśusamānadipter brūyān-manuṣyaḥ paruṣaṃ nṛpasya/ yastasya tejo'pyavamanyamānaḥ sadyaḥ sa pañcatvamupaiti pāpāt//

V To argue in the face of the above that in the Hindu theory the king was a servant of the State and his office was a trust is to admit the validity of one set of facts to the exclusion of another set of at least equal indisputability. How strong a spell the sentiment of divine sanctity of the king cast upon the Hindu mind may best be gauged from its survival down to modern times. In a famous Bengal Vaiṣṇava work of the early 17th century, a Hindu officer of the Moslem court is represented quite naturally as addressing his master, an unconscered Yavana, as a part of Viṣṇu¹. And is it not a matter of common knowledge that to the present day the Raja of Puri is popularly known as Calantī Viṣṇu.

G.

Two remarks on Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's Hindu Polity

I

In H. P., Pt. 1, p. 4 (repeated, ed. Rājānītiratnākara, Intro., pp. t & n.) Mr. K. P. Jayaswal claims to have discovered the existence of an old Arthaśāstra writer called Āditya. But the text on which he relies (Āśv. Gr. Sūtra, III. 12. 16) occurs in the midst of a section on battle-rites, and it cannot be made by any accepted canon of evidence to support this discovery. In the original it runs as follows :—ādityamausānasaṃ vāvasthāya prayodhayet¹.

1 See the Caitanyacaritāmṛtam of Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, Madhya-līlā, ch. I. The passage referred to occurs in the course of the address of the Dabir Khas to Alauddin Hussain Shah, and runs as follows :—tumi narādhīpa hao Viṣṇu amēa sama.

Which Nārāyaṇa in his vṛtti explains as—

Yasyāṃ diśi ādityas tāṃ diśāṃ āsthāya ahani cet/ rātrau ced
yasyāṃ diśi śukras tāṃ diśāṃ parigṛhya yodhayed rājā/ na pratyā-
dityaḥ yudhyeta nāpi pratiśukram ityarthah.

Thus 'Āditya' and 'Uśanas' would seem in the above passage to refer to the direction of the sky in which the Sun and Venus happen to be placed. That this is the correct sense would also appear from the occurrence of the word 'diś' in the immediately preceding sūtra : sarvā diśo' nupariryāyāt—which is explained by the commentator 'atha rājā sarvā diśo rathenānukrameṇa gacchet.'

II

In Ch. XXV of H. P. (pp. 27-28) Mr. J., while explaining the constitutional significance of the coronation ritual in the Brāhmaṇas, quotes a passage of the Ait. Br. (VIII, 15) relating to its description of the Mahābhiṣeka of kings. This passage is taken by him, without any qualification, to establish the institution of the coronation-oath. Now the text along with the relevant parts of the context stands as follows :—

Sa ya icched evaṃvit kṣatriyamayaṃ sarvā jitirjayeta...tam etenaindreṇa mahābhiṣekeṇa kṣatriyaṃ śāpayitvā abhiśiñcet/ yāṃ ca rātrimajāyethā yāṃ ca pretāsi tadubhayamantareṇeṣṭāpūrtaṃ te lokaṃ sukṛtamāyuh praḥjāṃ vṛñjityaṃ yadi me druhyeriti/ sa ya icched evaṃvit kṣatriyo'ham sarvā jitirjayeyamaham.....sa brūyāt saha śrad-dhayā yāṃ ca rātrīm etc. (up to praḥjāṃ as above) vṛñjithā yadi te druhyeyamiti. From the fact of the administration of the oath by the ścārya and the king's reply to him in the second person singular (cf. vṛñjithā yadi te druhyeyam) it is evident that what we have here is the king's solemn promise of protection to the individual priest and not a general promise of protection of the subjects. In interpreting the above extract, however, Mr. J. ignores the context altogether, and translates (p. 28) the passages within brackets as 'May I be deprived of, if I oppress you'. Thus he lends himself to the charge of distorting the sense to suit his own preconceived theory.

G.

'Technical Hindu Constitutions'

In part I, chapter X of his *Hindu Polity*, Mr Jayaswal tries to clear up the meanings of the terms '*bhaujya*,' '*svārājya*,' '*vairājya*,' etc. found in use in Sanskrit, Pāli, or Jaina literature. I do not think that his attempt has improved the situation. Sāyaṇa's explanation of the terms is based more or less upon their literal meanings and does not give us any clue by which we can come to the conclusion that some of them were not names of the monarchical forms of government prevailing in the various parts of India. That these names were current in the different parts of India is clear from the fact that Indra was installed by the gods as *saṃrāt* in the east, as *bhoja* in the south, as *svarāt* in the west, as *virāt* in the north, and as *rājā* in the central region (*Ait. Br.*, viii, 14). It is difficult to state that at the time when the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* was composed, there were different forms of democratic government in the parts of India mentioned above and that some of the aforesaid names were appellations of these forms of democratic government. It may be that in later times, some of the aforesaid parts of India witnessed the evolution of democratic forms of government, e. g. the eastern region, where the Licchavis and other self-governing communities established their dominions, but this does not ensure the fact that the terms in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* indicate the existence of democratic forms of government in the different regions at the time of the composition of the *Brāhmaṇa*.

Mr. J. states that he has been able to have light on the subject from the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* and the inscriptions of Aśoka. According to him a passage of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* (pt. iii, p. 76) enumerates the careers open to a *kulaputta*. The context however shows that the passage is not meant for such enumeration. To give a clear idea of the context, I quote here the passage :

"Yassa kassaci Mahānāma kulaputtassa pañca dhammā saṃvijjanti, yadi vā rañño khattiyassa muddhābhisittassa yadi vā raṭṭhikassa

1 According to Sāyaṇa, *sāmrājyam* is *dharmeya pālanam* (righteous government), *bhaujyam* *bhogasamraddhiḥ* (increase of enjoyment), *svārājyam* *aparādhkīnatvam* (absence of dependence on others), *vairājyam* *itarebhyo bhūpatibhyo vaiśiṣṭyam* (enjoyment of more distinguished qualities than possessed by other kings). See my *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 13, fn. 9.

pettanikassa yadi vā senāya senāpatikassa yadi vā gāmagāmikassa yadi vā pūgagāmanikassa, ye vā pana kulesu paccekādhīpaccaṃ kārenti, vuddhi yeva pāṭikaṅkhā, no parihāni. Katame pañca ?

Idha Mahānāma kulaputto uṭṭhānaviriyādhigatehi bhogehi bāhā-balaparicitehi sedāvakkhittēhi dhammikehi dhammaladdhehi mātāpitāro sakkaroti garukaroti..... Mātāpitānukampitassa Mahānāma kulaputtassa vuddhi yeva pāṭikaṅkhā, no parihāni.

Puna ca paraṃ Mahānāma.....peputtadārādāsakamma-karaporise sakkaroti...pe...no parihāni.

Puna ca paraṃ.....khattakammantasāmantasaṃvohārepe.....no parihāni.

Puna ca paraṃ.....balipaṭṭigghāhikā devatā...pe...no parihāni.

Puna ca paraṃ.....samanabrāhmaṇe.....pe...no parihāni”.

Buddha addressing Mahānāma surprised at the sudden change in the conduct of the Licchavi youths, who instead of doing mischief were sitting silent in a respectful mode before Buddha, said that if a *kulaputta* (youngman of good family) such as a duly consecrated kṣatriya king, a hereditary ruler of a rāṣṭra, a military commander, a village headman, a head of a guild, in short, those who singly exercise control over families, possess the following five qualities (pañca dhammā), he will prosper. The five qualities consist in the performance of duties (1) towards parents, (2) towards children, wife, etc., (3) towards field-labourers etc., (4) towards the gods who take offering, and (5) towards samaṇa-brāhmaṇas.

The passage which Mr. J. has quoted as fn. 2 (pt. 1, p. 89) has been made to come abruptly to a stop after the word ‘kārenti’. The sentence however does not stop there but continues in the way shown above. The words ‘raṭṭhika, pettanika’ in the passage have been taken by Mr. J. to be of the same signification as ‘Rastika’ and ‘Pitṇika’ of Aśoka’s Rock Edicts V and XIII. He tells us that “Aśoka in his inscriptions equates Bhoja with Raṭṭhika or Rāṣṭrika. The commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* explains the ‘Pettanika’ as being hereditary leadership (*sūpateyya*), come down from forefathers (*pitārādattam sūpateyyam, Aṅguttara, III, Indices, p. 456*; again *bhuttānubhuttam bhūñjati*, commentary at (sic.) p. 300). The Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas or Bhojas as opposed to Pettanikas apparently meant non-hereditary leadership. *Sūpateyyam* (together-leadership) suggests that in each case there were more than one leader.” The argument that because the expression ‘Bhoja-pitṇikesu’ occurs in Rock Edict XIII, and ‘Rastika-pitṇika’ in Rock Edict V, therefore ‘Bhoja’ should be equated with ‘Rāṣṭrika’

is fallacious. It will be seen that in R. Edict V, the names that are found, are in the following order—'Yona Kamboja Gandhāra Rāstika Petenika Aparātā' while in R. Edict XIII we find 'Yona Kamboja Nābhaka Nābhapaṃti Bhoja Pitinika Andhra Pulinda'. If the reason given by Mr. J. be consistently followed, then the 'Gandhāras' should be equated with the 'Nābhaka Nābhapaṃtis', which is impossible. According to the latest interpretation of the edicts, the 'rastikas' are taken to be the inhabitants of Mahārāṣṭra, and the 'pitinikas' to be very probably the inhabitants of Paithan. In view of these facts, the Bhojas cannot be identified with the Rāṣṭrikas. Moreover, 'raṭṭhika' and 'pettanika' of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* cannot be the same as the 'rastikas' and the 'pitinikas' of the Edicts, because in the former, Buddha is referring to an individual and using 'pettanika' as a qualifying epithet of 'raṭṭhika' meaning a hereditary ruler of a rāṣṭra. That pettanika is a qualifying epithet of raṭṭhika is also apparent from the use of the words 'yadi vā' in the text separating the references to the various individuals from one another. The commentary on the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* does not support the interpretation that 'pettanika' means the hereditary leadership (sāpateyya) of a gaṇa or saṅgha. Moreover, 'sāpateyya' in Pāli does not mean 'together-leadership' or 'board (of leaders)' as the word 'sāpateyya' (Skt. svāpateya) means 'property.' The detached quotation from the Index to the *Āṅg. Nik.* (III, p. 456) viz. 'pitarādattam sāpateyyam' and 'bhuttānubhuttam bhuñjati' have, I think, misled Mr. J. The commentary on the passage from the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, p. 76 is given below to enable the readers to judge for themselves :

"Raṭṭhikassāti adīsu raṭṭham bhuñjattīti raṭṭhiko. Pitarā dattam sāpateyam bhuñjattīti pettaniko. Senāya pati jeṭṭhakoti senāpatiko. Gāmagāmikassāti gāmānaṃ gāmikassa gāmagāmikassāti attho. Pugagāmaṇikassāti gaṇajeṭṭhakassa."

The commentary to p. 300 of the text runs thus : "Rāṭṭhikoti yo raṭṭham bhuñjati. Pettanikoti yo pitarā bhuttānubhuttam bhuñjati. Senāpatikoti senāya jeṭṭhako. Gāmagāmikoti gāmabhojako. Pugagāmaṇikoti gaṇajeṭṭhako".

The passage from the *Mahābhārata* (Śānti, ch. 68, ślk. 54—Rājā bhojo virāṭ samrāṭ kṣatriyo bhūpatir nṛpaḥ, ya ebhiḥ stūyate śabdaiḥ kas taṃ nārccitum arhati) cited at p. 90 of the *Hindu Polity* mentions the different appellations applicable to a king. The reference in Khāra-vela inscription to the paraphernalia of sovereignty possessed by the Rāṣṭrikas and the Bhojakas is of little significance for our purpose

until it is shown that from the time of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* the two peoples had a democratic form of government called, according to Mr. J., 'Bhaujya' with non-hereditary leadership. From this passage it cannot be inferred that the Bhojas had a particular type of democratic government. In view of what has been stated above, it cannot be said that the Bhojas identified with the Rāṣṭrikas had the Bhaujya form of democracy which gave its name to the people, and that the Pettanikas had a democratic form of government in which leadership was hereditary and there were two or more leaders simultaneously. The passage from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* throws no light whatsoever on the point and Mr. J's arguments do not at all improve the situation.

Now as to *svārājya* : According to Mr. J., it signifies in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* a peculiar democratic constitution prevailing in Western India. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, according to him, adds that [a wise man (*vidvān*) sacrifices by the Vājapeya and obtains *svārājya* i. e. becomes a *svarāt* (self-ruler or president) by attaining *jyaisthaya* (eldership) or the leadership among equals. This election was based upon merit, for Indra who is said to have obtained the *svārājya* consecration is described as having proved his merit. The members of the gaṇa according to the *Mahābhārata* were considered to be equals (*sad'ās sarve*). By piecing together all these evidences, he thinks that the *svārājya* was a form of gaṇa, the president of which was elected by the vājapeya sacrifice (Mr. J's *Hindu Polity*, ch. X, p. 91). Now let us examine one by one the premises upon which he bases his conclusion :

The passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* says only this that Indra was consecrated to *svārājya* among the Nīcyas and the Apācyas of Western India. This passage is silent as to whether *svārājya* was only a local appellation for royal dignity current among the two peoples of Western India or whether it was a democratic constitution of which the *svarāt* was the president. Light is sought to be derived from the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The passage from the former has not been properly interpreted by Mr. J. It runs thus : Tenāyajata. Sa svārājyam agacchat. Tam Indro'bravit imam anen yājayeti. Tenendram ayājayat, so'gram devatānām paryait, agacchat svārājyam, ātiṣṭhantāsmāi jyaisthāya. *Ya evaṃ vidvān vājapeyena yajate gacchati svārājyam, agraṃ samānānām paryeti, tiṣṭhante'smāi jyaisthāya. Sa vā eṣa brāhmaṇasya caiva rājanyasya ca yajñah.*

There are three points in the above quotation adverse to Mr. J's view :

(1) If *svārājya* was a democratic constitution, how is it that Bṛhaspati a priest and not a kṣattriya was consecrated to it by the performance of the vājapeya sacrifice and obtained *svārājya*.

(2) Mr. J. draws an analogy between the passage in the *Taitt. Br.* and that on the gaṇas in the *Mbh.* and on the strength of that analogy, he draws the inference that the performer of the vājapeya sacrifice attained to the presidentship of a gaṇa. The portions of the Vedic passage important for the present discussion are :—

(a) ya evam vidvān vājapeyena yajate ;

(b) ātiṣṭhantāsmāi jyaiṣṭhāya and

(c) agram samānānām paryeti.

Mr. J. thinks that the passage (a) has reference to the wisdom of the performer, as election to presidentship required that the president elected should have merit, which in the present case is 'wisdom'. But 'evam vidvān' in the passage means 'knowing thus' i.e. knowing the story that Bṛhaspati and Indra had performed the sacrifice in the past and got the benefit derivable from it. The use of 'evam vidvān' in the sense of 'knowing thus' is common in Vedic literature e. g. *Aitr. Br.*, I, 22 ; I, 30 ; cf. Profs. Haug and Keith's translations of these passages.

The interpretation of the passages (b) and (c) in the light of the passage on the gaṇas in the *Mbh.* (XII, 107, ślks 6-32) has led Mr. J. to the conclusion that the performer of the vājapeya sacrifice attained to the eldership or presidentship (of a gaṇa) by election from among his equals. The passage in the *Mbh.* has this verse : jātyā ca sadṛśāḥ sarve kulena sadṛśāstathā' (i. e. the members of the gaṇa were similar in regard to jāti and kula), which appears to Mr. J. to be of the same import as (c) supplemented by (b) quoted above. But though the meanings of the Vedic and the Epic passages may look similar, the resemblance is only superficial. In the epic passage on the gaṇas, there is reference to the gaṇamukhyas, who should be obeyed by the members of the gaṇa and should transact the more onerous business of the state. So it becomes evident that a few individuals were elected to gaṇamukhyaship from among the rest of the members of the gaṇa equal by *jāti* and *kula*. In the Vedic passage, however, there is no reference to any democratic constitution. There is reference only to *svārājya* which, when applied to Bṛhaspati, can mean only the foremost position among the priests and when applied to Indra may mean royal dignity called *svārājya* by the Nīcyas and Apācyas. Then, again, there is ambiguity in the epic passage as to whether there were several gaṇamukhyas in a gaṇa

or only one gaṇamukhya.' If the former, the president of a gaṇa was elected from among the gaṇamukhyās who themselves were not presidents. In view of all these difficulties, it cannot be inferred from the mere use of the words of superficially similar import in the vedic and the epic passages that *svārājya* meant a democratic government in the vedic period.

(3) The last sentence of the vedic passage states that the vājapeya sacrifice is performed only by the members of the brāhmaṇa or the kṣattriya caste. It was usually the latter who used to be rulers, and hence the *svārājya* attained by the members of the brāhmaṇa caste as the result of the performance of the vājapeya sacrifice was very different from rulership and meant only the 'foremost position'. That this may not be the meaning of the term when applied to the kṣattriyas is yet to be proved. As the rulers were generally kṣattriyas, the foremost among the kṣattriyas was the ruler. This position has no special connection with democratic government.

I have not been convinced by the arguments put forward by Mr. J. to prove that 'vairājya' meant in the vedic period 'kingless constitution.' This meaning of the term has been suggested to Mr. J. by Dr. Haug's translation of the passage. According to Dr. Haug, the word can have two meanings, viz., (1) without king, and (2) a very distinguished king, though the passage from the Kauṭīliya (VIII, 2) and the commentaries thereon show the possibility of a third meaning of the term. To this we shall turn later on. Now in the passages from the *Aitr. Br.* the first signification has been thought by him appropriate for the reason that the *janapadāḥ* as opposed to the *kings* have been mentioned as *abhiṣikta* in this

1 In vedic literature, *svārājya* means superiority of various sorts. In the Śāṅkh. Śr. S., xv, 11, Vāk attained *svārājya* over all beings (bhūtānāṃ śraiṣṭhyaṃ svārājyaṃ ādhipatyam) by her control over the power of speech (Ibid., xv, 12). Again Varuṇa gained for his kingdom a supreme position (rājyānāṃ śraiṣṭhyaṃ svārājyaṃ ādhipatyam). In the passages xiv, 26, and xvi, 15 of the same work, *svārājya* has been taken by the commentator to mean *jñātīśraiṣṭhya* and *mānaśiddhi* respectively. So there is nothing peculiar to the term indicating that it meant the presidency of a gaṇa. Similar is the case with the word *jyaiṣṭhya*. It means in a passage of the Śāṅkh. Śr. S. (xiv, 31) a high position that can be attained by one of a low family by the performance of the Jyeṣṭhastoma sacrifice.



passage, while in the other passages of the chapter, we find the kings as consecrated. The objections to this interpretation are :

(1) If the whole lands or the whole peoples were consecrated to sovereignty, could not this have been done symbolically through the king who used to be called 'virāt' ?

(2) So far as I see, there is no ceremony by which a whole nation as opposed to a king was consecrated to rulership. On the other hand, there is in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XIV, 30) mention of a ceremony called *virāt* by which a single individual instead of a people could become a *virāt*. (Mitravaruṇayorvai vairājyamanyatara aicchat svārājyamanyatarah. Taveva yajñakratu-mapasyatām virāt svarājam. Teneṣṭvā vairājyamanyatara āpnot svārājyamanyatarah).

Prof. Keith in his translation of the passage *Rg-veda Brāhmaṇas* p. 331) remarks that "the sense is clear, though the construction is careless. Haug, however, seeks to render the *janapadāḥ* as subject and as being without kings, which is wholly inconceivable". Of the two meanings of the word 'virāt' pointed out by Dr. Haug, the mere fact that the *janapadas* are mentioned requires, I think, the aid of strong evidence to justify the adoption of the first meaning, stated already, to the exclusion of the second. Mr. J. finds such corroborative evidence in the *Kauṭīliya* (VIII, 2) and the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (p. 83). He says that in the former work, Kauṭīliya has used the word *vairāja* as a form of government and has rejected it as a bad form, and that Kauṭīliya like his contemporary Greek thinkers held democracy in contempt. These statements of Mr. J. are wide of the mark. Kauṭīliya has been speaking in the passage (VIII, 2) about the *vyasanas* of the king and the kingdom, and speaks of *Vairāja* as a *vyasana* i. e. distress through which a kingdom may be passing at a particular time, and not a normal form of government. The interpretation put upon the passage by Dr. R. Shamasastri fits in with the context and is supported by the commentaries as found in both the Trivandrum and the Punjab editions of the *Kauṭīliya*. Dr. Shamasastri takes *Vairāja* in the passage to signify rule which comes into existence by the seizure of the kingdom by an invader, the ousted king being still alive. In Dr. Shamasastri's 1st edition of the text, there are omissions which have been filled up in both the other editions and pointed out in a foot-note in Dr. Shamasastri's 2nd edition. The portion omitted after 'vinaśyati' runs thus : *vairājyam tu prakṛticittagrahaṇāpekṣi yathāsthitamanyairbhujyate ityācāryāḥ. Neti Kauṭīliyaḥ. Pitāputrayorbhrātrorvād vairājyam tulya-*

yogakṣemamāmātyāvagraham¹ vartayetiti. Then comes "vairājyetu etc." up to "apagacchatīti".

According to the Ācāryas, dvairājya is ruined by the hatred, partiality, or mutual hostility of the two parties but a vairājya, in which (the invader naturally) tries to win the good will of the subjects, can be enjoyed by others (i. e. the people as opposed to the invader) as it stands (i. e. without the ruin of the state). "No", says Kauṭilya. "In dvairājya the evil due to dissension between father and son, or between brothers is counteracted by the ministers, the welfare of the kingdom being of equal importance to both the parties ; while vairājya, which comes into existence by the seizure of the country from its king still alive, is not regarded as 'his own' (by the invader), is ill-treated, denuded of its wealth, or treated as a commercial article ; or it is forsaken when the subjects of the state become disaffected¹".

In the passages in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, the Kevalin is advising the monks and nuns to avoid roads which pass through the countries where 'the ignorant populace might bully or beat, etc. the mendicant in the opinion that he is a thief or a spy, or that he comes from yonder (hostile village), or they might take away, cut off, steal or rob his robe, almsbowl, mantle, or broom'. It appears therefore that the reason was not *one* as stated by Mr. J. viz., that the 'states are prone to suspect strange ascetics as political spies' but *several*, indicating that not only was there the danger of being arrested under suspicion as spies, but also of being beaten, robbed, etc., the consequences of anarchy or misrule. If we scrutinize the passage, we shall see that except in the case of 'gaṇarāyāṇi' under which there can be only the danger of being arrested as spies, the rest of the instances indicate want of rule, misrule due to weak government in a period of transition, or disturbances due to the internal or external troubles of the realm. The 'verajjāni' here cannot be a normal form of kingless government as Mr. J. thinks. The *Kauṭilya* furnishes the clue to its meaning. The word signifies the

1 The Trivandrum edition has 'amātyāvagraham' while the Punjab edition and Dr. R. Shamasastri's 2nd edition have 'matyāvagraham'. The old commentary 'Nayacandirkā' in the Punjab edition has 'amātyāvagraham'.

1. Or *viraktam* may be taken as an adverb meaning 'when he (the invader) ceases to have interest in it (after the wealth of the country is sucked out to his satisfaction)'.

state of the realm when it is under the domination of another king, though the king of the realm is alive. Hence the corroborative evidence that Mr. J. wants to draw from the *Kautilīya* and the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* to support Dr. Haug in his interpretation of the term 'vairāja' in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is altogether absent.

Now regarding 'dvairāja' meaning 'joint rule by two', the passage from the *Kautilīya Arthśāstra* omitted in Dr. Shamasastri's 1st edition gives the answer. Kautilya says that 'dvairāja' is better than 'vairāja' because in the former the evil due to dissension between father and son, or between brothers, is counteracted by the ministers, the welfare of the kingdom being of equal importance to both the parties. This 'dvairāja' is in the *Kautilīya* a *vyasana* of the state and therefore cannot be a normal form of government. This, as shown already, appears to be the meaning in which the term has been used in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*.

Three arguments are put forward by Mr. J. in support of his conclusion, viz.,

(1) The *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā P., ch. 31 ; Ud. P., ch. 165) refers to Vinda and Anuvinda ruling jointly in Avanti.

(2) According to the epigraphic evidence found in Nepal, there was such joint rulership in that kingdom on one or two occasions.

(3) In view of the prevalence of the joint ownership of private property by the several members of a family under the Mitākṣarā law in India, the transference of the operation of the legal principle to the region of politics is not a matter for surprise.

Re. 1. The two chapters of the *Mahābhārata* mention the compound 'vindānuvindau' of Avanti. There is nothing else in the chapters to show that they were joint kings, and did not rule over separate territories within the country of Avanti.

Re. 2. As to the epigraphic evidence utilised by Mr. J., it is not at all clear that the rulers of Nepal belonging to the Licchavi and the Thākuri families ruled over the same undivided territory. On the other hand, Dr. Fleet states, "we have two separate families ruling contemporaneously mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own.....From the fact that each of the two families issued its charters from a palace, not a town, and the fact that all the inscriptions are either at Khāṭmāṇḍu itself, or close in the neighbourhood, the two palaces of Mānagrha and Kailāsakūṭabhavana appear to have been in the immediate vicinity of each other, in different divisions of one and the same ancient capital. And, though the inscriptions give no specific informa-

tion on this point, from the fact that the order of Aṃśuvarman, recorded in inscription E., is issued to the officials of the western province, and from the way in which, in inscription K., Mānadeva is described as marching to the east and reducing to obedience the rebellious *Sūmantas* there, and then returning to the west, it seems pretty clear that the Licchavikula or Sūryavaṃśī family had the government of the territory to the east of the capital ; and the Thākuri family, of the territory to the west of it". Mr. J. says that epigraphists not knowing the *dvairājya* form of government could not see its real significance and were therefore forced to suppose imaginary divided jurisdiction. The last few lines of the passage quoted above do not show that Dr. Fleet drew upon imagination in coming to the conclusion that the two ruling families held their sway upon two separate territories lying to the east and the west of the capital. On the other hand, he mentions in those lines the reasons which led him to arrive at the inference.

Re. 3. The suggestion that the 'dvairājya' constitution though considered unworkable by the scholars could be easily worked by the people of India who are habituated to the joint enjoyment of property as members of joint families requires corroborative evidence. The evidences cited by Mr. J. have been subjected to scrutiny and found wanting, and therefore the facts of the extension of the application of the principle of joint ownership to the region of politics on the strength of the present data cannot be accepted.

The evidences adduced by Mr. J. for proving that there was in ancient India the *arājaka* form of constitution in which law instead of man was taken to be the ruler are not sufficient to establish his point. *Arājaka* means anarchy even in the passages quoted by him in support of his contention. According to him, there is a distinct term for 'anarchy' viz. *Mātsyanyāya*. But one of the ślokas from the *Mahābhārata* relied on by him states : *Arājakāḥ prajāḥ pūrvaṃ vineśur iti naḥ śrutam, parasparam bhakṣayanto matsyā iva jale kṛśān* (See Hindu Polity, p. 98). Here *arājaka* is nothing but *mātsyanyāya*. He has misunderstood the ślokas from the *Mahābhārata* quoted by him at p. 98, pt. i of his book. These ślokas commence with a sketch of the way in which kingship came into being in the kṛta age. At first there was no kingdom, no daṇḍa, no dāṇḍika. The people protected themselves mutually, actuated by their universal love of dharma. But in course of time, *moha* overtook them, making them avaricious, and *anarchy* ensued. The state of things in which the people lived peaceably by their natural love of *dharma* has not certainly been described

in the ślokas as *arājaka*. It was when *moha* and *avarice* took away their former love of *dharma* that anarchy ensued. When anarchy prevailed, the people met together to enter into the agreement that whoever would commit an offence and transgress the agreement would be forsaken by the rest. This arrangement proved a failure, which put them to the necessity of going to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) to appoint a king over them, as without a king they would all be ruined. Mr. J. has read into the passage the existence of an assembly, the framing of laws, etc. In reality it was only an attempt on the part of the people to elicit system out of the confusion by mutual agreement, but it proved futile. This state of things cannot certainly be called the *arājaka* constitution. It could not reach the stable condition of a system, as it was really a passing phase of an anarchy. It resulted in a constitution by the appointment of a king by Pitāmaha when the people approached him.

That *arājaka* means anarchy and not a form of constitution will also be apparent from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ii, ch. 67), where it has been used in that sense in no less than 20 ślokas describing the evil consequences that come in the train of anarchy. In the very chapter of the *Mahābhārata* from which Mr. J. has quoted ślokas at p. 98 of his book, there are verses on the evil consequences of the *arājaka* condition of a state, e. g. ślks. 3, 5-16. The term has been used in the sense of anarchy in the *Kautilīya* in the expression '*arājavyasanābādhaḥ*' (I, ch. 17). That the same meaning is borne by the term '*arāyāṇi*' in the passage in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* already mentioned is beyond any doubt, for there, as already pointed out, advice is given to the mendicants to avoid places where there are insecurity of life, and risk of being arrested as spies.

The interpretation put by Mr. J. upon the term '*viruddha-rājyāṇi*', viz. that these were states ruled by parties is extremely doubtful. In the passage in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* it may well mean states between which hostilities were going on.

It is not proper to call a *Yuvarāja-ruled* state 'a real and historical form of government'. *Yuvarāja* is a relative term implying a king over him, and a *yuvarāja* will become a king after the latter ceases to reign. The passage from the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* has very likely in contemplation a state in which the king has died and the crown prince has not yet taken up the reins of government into his own hands as king. During this period of transition, there was in ancient India every likelihood of the kingdom falling into confusion through various causes. The form of constitution that is borne by a state in which there is a *yuvarāja*

is certainly a monarchy and hence it is wrong to say that a *yuvarāja*-ruled state was a distinct form of government.

Mr. J. thinks that there is reference to three classes of rulers in the passage of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 1, 2, 2. The text runs thus :—

uggakulāṇi vā bhogakulāṇi vā rāinnakulāṇi vā khattiyakulāṇi vā Ikkhāgakulāṇi vā Harivaṃsakulāṇi esiyaikulāṇi vā vesiyakulāṇi vā gaṃḍāgakulāṇi vā koṭṭāgakulāṇi vā gāmarakkhakulāṇi vā pokkaṣāliyaikulāṇi vā, annataresu vā tahappagāresu kulesu adugucchiesu vā agarahiesu vā asaṇaṃ vā phāsuyaṃ jāva paḍigāhejjā.

Here the Kevalin is advising the monks and nuns that they in the course of their begging tours can accept food from the following families, viz. the ugga families, the bhoga families, the rāinna families, the khattiya families, the families belonging to the lines of Ikkhāga and Hari¹, cowherds' families, vaiśya families, barbers' families, carpenters' families, etc.

It is the first three families that are important for our present discussion. Mr. J. has taken 'bhoja' for bhoga and has been misled to think that as it is followed by the term 'rājanya' which according to him (part i, p. 41) may signify the 'leader of a family consecrated to rulership,' the third term occurring in association with the other two has also a constitutional significance. And as Malabar is called *Ugra*, very probably, the place had a democratic form of government called *Ugra*. The mis-reading of the text combined with the occurrence of the word 'rājanya' next to the word which he took as 'bhoja' is responsible for the surmises. According to the commentary on the passage, 'Ugra' means 'Ārakṣika', 'bhoga' means 'rājūḥ puṇyasthāniya', 'rājanya' means 'sakhisaṃsthāniya'. The use of 'ugra' 'bhoga', 'rāinna', and 'khattiya' is found in other passages of the Jaina scriptures, e. g. the *Āvaśyaka*, ch. i, gāthā 131, which gives the four terms, explaining them at the same time :

Uggā bhogā rāyanna khattiyā saṃgaho bhava cauḥā,

Ārakṣhi guruvayaṃsā sesā je khattiyā te u.

From this it becomes clear that in the passage in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* the Kevalin while naming the families from which food is acceptable by the monks and nuns is not referring to the families of the heads of democratic forms of government.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

¹ These families are mentioned, because one tirthaṅkara belonged to the Harivaṃśa and the rest to the Ikṣvākuvaṃśa.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. vi, pt. i

- P. V. KANE.—A Brief Sketch of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā System.
- H. G. RAWLINSON.—A Century of Oriental Research.
- H. R. DIVEKAR.—Mālā tu Pūrvavat (shows against the prevailing view that the above extract occurring in a Kārikā of Kāvya-prakāśa does not establish the identity of the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra).
- C. R. DEVADHAR.—The Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa. It tries to establish that the Svapna of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is different from, and probably a version of the original work written by Bhāsa. Cites Sylvain Lévi's article in the Journal Asiatique for Oct.-Dec. 1923 in support of this view.

Bulletin of the French School of the Far East (Fr.), Jany-June 1924

- PAUL DEMIEVILLE.—The Chinese Versions of the Milindapañha. The two texts of the M. occurring in the Chinese canon were held by Specht and Sylvain Lévi, their discoverer, to be different works but have since been proved by Pelliot to be two recensions of one and the same version. Between these recensions it is difficult to decide which is the more ancient and the more exact. A complete survey of catalogues shows that there existed three Chinese versions of the M. or similar work : (1) a Sūtra of comparisons of Nāgasena translated in the 3rd century at the latest, and lost in the 5th century ; (2) a Sūtra of the Bhikṣu Nāgasena or Sūtra of Nāgasena, translated under the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420 A. D.) ; (3) a version of No. 2 executed by Guṇabhadra, a native of Central India between 435 and 455 A. D. and lost in 664. A comparison of the Chinese and Pāli versions of the M. shows wide divergences in the preliminary part (or rather a common foundation with the addition of different elements) and almost perfect agreement in the principal part. The 57th ch. of Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā contains a prophecy of Buddha about king Milinda building a stupa in the Vāloka country. Now Vāloka can be shown to be situated in Gandhāra country and the above text of Kṣemendra appears to be based upon an ancient text transferring to Milinda a prediction relative to Kaniṣka. Several persons under the name Nāgasena are mentioned in the

Buddhist literature : (1) An arhat being one of the 16 or 18 arhats who were witnesses at the *parinirvāṇa* of Buddha, (2) a heretical sthavira mentioned by the late Tibetan authors, (3) the Mahāyānist author of the Trikāya-śāstra mentioned by Hiuen Tsang's disciples, (4) the ancient master mentioned by Vasubandhu in the last section of his Abhidharmakośa. Opinion of Rhys Davids that the doctrine of Nāgasena swerves from the Hinayāna cannot be supported. A review of the whole work shows that the doctrine of the *Milindapañha* in so far as the first part of the controversy is concerned is remarkably similar to that of the Nikāyas. As for the second part containing the preliminary controversy with Āyupāla, one of the texts upon Buddha and the last portion of the work, we detect the influence of the Sarvāstivādin, and of the new-born belief in the efficacy of faith for salvation. French translation of the Chinese version. Appendices.

U. N. G.

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. x, pt. ii

S. PARANAVITANA.--The Colas and Ceylon.

Indian Antiquary, April, 1925

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO and M. K. NARAYANASWAMI AYYAR.—The Copper-plates of Uttama-coladeva in the Madras Museum. The document belongs to the 16th year (985 A.D.) of the reign of Parakeśarivarman Uttamacoladeva and records the grants made to and enjoyed by the deity of Ūragam. It details the items of income accruing to the deity and the expenditure, and furnishes information about the state of civilisation of the times, the staff generally employed in temples in those days, the qualifications of the officiating priests, etc.

Ibid., June, 1925

ANANT SADASIV ALTEKAR.—A History of Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad (Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*).

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 45, No. 1
March, 1925

E. W. HOPKINS.—Words of Defamation in Sanskrit Legal Language.

E. FRAUWALLNER.—Untersuchungen zum Mokṣadharmā.

Journal and proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

N. S. Vol. XX, No. 1

- N. G. MAZUMDAR.—A List of Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions. The writer gives also the list of findspots or places of deposit and an index.
- GANAPATI SIRCAR.—An Inscription obtained from Bhubaneswar, dated the 11th year of Vira Nara-siṃha Deva of Orissa.
- BIMALA CHARAN LAW.—The Aśmakas or Assakas in Ancient India.
- Y. R. GUPTA.—Īḍḍhapur Plates of the Vākāṭaka Queen Prabhāvatī Guptā ; the 19th year.
- KUMAR GANGANANDA SINHA.—On some Maithili Dramas of the 17th and 18th centuries.
- A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.—A Note on Ardhanarīśvara.

Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society

Vol. XI, pt. i, March, 1925

- G. RAMDAS.—Aboriginal Names in the Rāmāyaṇa. The author sees in some of the names mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa an affinity to the languages of the aboriginal tribes, and tries to identify the Śavaras, Rākṣasas, and Niśādas of the Rāmāyaṇa with the Mūndāris.
- KALIPADA MITRA.—Impression of Five Fingers. It is shown from Pāli and Prākṛta literature that as in other countries, the custom of imprinting five fingers on the wall or door-leaf as a means of averting the evil or bringing luck was prevalent in ancient India.
- K. P. JAYASWAL.—New Light on Hindu Political Science Literature. Here it is stated that the commentary on the Jaina author Soma-deva Sūri's Nitivākyāṃṛta acquaints us with the names of many authors on polity whose works are now lost, and whose names are not found in any other treatise on polity.
- RAI BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.—Dates of Sañci Inscriptions.
- V. VENKATARAM SHARMA SHASTRI VIDYABHUSHANA.—Ajāmila-mokṣaprabandha of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. The short literary work named above has been described here.
- A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.—Cākṣuṣīyam, an Arthaśāstra. Nineteen stanzas of the Cākṣuṣīyam, a work on polity, have been quoted here from a ms. anthology called Sūktiratnahāra.
- K. P. JAYASWAL and A. BANERJI SASTRI.—Bhaṭṭasvamin's commentary on Kauṣilya's Arthaśāstra. Portion edited.
- DR. STEN KONOW.—Om Maṇi Padme Hūṃ. Dr. Konow rejects the translation commonly made of this dhāraṇī, viz., 'O, thou

jewel in the lotus" and suggests in its place, "Thou in whose padma there is a maṇi". He agrees with Dr. Thomas and Koeppen in holding that the *saṃlakṣara* is not an invocation of Avalokiteśvara but of his *śakti* Tārā the manifestation of the Prajñāpāramitā. As to the probable time of the origin of this *saṃlakṣara*, he states, "it is older than the time of the amalgamation of Buddhism with the idea of śakti, and is not from the beginning a Buddhist formula".

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Vol. I, No. 1, 1925

DR. STEN KONOW.—Name and designations of the Ruler mentioned in the Āra inscription. The writer justifies his reading of Āra Inscription II. 1 & 2 *Maharajassa rajatirajasa devaputrasa kaisarasa Vajheṣkaputrasa Kaniṣkasa*. He cites a few instances showing that the first three designations are used by the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Disagreeing with Dr. Fleet, he shows that the title *Kaisar*, alone or with some addition, is used throughout Asia as also in the West. He prefers the reading *Vajheṣka* to Fleet's *Vajhespa* and recognizes in it the name of *Vāsiṣka* of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. As regards Kaniṣka, he suggests that it was not the great Kaniṣka but Kaniṣka II, son of Vāsiṣka.

D. B. DISKALKAR.—Some unpublished Copper-plates of the Rulers of Valabhi (Watson Museum, Rajkot):—

1. Copper-plates in the Valā museum. The plates were discovered in 1900 in the ruins of Valā, a small town which occupies the site of old Valabhi. The whole collection consists of 20 plates making 16 Valabhi grants, three of which were of Dhruvasena I, two of Dharasena II, three of Śilāditya I (alias Dharmāditya), one of Dhruvasena III, and two of Śilāditya III, and the remaining cannot yet be assigned to any particular ruler. The important points in these inscriptions are four Valabhi dates, identification of Valabhi with the present Valā, and some grants to Buddhist monasteries. Tentative readings of the 16 grants are given.

2. Copper-plates in the Bhavanagar Museum. No. XVII. Goras Bālāditya copper-plates of Dhruvasena II (Gupta saṃvat 313) a grant made to two brāhmaṇas of Gorokeśa. No. XVIII. A grant of Śilāditya III (Gupta-Saṃvat 356) to the Buddhist monastery built by Acārya Bhikṣu Vimala Gupta.

G. V. ACHARYA. Notes on some unpublished Valabhi copper-plates belonging to the B. B. of the R.A.S. and lent to the Prince of

- Wales Museum of W. India. No. I, Plates of Dhruvasena I (Gupta Saṃvat 210) a grant made to a Ṛgvedin brāhmaṇa. No. II, Plates of Dharasena II (Gupta Saṃvat 270) who granted a village for the worship of the image of Buddha, the requisites of the bhikkhus and repairs of the monastery. No. III, Plates of Dhruvasena II (Gupta Saṃvat 312) who granted a field to a brāhmaṇa. No. IV, The first plate of a Valabhi grant, probably of Silāditya III. No. V, Plates of Silāditya III (Gupta Saṃvat 346) granting a village to a Caturvedin brāhmaṇa. No. VI, Grant of Silāditya III (Gupta Saṃvat 346) making a grant to three brāhmaṇas. No. VII, Plates of Silāditya IV (Gupta Saṃvat 381), a grant to a brāhmaṇa.
- P. V. KANE.—The Tantravārtika and the Dharmaśāstra Literature. The writer cites by way of illustrations some passages from the Tantravārtika of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (8th century A. D.) and shows the great importance of the work for the understanding of the development and chronology of the Dharmaśāstra literature.
- V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—The Bhāsa Riddle : A proposed solution. The writer with Dr. Winternitz takes a *via media* between the two extreme views, one attributing all the dramas to Bhāsa, and the other placing them after the 7th century A. D. and taking the works to be of an insignificant play-wright or play-wrights. The view of the writer is : "Our *Svapna-vāsavadatta* is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name ; the *Pratīñāyagan-dharāyaṇa* may be by the same author ; but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain."
- C. V. VAIDYA.—The Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Here the probable time of composition of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa has been stated to be the 10th century A. C. as against the 12th century which is generally considered to be its date ; it is also argued that the author of the Bhāgavata might have lived in the Draviḍa country.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XII

- JYOTISCHANDRA GHATAK.—The Dramas of Bhāsa.
- P. C. CHAKRAVARTI.—Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus.
- R. KIMURA.—A Historical Study of the Terms Mahāyāna and Hinayāna and the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Journal of Indian History, April, 1925

- BALKRISHNA.—The Beginnings of the Silk Industry in India. The writer produces evidences from Sanskrit works showing that

the silk industry was not introduced in India from China in the 3rd century A. C. but that it developed independently in India as far back as 1000 B. C.

H. HERAS.—The Palace of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri.

W. H. MORELAND.—A Dutch Account of Mogul Administrative Methods.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1925

G. A. GRIERSON.—Prakritica. Philological notes on $\sqrt{sthā}$, *Matsara* > *Macchara*, intervocalic consonants in the North-west, *prākṛt* *b* and *v*, *paṇisu*, *kirāta*, *cilāda*.

J. CHARPENTIER.—Śākāra. The writer concludes that there can scarcely be any doubt that the word *śākāra* may be of Iranian origin and derived from *śaka* with the suffix *āra*.

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.—The Authorship of the Nalodaya. *Nalodaya* is not the work of Kālidāsa but of the Keraliya poet Vāsudeva, son of Kavi, who lived in the courts of the Cera king Kulaśekhara and his successor Rāma in the first half of the 9th century A. D.

Quarterly journal of the Mythic Society, April, 1925

H. HERAS.—The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura in the Pudu-mandapam.

V. H. VADER.—Whether Sri Vyasa was Contemporary of the Persian Prophet Zoroaster?

R. SHAMASASTRY.—The Home of the Ancient Hindus and their Policy of Racial Fusion.

V. VENKATACHALLA AYYAR.—The Seven Dwipas of the Purana.

A. RANGASWAMI SARASVATI.—Further Glimpses into Gupta Literary History.

Sahitya Parisat Patrika, Vol. XXXI, pt. ii

VIMANBIHARI MAZUMDAR.—Materials for the construction of the social history of Bengal in the later Vaiṣṇava literature.

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No. 3

Two Copper-plate Charters of the Haihaya king Prthivideva II of the Cedi years 900 and 905

Forty miles to the south-east of Bilaspur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces, lies in the Jānjgir tahsil the village Amodā, within whose limits were found 4 sets of charters each consisting of two plates, two sets of which have been dealt with elsewhere. The remaining two belong to the reign of the same king and were issued within 5 years of each other. One is dated in Śarpvat 900 and the other in 905. The former set marked A weighs $267\frac{1}{2}$ tolas, and the latter marked B 253 tolas. Each plate of A measures $12 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ " and that of B $15 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ". The inscription is engraved on one side of the plate in either case. Each set was strung with a ring bearing the seal of the king consisting of the figure of the goddess Gaja Lakṣmī with an elephant on each side pouring water on her head with an inscription under her seat in two lines, giving the name of the king as Rājā Śrīmat Prthividevaḥ in bold and well-formed letters.

The characters of both the charters are Devanāgarī and well-formed. Those of A average $\frac{1}{16}$ " in size and being uniform look beautiful. In plates B, which are bigger in size, the engraver commenced with smaller letters $\frac{1}{16}$ " in size. In the 9th and 10th lines in the middle, he, however, raised the size to $\frac{1}{8}$ " and again reduced them to the former size, or

even a bit less in some places. In the second plate he commenced with $\frac{5}{8}$ " or even $\frac{3}{4}$ " making variations at will, but brought the ślokas to end in the middle of the lines so that the numbers of the verses from 16 to 27 commencing from lines 22 to 33 stand one below the other. Both the charters are written in Sanskrit verses except the salutation in the commencement and the names of engravers and the dates at the end, which are in prose. Plates A contain 21 verses while B have 28. The first 11 verses giving the genealogy of the donor are exactly alike in both the charters. The following 5 verses in A and 4 in B describe the donees and the grants made to them and consequently differ, but the first of these or the 12th verse in the text in each is almost alike. There is only a slight alteration. After the record of the business portion follow the usual imprecatory and benedictive quotations, which number 4 in plates A and 12 in B. All the four in A are included in the 12 of B, verses nos. 17 to 20 in A being identical with nos. 16, 17, 18, and 20 in B in a consecutive order. The last verse in each, viz., 21st in A, wrongly numbered 20th in the record and 28th in B gives the name of the writer of the charter, as Vatsarāja Vāstavya (Kāyastha) of the village Jaḍera. The verse stands exactly alike in both.

There is not much to note about orthographical peculiarities, which have been already noticed in connection with other records of the family dealt with in the first volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr. Kielhorn. The letter *va* has been employed to represent *va* and *ba*. The dental sibilant has been frequently used for the palatal, though the use of the latter has not been totally discarded. In line 4 the latter has been even wrongly used for the former. The vowel *i* represented in older records by two circles with a tail below has developed in these records into something like an arrow-head with a parallel stroke below. *Ba*, *ṣa* and *ya* have been in some places represented by the sign for *pa* and there is a confusion between *ta* and *na* but these must be regarded as engraver's mistakes. The use of the *anusvāra* is more



I. H. Q., September, 1925

[illegible]

[illegible]

common than the class nasal, for instance, in line 11 of plates A *paṅkaja* is written as *paṅkaja* and so on. The correct forms have been put in brackets against the incorrect ones in the text, at least in plates A, the repetition of which has been avoided in plates B, on account of the similarity of the text in both.

The donee in A is one Śiṣaṇa Brāhmaṇa, son of Devaśarmā, who was son of Mihiravāmī of the Candrātreyā *gotra* having 3 *pravaras*, viz, Candra, Atri and Pāvana and belonging to the Vājasaneyā śākhā. He had emigrated from Takāri village. Śiṣaṇa had two brothers named Pithana and Lakhnū. The donor Prthivīdeva II gave him a village named Āvalā situated in the Madhyamaṇḍala on the occasion of a lunar eclipse occurring in the month of Caitra in the Cedi year 900. The era is not specifically stated, but it could not be other than the family era of the donor. Thus the year corresponds to 1149 A. D. in which there was a lunar eclipse on the Caitra Pūrṇimā falling on a Friday, the 25th March.

The charter B records the grant of a village named Buḍubuḍū also situated in the Madhyamaṇḍala, this time to all the 3 brothers Śiṣaṇa, Pithana and Lakhana or Lakhnū on the Rājyā-kṣaya-tṛtīyā day, which is apparently the same as the ordinary Akṣaya-tṛtīyā falling on the third of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha. The charter was issued on a Tuesday the 6th of the bright Āśvina in Samvat 905, which regularly corresponds to Tuesday the 14th September, 1154 A. D. The Akṣaya-tṛtīyā preceding this date fell on a Saturday, the 17th March, 1154 A. D.

Both the villages granted were situated in the Madhyamaṇḍala or the central circle, which gives a clue where to look it for. The tract owning the capital of the king must appropriately be the central *maṇḍala*, which is confirmed by the two villages found in that locality, viz, the Lāphā Zamindāri in which Tumāna, the old capital of the Haihaya kings is situated, though now reduced to a small village with

a few huts. I identify the village Āvalā of plates A with Aurābhātā, and Buḍubudū of plates B with Burbur, both included in the Lāphā Zamīndārī Āvalā or Aurā, both corruptions of the Sanskrit word Āmalaka ; it was apparently named after a forest tree of that name, known in the botanical terminology as *Phyllanthus Emblica*. There is a super-abundance of these trees in the Bilaspur district and hence several villages have been named after it, for instance, Amraḍīh, Aorākalā, Aorākhurd, Aorid, Aorāḍīh in the Jānjgir tahsil, Aourā, Aourā-kachār and Aorābhātā in the Kaṭhghorā tahsil, Amrāṭīkrā and Aorābāndhā in the Bilaspur and Mungelī tahsils of this district. The addition of bhātā to the original name Āvalā has been made for the sake of indicating the soil of that village, bhātā being an inferior kind of soil. Buḍubudū on the other hand is an onomatopoeic name, apparently given after some noise made by water falling or passing by that place. The other geographical names occurring in this record are Ṭakārī (whence the donee's forefathers emigrated) and Jaḍera to which the writer of the charters belonged. Ṭakārī appears to have been a big colony of brāhmaṇas in the United Provinces, from which emigration took place from time to time. Its name is found in several charters, but as there exist many villages of that name, it is difficult to say which particular one is its representative. Jaḍera is untraceable within the Bilaspur district. It may or may not have been within its boundaries.

The genealogy of the donor in both the records is given as follows :—From Kārtavīrya was born the Haihayas in whose lineage sprang the illustrious Kokkala, who had 18 sons. Of these the eldest became the king of Tripuri (present Tewar, 8 miles from Jubbulpore) and he appointed his younger brothers as lords of various *maṇḍalas* close by. Kalingarāja was born from one of these younger brothers and from him was born Kamalarāja. His son was Ratnarāja. His wife was the brave Nonallā, to whom was born Pṛthvideva I, whose son Jājalladeva I was born from Queen Rājalladevi.

Jājalla's son was Ratnadeva II, the Lord of the whole Kosala country (now called Chattisgarh division). From him was born Prthvīdeva II, who made the gifts recorded in the two charters in hand.

HIRALAL.

CHARTER A.

First Plate.

1. 1 ओम् ओम्¹ नमो ब्र(ह्म)ह्मणे । निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणम् ।
भावघातं परं ज्योतिस्त-
- 2 ॐ सद्ब्र(ह्म)ह्मणसः (वे नमः)² ॥१॥ यदेतदग्रेसरमस्य(स्व)रस्य द्युतिः संपूजा
पुरुषः पुराणः ।
- 3 अथास्य पुत्रो मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्तवीर्यः³ ॥२॥ तद्वंशप्रभवा न-
- 4 रेन्द्रपतयः स्त्रा(स्त्रा)ताः क्षितौ वैश्यास्त(स्त्रो)षामन्वयभूप(ष)णं रिपुमनो
विज्यस्ततापानलः [1]
- 5 धर्मध्यानधनानुसंचि(सञ्चि)तयशः सस्त्रस्तता(ग्रन्थस्तता) सौख्यस्तमेयान
(न) सवेगुणान्वितः समभ-
- 6 वत्यो(च्छो)मानसौ क(को)कलः⁴ ॥३॥ अष्टा(ष्टा)दशारिकरिक्तुंभ-
विभगसिद्धाः (कुम्भविभक्तसिद्धाः) पुत्रा व(व)भूवुरति-
- 7 सो(शो)र्यपरास तस्य । तत्रायजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसीत्पाश्वे(श्वे) च
मंड(मण्ड)लपतीनस(न) स चका-
- 8 र वधून(वन्धून)⁵ ॥४॥ तेषामनूजस्य⁶ कलिंग(लिङ्ग)राजः प्रतापवज्रि
क्षपितारिराजः । जातोऽन्वये
- 9 द्विष्टरिपुप्रवोरप्रियाननाभो(भो)रुहपाव्येदुः(वेन्दुः)⁷ ॥५॥ तस्मादपि प्रतप्त
निर्मलकीर्त्तिका-

1. Expressed by 2 different signs.

2. Metre चतुष्टुप् ।

3. Metre उदेन्द्रवृत् ।

4. Metre ब्राह्मणिकोदित ।

5. Metre वसन्तिवृत् ।

6. न् is lengthened for the sake of metre.

7. Metre उपजाति ।



- 10 तो (कात्तो) जातः सुतः कामसराज इति प्रसिद्धः । वक्ष्य प्रतापतरणा-
वुदिते रजन्वां ज(जा)तानि
11 पंक(पङ्क)जवनानि विकासभाजिः(चि)⁸ । ६॥ तेनायः⁹ मदनोऽजति(नि)
रत्नराजो विस्त्रो(व्त्रो)पकार-
12 कश्चाज्जितपुष्पभारः । येन क्वा(वा)दुयुगनिर्जितविक्रमेण नीतं
यश्चक्षिभुव-
13 ने विनिहत्वा समून्(ग्रमून्)⁹ । ७॥ मोगन्नाख्या प्रिया तस्य शूरस्त्रेव हि
शूरता । तयोः सु-
14 तो मृपयेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो व(व)भूय¹⁰ । ८॥ पृथ्वीदेवसमुद्भवः ।¹¹ सम-
भवद्वज्रजदे-
15 वीसुतः [] शूरः सज्जनवाक्षितार्थफलदः काश्यपुमः श्रीफलः । सर्वे वासु-
16 चितोऽर्जने सुमनसं [तौ] स्वदिवत्कण्टकः (स्वष्टकः) पञ्चत्वाततरांगनाग-
(पञ्चत्वात्तराङ्गनाग)मदनो

Second Plate.

- 17 आज्ञदेवो मृपः¹² । ९॥ तस्यात्मजः सक्कसकोसलमंड(मण्ड)मयीः श्री-
मान् समा-
18 ज्ञतसमस्तनरावि(धि)पत्रोः । सर्वचित्तोष्मरसि(मि)रोविहिताङ्गिसेवः सेवाध-
19 तानि(चि)धिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः¹³ । १०॥ पृथ्वीदेवस्ततो जातः पोतः कंठो-
रवादिव । सिं-
20 हसंजननो योऽरिकरियूषमपोषयत(त्)¹⁴ । ११॥ चन्द्राचेयस्य गोत्रे भूजि-
मिबन्ध-
21 त्रिसा(पा)वनेः । प्रवरेः प्रवरो विप्रो मिहिरस्वामिनामधत्¹⁵ । १२॥ सा
(शा)स्वावाजसनेयास्या टक्का-

8, 9. Metre वसन्ततिचक्र ।

10. Metre चतुष्टुप् ।

11. Delete.

12. Metre प्राद्वचरिणीधिव ।

13. Metre वसन्ततिचक्र ।

14, 15. Metre चतुष्टुप् ।

- 22 दीक्षन्मन्त्रितः । तस्य ब्र(ह्म)ह्मसमस्यासीद्देवस(श)र्षेति नन्द(नन्द)नः¹⁶
॥१३॥ तस्य पुत्रत्रयं जज्ञे तेजं ज्येष्ठ-
- 23 सु सौलसः । तस्यानुजः पीथनोभूक्तचणू तदनंतरं¹⁷ ॥१४॥ श्री सौल-
साय विप्रा
- 24 य चेचे सोमपदे सति । नृपेण तेन दत्तोक्षे ग्रामोयमवसाभिधः¹⁸
॥१५॥ भ-
- 25 त्वा प्रसास्य चरन्तौ तिस्रदर्भजलाक्षतैः । मध्यमंड(मण्ड)सविस्वातः
सर्वादायसम-
- 26 न्वितः¹⁹ ॥१६॥ संख(शंख) भद्रासनं छत्रं गजाक्ष(श्व)वरवाहनम् । भूमि-
दानस्य चिह्नानि फ-
- 27 (सं)स्तरगः पुरन्दरः(र)²⁰ ॥१७॥ व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभेः(भिः)
सगरादिभिः । यस्य य-
- 28 स्र यदा भूमिस्त्वस्य तस्य तदा फलम(म)²¹ ॥१८॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिपृच्छा
(पृच्छा)ति यस्तु भूमि(मि) प्र-
- 29 यच्छ(पृच्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुत्रकर्मणौ नियतौ स्तर्गगामिनी²² ॥१९॥
सदृशां परदत्तां
- 30 वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । स विद्यायां कर्मिभूत्वा पित्रभिः सह मज्जति²³
॥ ०॥ वास्तव्यव-
- 31 स(श)कुसुदप्रविकासचंद्रः श्रीमानभूदिह हि कीर्त्तिधरो मनोवी । ग्रामो
जङ्गेर इति यस्य सु-
- 32 तोऽस्य विद्वान(न्)श्रीवत्सराज इति ताम्रमिदं लिखेत्²⁴ ॥२०॥[२१॥]
सप्तमीधरेणोत्कीर्णं संवत् ८००

16-23. Metre—चतुष्टुप् ।

24. Metre—वसन्तिवसन् ।

CHARTER B.

First Plate.

- L. 1 चीन् चीन्¹ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे । निर्गुणं व्यापकं निखं शिवं परमकार-
णम(म्) । भावब्राह्मं परं ज्यो(ज्यो)तिस्त-
- 2 ओसह(ह्र)स्त्रवे नमः² ॥१॥ यदेतदग्रेसरमऽव(स्व)रस्य ज्यो(द्य)तिः सपूषा
पुष्यः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्रो
- 3 मनुरादिराज स्तदन्वयं(ये)ऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्तवीर्यः (कार्त्तवीर्यः)³ ॥२॥ तदंश-
प्रभवा नरेन्द्रपतयः ख्याताः क्षितौ ईह-
- 4 याशतेपा(स्तेषा)मन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्धस्ततापानलः । धर्मध्यानधनानु-
संचितयशः सख्यवतां(ग्रन्थवतां) सौख्य-
- 5 ज्ञानेयान(न्) सर्वगुणान्वितः समभवत्त्री(च्छौ)मानसौ कीकलः⁴ ॥३॥
अष्टादसा(शा)रिकरिकांभवि-
- 6 भंगसिंहः पुत्रा व(व)भूवरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपराच तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रि-
पुरीश आसीत्पा-
- 7 खें(खें)च मंडलपतीन् स चकार वंधून्⁵ ॥४॥ तेनामनूजस्य⁶ कलिंगराजः
ध्व(प्र)तापवह्निचपितारि-
- 8 राजः । जातोऽन्वये(य)द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननांभोहृपार्वेनदुः(शेन्दुः)⁷ ॥५॥
तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्मल
- 9 कीर्त्तिकान्तो(क्तो) जातः सुतः कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्यप्रतापतरणा
वृद्धिरेजग्यां जातानि
- 10 पंकजवनानि विकासभाजि⁸ ॥६॥ तेनाथ चन्द्रवदनोऽजनि रत्नराजो वि[श्वो]
यकारक-

1. Expressed by two peculiar signs.

2. Metre चतुष्टुम् ।

3. Metre उपेन्द्रवन् ।

4. Metre ब्राह्मणविज्ञोद्धित ।

5. Metre वसन्ततिष्ठत् ।

6. न् is lengthened for the sake of metre.

7. Metre उपजाति ।

8. Metre वसन्ततिष्ठत् ।

- 11 वचार्जितपुस्तभारः । येन ज्ञवा(वा)बुधुननिर्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यमसि-
(सि) भुवने विनिहस्य सचून(ग्रचून)⁸
- 12 ॥७॥ नोनज्ञास्या धि(प्रि)या तस्य गूरस्वेव हि गूरता । तयोः सुतो वृप-
त्रेवः(उः) वृज्जोदेवो व(व)भूव इ⁹ ॥८॥
- 13 वृज्जोदेवसमुद्रवः समभवद्राजज्ञदेवीपुतः गूरः सज्जनवाहिताव(वै)कसदः
कस्यद्रुमः श्री-
- 14 फलः । सर्वेषामुचितोऽर्चने सु(सु)मनसा तीक्ष्णद्विषत्कंटकः पक्ष(पक्ष)त्
कान्ततरांगनागमदनो काजज्ञदेवो नृ-
- 15 पः¹⁰ ॥९॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः श्रीमान्समाह(ह)तसम[स्त]न-
राधिपश्रीः । सर्वस्मितीक्ष्णरःसि(शि)रोवि-
- 16 हितांङ्गिसि(से)वः सिवाभ्युता निधिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः¹¹ ॥१०॥ वृज्जोदेव-
स्ततो जातः पोतः कंठोरवादिव । शिं(सि)ह
- 17 संहननो योरिकरिपू(धू)यमपोथयत(त्)¹² ॥११॥ चदाज्ञ(म्नात्रे)यस्य गोत्रेभू-
चन्द्राग्निस्या(पा)वनेग्रन्थि(सि) भिः । प्रवरैः प्रव-
- 18 रो विप्रो मिहिरस्त्रामिसज्जया (संज्ञया)¹³ ॥१२॥ व(त)स्त्राभूदेवव(म)-
म्रेति तनयोनयविर(त्)मः । पुत्रौ तस्यापिबि[ख्या]
- 19 तावुभौ भौ(सी)लषवीथनौ¹⁴ ॥१३॥ लघीयाज्ञक(ष)णो नाम यथा-
रामस्य ल[क्ष्म]णः । धर्मात्माना(नो) म-
- 20 हात्मानः सर्वे देवदित्रपिया (द्वित्रपियाः)¹⁵ ॥१४॥ तेभ्यो बुडुबुडू
[बुडुबुडू] नाम धामोयं मध्यमंडले । राज्याक्षय
- 21 हतीयायां ताम्रभासनसात्कृतः¹⁶ ॥१५॥ संखे (शंखे) भद्रासनं क्वचं
गजास्त्र(स्त्र)वरवाहनम् । भूमि-

8, Metre वसन्ततिलक ।

9. Metre चतुष्टुप् ।

10. Metre भार्दूलविज्ञोदित ।

11. Metre वसन्ततिलक ।

12-16. Metre चतुष्टुप् ।

- 22 दानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गः पुरन्दर¹⁷ ॥१६॥ व(व)भूमिर्बभूवा सुता
राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य
- 23 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्¹⁸ ॥१७॥ भूमिं वः प्रतिपृच्छा-
(यज्ञा)ति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छ(ञ्च)ति । उभौ
- 24 तौ पुष्पकधर्माभौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ¹⁹ ॥१८॥ पूर्वदत्तां विजातिभ्यो
यन्नाद्रक्ष पुरन्दर । महीं
- 25 महीभूतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो हि पावनम्²⁰ ॥१९॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा
यो हरेत वसुधराम(म्) । स विष्ठा-
- 26 यां क्षमिर्भूत्वा पित्रभिः सह मज्जति²¹ ॥२०॥ तद्गणानां सङ्क्षेप
वाय(ज)पेयसतन (शतेन) च । गवां को-
- 27 टिप्रदान(ने) न भूमिहर्ता न शुद्धान्ति²² ॥२१॥ वषिर्बर्षसङ्क्रान्ति (वष्टिं
वर्षसङ्क्रान्ति) स्वर्गो वसति भूमिदः । आच्छे-
- 28 ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्²³ ॥२२॥ दृष्टं(ष्टं) दत्तं दत्तं वै च
यत्किंचिद्वर्षसंचितम्(म्) । अथा (अर्धं))
- 29 गुलेन सीमायां हरणेन प्रणश्य(श्न)ति²⁴ ॥२३॥ यथाप्यु(ञ्जु) पतितं
स(श)क्र तैलविन्दु(विन्दु)र्विसर्पति । एवं
- 30 भूमिहृतं दानं सख्ये सख्ये य(प्र)रोहति²⁵ ॥२४॥ इन्ति जातानुयातांश्च
भूम्यर्थे योऽमृतं वदेत् । सव(व)
- 31 को वाके(क)चैः पासै(शै) स्तिर्यग्योन्वा तु जायते²⁶ ॥२५॥ विजाय नावमव
(न्त) व्यास्त्रे(स्त्रै)लोकमिति हेतवः । देव-
- 32 वत् पूजनीयाश्च दानमानार्चनादिभिः²⁷ ॥ २६ ॥ सर्वेया(षा) मेवदाना-
नामेकजन्मानुक्तं फलम् । हाट-
- 33 कञ्चित्तिगौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुक्तं फलम्²⁸ ॥२७॥ वास्तव्यवस(श)कुमुद
प्रविज्ञासचन्द्रः श्रीमान्भू
- 34 दिह हि कीर्तिधरो मनीषी । ग्रामो जङ्घेर इति यस्य सुतोऽस्य विद्वान्
श्रीवत्सराज इ-
- 35 ति ताम्रमिदं लिखेत्²⁹ ॥२८॥ चादार्कनोत्कीर्णमिदम्(म्) मं(सं) वत्
८०५ आस्त्रि (त्रि)नसुदि ६ भौमे ।

Date of Kaniska

About the date of Kaniska there is a wide diversity of opinion among European scholars—the *earliest* coming to 58 B. C. and the *latest* going so far as 278 A. D. Cunningham at first held that the date of Kaniska began from 58 B. C. the beginning of the Vikrama Samvat¹. He then gave up this opinion and held that the date of the Kuṣāṇa kings must begin from the *Seleucidan Era* of 80 A. D. Kennedy² and Fleet³ expressed their opinions that the Kaniska group consisting of Kaniska, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva preceded the Kadphises group i.e. Kuzulo and Oema Kadphises. They give in detail their reasons why they would place *Kaniska about the middle of the 1st century B. C., i. e. about 58 B. C. the beginning of the Vikrama Samvat*.

Some scholars (Thomas and others), no doubt, raised objection to some points in this theory. The general facts upon which the theory is based still remain unchallenged. We believe in the main argument of this theory and hope to substantiate it from other sources. I agree entirely with the date of Kaniska as given by Fleet and Kennedy though I beg to differ from their way of argument.

Before I proceed to discuss the date of Kaniska, I must state at the outset that there were *two Kaniskas*. Fleet has already established the fact first brought to the notice of scholars by R. D. Banerjee in his notice of the Inscription subsequently edited by Lüders⁴. Because without admitting the existence of two Kaniskas we cannot explain some very explicit references.

1 Cunningham, Reports, ii, p. 68 note ; iii, p. 30, etc.

2 J.R.A.S., 1912, October.

3 Ibid., 1913, January.

4 Ind. Ant., 1908, p. 27 ; J.R.A.S., 1913.

Two Kaniṣkas. Without admitting the existence of two Kaniṣkas we cannot explain some very explicit statements in Buddhist texts e. g. *Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā-Sāstra*¹. According to Hiuen Tsang's Si-yu-ki (Travels)², this book was composed by Buddhist monks at the time of the fourth Buddhist council held by Kaniṣka. Again *Abhidharma-Vibhāṣā-Sāstra* was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. In the colophon of that book³ we find the following :—

"400 years after Buddha's death, king Kaniṣka of Jambudvīpa collected 500 Arhats in Kashmir and composed the *Abhidharma-Sāstra*, the translation of which book I have finished." So from this colophon of H. T's Si-yu-ki it is quite clear that this book was composed at the time of Kaniṣka. It is very curious that in that book the name of another Kaniṣka is mentioned.

"In ancient times in Gandhāra, king Kaniṣka got an eunuch servant ; he was engaged to look after private affairs. One day he went outside the palace. There he saw 500 bulls coming towards the city and he asked the cowherd why the bulls were so brought in. Then the cowherd answered to him—I have been born an eunuch owing to the bad karma of my previous life. So I must buy them all with my money in order to save them from emasculation. By the merit of this good work in his next birth he was born a man"⁴.

This book was composed in Kaniṣka's time and yet the book itself mentions a Kaniṣka of 'ancient times'. So the only conclusion possible is to take another Kaniṣka at least a hundred years older than the Kaniṣka, during whose time the book was composed.

I shall now quote another evidence from Aśvaghoṣa's *Sutrā-*

1 Cf. Nanjio, Catalogue, p. 277, No. 1263.

2 Chi Bundle of the Tripiṭaka, vol. 7, p. 16.

3 Shon Bundle, vol. 8, p. 97

4 Shon Bundle, vol. 5, p. 48.

*laṅkāra-Sāstra*¹. This book was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva. In this book we find two instances, where an older Kaniṣka is mentioned. In vol. III—"I have heard, *in ancient times* that Candra Kaniṣka was going to the Kaniṣka palace. On his way he saw 500 bhikṣus." In vol. VI—"I have heard, *in ancient times* the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka conquered East India."

"According to the *Samyukta-Ratna-Piṭaka-Sūtra*² in the Shon Bundle (vol. x, p. 32)—"Kaniṣka employed three wise men, *Aśvaghoṣa*, *Māthura* and *Caraka*. This book clearly shows that Aśvaghoṣa was his spiritual guide, and what is more for our purpose, a contemporary of Kaniṣka. Aśvaghoṣa's book, as we have already seen, twice mentions Kaniṣka's name as belonging to ancient times. This evidence does not leave the smallest doubt that there were *two Kaniṣkas one of olden times and another a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa*.

Hsien Tsang mentions in the colophon to his *Mahāvibhāṣā-Sāstra* as well as in his 'Travels' that Kaniṣka came 400 years after Buddha's death. He gives four different dates for the death of Buddha viz., (i) 313 B. C., (ii) 564 B. C., (iii) 664 B. C., and (iv) 864 B. C. These dates were prevalent in India when he came here. According to the *Vibhāṣā-Vinaya*⁴ the date of Buddha's death is 483 B. C. This date given by the *Vibhāṣā-Vinaya* agrees with the date found out by European scholars. At the same time, this date of *Vibhāṣā-Vinaya* falls somewhere in the middle of the first two dates given by H. T. Depending upon this date, the date of first Kaniṣka falls near 58 B. C.

If this date be correct we can fix with its help the periods of the reign of Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, taking into consideration the inscription and coins as follows :—

1 Nanjio, p. 261, No. 1182.

2 Ibid., p. 296, No. 1329.

3 Tārānāth in his Buddhist History speaks of two Aśvaghoṣas.

4 Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 247, No. 1125.

Kaniṣka I 58 B. C. (coronation) reigned for 28 years.

Huviṣka 31 B. C. reigned for 32 years.

Vāsudeva 1 A. D. reigned for 38 years.

In the Hau-Han-Chou there is mention of "after one hundred years" ; so the history of these hundred years is quite unknown to us and the Chinese historians supply us with no information.

So I think it but reasonable to suppose that a line of kings must have intervened before Kuzulo Kadphises' conquest of India for the second time. It must have taken some time, say about 100 years, for the Kuṣāṇas to subdue the other four tribes of the Yueh-chi, as otherwise why should not there be mention of Kaniṣka by the Chinese historians ? Simply because the history of this period has not been recorded. It was a busy period when Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva were very eagerly extending their sway over the tribes and penetrating into India. This Kaniṣka, the first Kuṣāṇa emperor established an era beginning from 58 B. C. in honour of his conquest in India. Vāsudeva, the third of the line became very weak and was turned out of India by the later Greeks. But Kuzulo came in and subdued the last Greek Hermaeus, and re-established the Kuṣāṇa empire. His successors were called Kaniṣka II and Vāsudeva II in honour of the great ones who had preceded Kuzulo.

I admit that some objections may be raised, viz., why Pan-yong's notice does not mention Kaniṣka ? My answer is that Pan-yong had been at Humi which was too distant a place to acquire any first-hand knowledge about Kuṣāṇas of that period. He might have heard the name of Kuzulo Kadphises because he was very powerful among the Kuṣāṇas. The expression "after one hundred years" in Fan-ye shows that Pan-yong had no first-hand knowledge.

There is another difficulty. Changkien, Ts'ai-in and Pan-chau were sent as ambassadors to the western countries near India. But how is it that even they do not mention Kaniṣka ?

(i) Changkien came to western countries in 136 B. C. and

stayed up to 122 B. C. i. e. before the Yueh-chia were united under one Kuṣāṇa tribe and before Kaniṣka I came into existence. (ii) Ts'ai-in came to western countries in 60 A.D. He was sent by emperor Mingso for the purpose of collecting facts of Buddhism ; so he does not concern himself with any political matter, the name of kings and so forth. He also does not mention Kaniṣka. (iii) Panchau went to the west 91-107 A. D. He thus came after Vāsudeva. So he also does not mention Kaniṣka. Then came Pan-yong. Though he stayed at Humi yet he heard about the king Oema Kadphises and his father Kuzulo, and mentioned their names in his notice. So "one hundred years" naturally comprise the successive reigns of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva.

There is, I think, not the least doubt that the first Kaniṣka must have flourished in the 1st century B. C. somewhere in the middle of the century say 58 B. C.

KANIṢKA II.—Aśvaghoṣa, Māthura and Caraka were, as I have already shown, the contemporaries of Kaniṣka II. So if we get any fixed date of any one of these contemporaries, the date of Kaniṣka II could be easily settled. But unfortunately there is no such fixed date. So for the purpose of fixing the second Kaniṣka's date, we have to depend upon Buddhist canonical texts. In the preface of "*Collection of Sūtras*"¹ by Saṅgharakṣa we find² "Saṅgharakṣa is a man of Sura country (not yet identified) who became a monk 700 years after the death of Buddha. He studied many religious thoughts and wandered from place to place for the purpose of preaching. At last he went to Gandhāra and became the instructor of Kaniṣka."

This quotation makes it clear that Saṅgharakṣa was not only a contemporary of Kaniṣka but also the latter's *guru*. Saṅgharakṣa wrote the book *Mārga-Bhūmi-Sāstra* which was translated

1 Translated by Saṅghabhūti (384 A. D.) of Tsin dynasty (350-394 A. D.) 5 fasciculi. Tibetan K-yuen-lu, fasc. 9, fol. 26 l.

2 Chang Bundle, p. 94 ; Nanjio, p. 302, No. 1352.

into Chinese by A'n-Shikao (A.D. 148-170). But A'n-Shikao came to China in the time of the Fuan-ti emperor in the year of Kien-gio i.e. 148 A. D. At the beginning of this book Saṅgharakṣa is described as an Indian Śramaṇa *Saṅgha-rakṣa* by A'n-Shikao. Everywhere A'n-Shikao mentions Saṅgharakṣa as a Śramaṇa but nowhere as arhat or bodhisattva, which are designations used with reference to distinguished men of ancient times. So A'n-Shikao (148 A. D.) could not have come much later than Saṅgharakṣa. This evidence is relied upon by most of the Japanese scholars in fixing the date of Kaniṣka.

We may think that Saṅgharakṣa was about 15 or 18 years earlier than the time of the translation of this book. At the same time the preface of the "*Collection of Sūtras*" describes Saṅgharakṣa as living 700 years after Buddha. If we accept the *second chronology* of Hiuen Tsang (i.e. after 700 years) the date becomes 136 A.D. According to the Ceylonese chronology, these 700 years become 157 A.D. but the translator of the *Mārga-Bhūmi-Śāstra* already reached China in 148 A.D. So the Ceylonese chronology is evidently wrong and we must rely upon the second chronology given by Hiuen Tsang. From this evidence we may conclude that the date of the second Kaniṣka must fall within the period 110-140 A. D. Hiuen Tsang in his travels gives the following description of Kapisā (Chi Bundle, vol. vii, p. 62; Buddhist Records of Western World by Beal, vol. i, pp. 55-56).

To the east of the capital 3 or 4 li at the foot of a mountain in the north is a great Saṅghārāma with about 300 priests in it. This belongs to the little vehicle and adopts its teaching.¹

According to tradition "Kaniṣka, king of Gandhāra in old days having subdued all the neighbouring provinces and

1 Beal, Buddhist Records, vol. I, pp. 55-56.

brought into obedience people of distant countries, he governed by his army a wide territory, even to the east of the Tsung-bing mountains. Then the tribes who occupy the territory to the west of the river, fearing the powers of his arm sent hostages. Kaniṣka having received the hostages, treated them with singular attention, and ordered for them separate establishments for the cold and hot weather,—during the cold they resided in India and its different parts, in the summer they came back to Kapisā. In the autumn and spring they remained in the kingdom of Gandhāra ; and so he founded Saṅghārāmas for the hostages according to the season.¹

In his description of the western countries in the Hou Hanshu, Fan-ye says—

"In the year *yüanch'u* of emperor Anti, king An-kon of Sākala got offended with his uncle and prime minister Pan and exiled him as a hostage to the king of the Yueh-chi. The Yueh-chi king very much loved him i.e. Pan. Now when king An-kon died without son, his mother became regent. The people of Sākala then put up as their king the son of the brother of Pan. When Pan (the minister of the Sākala king) heard of this, he appealed to the king of the Yueh-chi on the ground that though the people have made his brother's son king, yet he ought to be made king in his place because he was the uncle. The Yueh-chi king was satisfied and sent Pan to Sākala with an army. The people of Sākala showed respect to Pan as they were afraid to disobey the Yueh-chi king ; they then took away the seat of Pan's nephew and made Pan their king."

1 Cf. "*Tā-tshs'-an-sz'-sān-tsān-fā-sh'-kuhan*—Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 330, No 1493" translated by S. Beal as "Life of Hiuen Tsiang."

In this book the *Saṅghārāma* is described as Śākala. A tradition is mentioned also in this book stating that in ancient times a prince of China became prisoner and was kept in it. It was, therefore, called Śākala.

If we compare the above description with the passage quoted from Hiuen Tsang, we can very easily see that the two quotations exactly tally with each other. The same Sakala country appears in both, the same reference to hostages; and there is thus not the least doubt that the Yueh-chi king of the one is equivalent to the king Kaniska of the other. And if we admit this, then Kaniska's time must be fixed in the *yuanch'u* year of Emperor Anti. Now the year *yuanch'u* of Anti falls within 114-119 A.D. Therefore Kaniska's time also must come near this period. We cannot anyhow go back earlier than 110 A.D. But we have already shown that according to Hiuen Tsang, Kaniska cannot go further than 148 A.D. Therefore combining these two pieces of evidence we can fix the date of Kaniska II between 140-180 A.D.

R. KIMURA

Dharmasamuccaya

It was in 1922, in the month of April, that Pandit Siddha Harṣa Vajrācārya a teacher of Buddhist and Nepalese works in the school connected with the Katmandu State Library told me of the discovery of an original manuscript written in an ancient Nepalese character and in the Sanskrit language. He had found it in the house of a Buddhist householder living in a neighbouring street of Katmandu, the modern capital of Nepal. It was lying in a dark corner of the house and the Pandit had an occasion to go to the householder to see what books and manuscripts he had.

The name of the manuscript is distinctly stated at the colophon to be *Dharmasamuccaya nāma dharmaparyyāya* or "the exposition of the Law", "the compendium of the Law".

It means that the work is a compilation or a collection of the materials which were obtained from the Dharma or the Tripiṭakadharmā. It also signifies that the Ms. is a compendium of the Buddhist Law as it embodies the principles of the doctrine as preached by Buddha and is a compilation giving a brief, comprehensive summary of a larger work or even of Buddhism.

After paying homage to the Teacher in one line, the compiler mentions the texts from which he has quoted—

Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtravaipulyasāgarāt,
Gāthā samuddharisyaṃi loka locanatatpara.

[opening verse].

Vaipulyasaddharma yadā hi tasya smṛtyupasthite
gāthā Sūtravarād hi mayoddhṛtā. [colophon].

Again another line runs like this :—

Dharmasamuccayo nāma Dharmaparyāyaḥ samāptaḥ
Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhisūtravarād Bhikṣu-
Avalokitasimhenoddhṛta iti. [colophon].

It is thus evident that Bhikṣu Avalokitasimha was the compiler and that he had deduced the materials from the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra and the Vaipulyasāgara Sūtra or the Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhi Sūtra which I consider is the same as the just preceding one.

The Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra is undoubtedly a sacred work and belongs to the Sūtra-piṭaka, but we are sorry to say this Sūtra is not available now for our perusal. That this Sūtra was an independent one and existed in Nepal and India cannot be doubted. The learned compiler has extracted much of his materials from the Sūtra; this is an admitted fact. It is enough to show that there existed at least one copy in Nepal.

While referring to the fact that the Sūtra existed in India, we need only remind ourselves of the learned author of the Bodhicaryāvatāra and compiler of the well-known works, the Śikṣā-samuccaya and the Sūtra-samuccaya. He is Śāntideva, who, according to an ancient Ms. found in Nepal,

was the son of Rājā Mañju Varmā and who became a Buddhist monk and master of the Tripiṭaka in the University of Nalanda. He was also called Bhusuka because he had become perfect in the practice of a Samādhi called Bhusukasamādhi. When he held a controversy there, he recollected his works, which as the manuscript goes, he had compiled previously or in his former birth. This shows they were earlier works and had been written earlier than the seventh century A. D. The above reference is further supported by the fact that he has quoted a passage from the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra in the first chapter on Śraddhā in his Śikṣāsamuccaya. This is enough to show that the Sūtra existed earlier than the Samuccaya by at least a few decades. The latter work has been edited and also translated by Cecil Bendall. He says it is a work dealing with the future punishment of sins. But I believe that it must have been a work of far more importance; otherwise it would not have been possible for Bhikṣu Avalokitasimha to get so much material for his Dharmasamuccaya which, as the following details will show, is a voluminous work, five times the size of the Pāli Dhammapada as regards the number of verses.

The next important work that Bhikṣu Avalokitasimha has referred to is the Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhi Sūtra. This Sūtra too cannot be found in Nepal at present. This must be a big and very important work giving an exhaustive interpretation of the higher doctrines of Buddhism as the name of the Sūtra implies, and as the Dharmasamuccaya itself testifies. The existence of this Sūtra in Nepal and the mention of some Vaipulya works by the Buddhist pilgrims from China and the still popular classification of a certain work as Vaipulya Sūtras in Nepal are living evidences to show that there was a great literature that was distinctly called Vaipulya Sūtra or Sūtras first in India and consequently in Nepal and the Far East. The references in the Commentary on the Śata Śāstra Vaipulya drawn up by Dharmapāla Bodhisattva of Kāñcīpura, the ancient capital of

Draviḍa, those in Hiuen Tsang's account of India, the quotation of the "Mahāvaiḍya Sūtra" in the Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra, and from the Jñānavaiḍya Sūtra and the Ārya-sarva-dharma-vaiḍya-saṅgraha-sūtra in the Śikṣā-samuccaya are sufficient evidences to prove the preceding fact.

The Dharmasamuccaya is written on palm-leaves, size 12 inches long and two and a quarter inches broad, in an ancient Bhujimo character which is the third of the thirteen or according to some, fifteen characters recognised in Nepal, because manuscripts written in these characters were found there. The style of writing is uniform and exquisitely beautiful which few scribes of today can imitate.

The manuscript consists of 106 leaves, carefully preserved, 6 lines in a page (63 letters in a line). It is written on both sides. The leaves have been connected by means of a cord pierced through the middle—a system which prevailed centuries back when palm-leaf writing was in vogue. It is, however, very unfortunate to find that in spite of precautions taken to preserve the leaves intact, leaves nos. 49, 53-57, 66, 81 are missing. The appearance of the manuscript itself shows its freshness, though a few leaves are torn, defaced and illegible. This must be due to the carelessness of the present owner.

Consequently the loss of a portion of the manuscript has affected some chapters, as the compiler has distinctly written at the end that he 'saw the meaning of the Dharma, explained here in a work of 2,684 ślokaś'. The word 'here' and the distinct number given above are enough to show that it is the number of stanzas contained in the Dharmasamuccaya and that it has nothing to do with the preceding line.

Because the Bhikṣu or the Buddhist monk states thus :—

Vaiḍyamahāgambhīrodadhisūtravarād bhikṣu-Avalokita-simhenoddhṛta iti.

Atra caturaśītislokaśdhikaṣaṭṣatottarasahasradvayaślokānām granthe dṛṣṭam sphuṭārthaye. 2684.

In the first line he says he had deduced (the material) from the Sūtra already discussed, namely the Vaiḍyamahā-

gambhīrodadhi Sūtra. Then just after that he says : "Here I had, for expanding the meaning, seen (?) in a work of 2684 ślokas." Although it may seem confusing, the number of the ślokas repeated twice has been helpful in determining the fact.

The few leaves of the manuscript being lost, the total number of ślokas available for our perusal comes to about 2200 only. Almost all the ślokas are in a couplet form for each line on the average consists of 16 words. The Sanskrit language used is easy, comprehensive and simple. The technical words used are all found in the Buddhist Sanskrit Tripiṭaka.

As regards the main contents of the Dharmasamuccaya it is, as told at the beginning, five times that of the Dhammapada written in Pāli, in the volume of details. The Dharmasamuccaya consists of 36 Vargas or sections each giving a comprehensive delineation of a subject or principle of Buddhism. The following subjects form the main chapters of the Dharmasamuccaya :—

Name of the subject		Its English interpretation	
1. Jita	varga	chapter	on the victories
2. Dharmopadeśa	"	"	the preaching of the Law
3. Kāyajugupsā	"	"	the abhorrence of the body
4. Parivarta	"	"	changefulness
5. Anityatā	"	"	the impermanence
6. Apramāda	"	"	the vigilance or lustless activity
7. Kāmajugupsā	"	"	the abhorrence or renunciation of sensual pleasures
8. Tṛṣṇā	"	"	desire
9. Strījugupsā	"	"	the abhorrence of the woman
10. Madyajugupsā	"	"	the abhorrence of the intoxicating liquors
11. Citta	"	"	the mind

Name of the subject	Its English translation	
12. Vāk *	varga	chapter on speech
13. Karma	"	action
14. Saṃyojana	"	worldly bondage
15. Pāpa	"	sin
16. Naraka	"	hell
17. Preta	"	preta or ghost
18. Tiryyak	"	beast
19. Kṣudhā	"	hunger
20. Kausidya	"	indolence
21. Karuṇā	"	mercy
22. Dāna	"	liberality
23. Śīla	"	moral practice
24. Kṣānti	"	patience
25. Viryya	"	strenuousness
26. Dhyāna	"	meditation
27. Prajñā	"	wisdom
28. Nirvāṇa	"	eternal freedom
29. Mārga	"	the way
30. Bhikṣu	"	the Buddhist monk
31. Puṇya	"	righteousness
32. Deva	"	God
33. Sukha	"	happiness
34. Mitra	"	a friend
35. Rājāvavāda	"	admonition to the king
36. Stuti	"	eulogy

The above list of chapters contained in the Dharma-samuccaya will clearly show that the work is not a mere recension of the Pāli or Sanskrit Dharmapada but an independent compilation based on the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra and the Vaipulyagambhīrodadhi Sūtra. Where the Samuccaya agrees with such works with reference to some Vargas like the Anityatā and Apramāda Vargas, the details are more or less different, amplified or modified. The Buddhistic technical words are of course the same throughout the Buddhist scriptures.

From various points of view it is clear that Dharma-samuccaya is not a recension but an independent compi-

lation and the greatest work of poetry of its kind in Buddhist literature, particularly Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Besides it is distinctly classified as belonging to the Dharmaparyāya. The learned compiler gives the name of the work as Dharmasamuccayo nāma Dharmaparyāya. It is this which makes it more clear that it has been compiled for interpreting Buddhism. The scribe, Bhikṣu Sujita Srijñāna of the Citra Vihāra who copied it for himself and for the good of others, lays us under a great obligation for copying the name of the work intact, thus revealing to us the fact that like the works of the Dharmapada class, there was a class of Buddhist literature distinctly known as the Dharmaparyāya which has of course been written specially for expounding the Dharma of the Buddha. Under this class comes the Lalita Vistara and the Ārya Gaṇḍavyūha the eleventh sūtra of the Āryavyūha Mahādharma-paryāya. This reference is given in the Ārya Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra which is also a work written with the principal object of describing the attainment of perfect enlightenment by one Sudhana as the prince of Kapilavastu has done. Full evidences are not forthcoming to illustrate the particular difference between the Vaipulya Sūtras and the Dharmaparyāyas as we find that the Lalita Vistara is found to be classed as a work of the Dharmaparyāya and also of the Vaipulya class.

(To be continued)

DHARMA ADITYA DHARMACARYA

Suruṅgā and the Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra

The last number of the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* (III, 2 1925, pp. 280-318) contains an important essay on Greek *syrix* and Sanskrit *Suruṅgā* by Dr. Otto Stein. He shows that the word *syrix* in the meaning of "subterranean passage", "mine", or "tunnel" occurs in Greek literature and inscriptions from the second century B. C. down to the 10th century A. D. In the fourth century B. C., "mines", for military purposes are mentioned by Greek military writers, but the term *syrix* is used for them. It is not possible to derive Greek *syrix* from Sanskrit, *suruṅgā*, as there is no etymology of the word in Sanskrit, while *syrix* in Greek has an etymology. If *suruṅgā* is to be derived from *syrix*, two questions arise : (1) Is the form *suruṅgā* in accordance with the phonetic rules according to which Indian and Greek words are presented in cases of mutual borrowing ? (2) Is *suruṅgā* in Indian literature not older than *syrix* in Greek ?

As to the first question Dr. Stein shows that in the last two centuries B. C., Greek *v* (*y*) is rendered by *i* on coins of the Graeco-Indian period, but in astronomical terms we find Greek *v* represented in Sanskrit by *u* during the first centuries A. D., though Greek *v* was pronounced as *u* already from 300 B. C. in the Κοιαν', the language of the Hellenistic period. Hence there is no objection, on phonetic grounds, to assuming that *suruṅgā* was borrowed from Greek *syrix* in the early centuries of our era, or even a little earlier.

But does not Sanskrit *suruṅgā* occur in earlier works ? This would be the case, if the *suruṅgā* device for the escape of the Pāṇḍavas from the burning lac-house in the Jatugṛha-parvan of the Mahābhārata (I, 148, 12ff.)¹ would have to

1 The word *suruṅgā* occurs only in I, 150, 12 ; otherwise the sub-

be taken as belonging to the *old and genuine epic* which (quite approximately, of course) may be dated 4th century B. C. But E. Washburn Hopkins¹ has already shown that there is a remarkable inconsistency between the Jatugrha episode as told in I, 148, 12ff. and the reference to the same episode in III, 12, 91ff. In the latter passage, Draupadī tells the story without a single word about Vidura's advice and the subterranean passage. Here Duryodhana is said to have set the house on fire, while the Pāṇḍavas and their mother were lying asleep, and Bhīma rescued his mother and brothers by taking them on his sides and shoulders and leaping with them clean over the fire at one great leap. "No one" says Hopkins, "can read the account in *Vana* and fail to see that it is not a mere hasty résumé omitting the *suruṅgā* but that the original escape is a feat of the wind god's son". Dr. Stein also points out that in three of the plays that have been ascribed to Bhāsa there are allusions to the Jatugrha episode without any mention of the *suruṅgā*. But I cannot see that these passages (Dūtaghaṭotkaca, v. 47 ; Ūrubhaṅga v. 34 ; and Pañcarātra, Act II, v. 42) prove anything, because in none of them it was necessary to refer to the rescue by the *suruṅgā* device. Besides it has now become very doubtful, whether these plays can be really ascribed to the poet Bhāsa. However, even without this additional argument it seems probable enough that the rescue by means of the *suruṅgā* is a later addition to the Mahābhārata episode. Hopkins' argument is all the more convincing, as it is independent of the occurrence of the word *suruṅgā* and its alleged Greek origin². It is very probable that the device of the *suruṅgā* was intro-

terranean passage is called *mahābila* or *bila*. The term *Suruṅgā* also occurs in the Parvasaṃgraha, I, 2, 105.

¹ *Great Epic of India*, p. 372.

² There is also a short summary of the story at the beginning of the Jatugrhaparvan, I, 143, 1-16, in which also the *Suruṅgā* is not mentioned, but only the escape by means of a boat. But this may really be called a mere hasty résumé.

duced into the story at a time when such subterranean passages had become parts of military technique in India and a favourite device in fiction.

Dr. Stein has collected all the passages in which *suruṅgā* (sometimes *suruṅga*) occurs in Sanskrit (and Pāli) literature. Subterranean passages, called *suruṅgā*, occur in connection with siege operations, or burglaries, or love intrigues in poetical and technical works from about the 3rd to the 12th century A. D. The earliest of these works in which the word occurs may be the Divyāvadāna, Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra, the Mahāvamśa, and Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa, which quite conjecturally may be dated between the 3rd and 5th cent. A. D. We meet with a definite date (the beginning of the 7th cent. A. D.) only with Bāṇa's Harṣacarita. Between the 7th and the 12th centuries A. D., we find *suruṅgā* in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita, in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara, in Rājasekhara's Karpūramāñjarī, and in the Kośas of Śāśvata, Amara, Halāyudha, Mañkha, and Hemacandra¹.

But there is one work in which the *Suruṅgā* is most frequently mentioned as a very common device both for military purposes and in the secret service : this is the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, from which Dr. Stein quotes a large number of highly interesting passages which show that in the time of the author of this work, subterranean passages had become a very common means for secret escape, or secret invading, etc.

Those scholars, who see in the *Kauṭīliya* a work of the 4th century, will have to reject the derivation of *suruṅgā* from Greek *syrix*, and to find an etymology of the word in Sanskrit. Stein, however, arrives at the following conclusions : Greek *syrix* in the meaning of "subterranean passage" does not occur before the 2nd cent. B. C. There are good reasons for deriving Sanskrit *suruṅgā* from Greek *syrix*. In Indian

¹ Uncertain is *suruṅgā* in Somadeva Sūri's Nītivākyāmṛta (10th cent. A. D.), as the new edition reads *suruṅga* for *suruṅga* in the passage (p. 371 of the new edition, p. 128 of the Grantharatnamālā edition).

literature the word *suruṅgā* cannot be proved for certain to occur before the 3rd century A.D. As from other points of view serious doubts have been raised against considering the Arthasāstra as a work of the 4th cent. B. C., the occurrence of the term *suruṅgā* in the Kauṭīliya should be valued as an additional argument supporting the view of later date of this work.

Of the two suggestions made by Dr. Stein as to the way by which *syrinx* has come to India, the more probable one seems to be that it became known in India through Indians serving in Hellenist armies. We know that in the times of Alexander the Great, the siege technique had made great progress. The other suggestion that *syrinx* may have come to India by way of Egypt is hardly supported by any facts.

I still believe that the 3rd century A. D. is the most probable date of the Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra¹, and this date agrees exceedingly well with the facts collected by Dr. Stein about *syrinx* and *suruṅgā*. I am glad to see that Professor Jolly, too, in his Introduction to the new edition of the Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra (Punjab Sanskrit Series, 1923) accepts this date as the best working hypothesis. Elsewhere (in the Notes to my Readership Lecture in the University of Calcutta to be printed by the University) I shall have to discuss the arguments brought forward by Dr. N. N. Law (in the Calcutta Review, Sept., Nov., Dec., 1924), by the Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstri (in the Introduction to his edition of the Arthasāstra with his own Commentary), by Dr. R. Shamasastri (in the Calcutta Review, April, 1925). Here I can only state that all these arguments do not seem strong enough to prove the authenticity of the Arthasāstra as a work of the minister of Candragupta Maurya.

M. WINTERNITZ

¹ See my Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, vol. III, pp. 518ff, and my lecture in the Calcutta Review, April, 1924.

Māgadhi Prakṛt and Bengali

When such authorities as Doctors Grierson and Hoernle are of opinion that the Eastern Group of the Gauḍian (Neo-Indo-Aryan) languages, i. e. Bihari, Oriya, Bengali and Assamese, has descended from Magadhi Prakrit, it may seem to some to be superfluous to re-open the question and examine the facts. But there is no room for *ipse dixit* in the domain of science. So it will not be improper to investigate whether Bengali did originate from Magadhi Prakrit, excluding a detailed consideration of other languages of the Eastern Group.

First of all, I shall collect in one place the main characteristics of Magadhi. Besides Prakrit Grammarians, Namisādhu in his commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyaḷamkāra and Simhadeva-gaṇi in his commentary on Vāgbhaṭaḷamkāra have dealt with Magadhi. Some of the characters in the following dramas speak Magadhi: Śāriputraprakaraṇa of Aśvaghoṣa, Pratijñāyauḡandharāyaṇa and Cārudatta of Bhāsa, Mṛcchakaṭika, Śakuntalā, Probodhacandrodaya, Mudrārākṣasa, Veṇisambhāra, Mallikā-māruta, Nāḡānanda, Caṇḍakaūsika, Hāsyārṇava, Kāṃsavadha, Caitanya-candrodaya, Mattavilāsa, Amṛtodaya, Laṭakamelaka and Dhūrtasamāḡama. But the texts are corrupt and no reliance can be put on them. A short inscription in old Magadhi written in old Brahmi character has been discovered in the Jogimārā cave in Ramgarh Hill (*Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 124). Somadeva's Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka found in an inscription written in the 12th century (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. xx, pp. 201 ff.) is partially in Magadhi. The specimens of Magadhi being thus preserved in these two inscriptions, they are highly valuable in ascertaining the actual use of Magadhi in literature apart from the rules of Grammarians.

MAGADHĪ

- Phonology 1. Skt. *ra* changes to *la* (C. 3. 39 ; Hc. 4, 288 ; Ki. 5, 87 ; Mk. fol. 74 ; Namisādhū on Rudraṭa's Kāvyaṭāṃkāra 2, 12 ; Siṃhadevagani on Vāgbhaṭāṭāṃkāra 2, 2 ; Siṃharāja 19, 2 ; Lalita. ; Jogi.).
2. *sa*, *ṣa* change to *śa* (Vr. 11, 3 ; C. 3, 39 ; Hc. 4, 288 ; Ki 5, 86 ; Mk. fol. 74 ; Namisādhū 2, 12 ; Lalita. ; Jogi.).
3. *ya* remains unchanged (Hc. 4, 292).
4. *ja* changes to *ya* (Vr. 11, 4 ; Hc. 4, 292 ; Ki. 5, 90 ; Namisādhū 2, 12 ; Lalita.).
5. *na* changes to *ṇa* as in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī Prakrits.
6. *dya* changes to *yya* (Hc. 4, 292 ; Ki. 5, 90 ; Namisādhū 2, 12).
7. *rya* changes to *yya* (Vr. 11, 7 ; Hc. 4, 312 ; Lalita.).
8. *rja* changes to *yya* (Vr. 11, 7 ; Hc. 4, 292).
9. *ṇya*, *nya* change to *ñña* (Hc. 4, 293 ; Namisādhū 2, 12).
10. *jña* changes to *ñña* (Hc. 4, 223).
11. *ñja* changes to *ñña* (Hc. 4, 293 ; Siṃharāja 19, 10 ; Namisādhū 2, 12).
12. *ṭṭ* changes to *ṣṭ* (Hc. 4, 290) ; to *śṭ* (Mr̥ch.).
13. *rṭha* changes to *ṣṭa* (Hc. 4, 291 ; Namisādhū 2, 12 ; Lalita.).
14. *ccha*, original or secondary (in Māhārāṣṭrī), changes to *śca* (Hc. 4, 295 ; Nami. 2, 12 ; Lalita.).
15. *ṣma* changes to *sma* (Hc. 4, 289).
16. *ṣka* changes to *ska* (Hc. 4, 289) ; to *śka* (Nami. 2, 12 ; Lalita.).
17. *ṣkha* changes to *skha* (Hc. ibid.), *śkha* (Nami. ibid.).

18. *ṣṭa*, *ṣṭha* change to *ṣṭa* (Hc. 5, 289, 290).
19. *ṣṇa* changes to *ṣṇa* (Hc. 4, 289).
20. *ṣpa* „ „ *spa* (do).
21. *ṣpha* „ „ *spa* (do).
22. *ṣma* „ „ *sma* (do).
23. *ska*, *skha*, *sta*, *spa*, *spha*, *sma* remain unchanged (Hc. 4, 289).
24. *stha* changes to *sta* (Hc. 4, 291 ; Nami-sādhu 2, 12 ; Lalita.). *st* remains unchanged (Hc. 4, 289). It changes to *st* (Nami.).
25. *sna* is changed to *ṣṇa* (Hc. 4, 289).
Namiśādhu on Rudraṭa's Kāvya-lamkāra 2, 12 reads *Viṣṇu* for *Viṣṇu* and indirectly also *ṣ* for *ṣ*, *s* in other conjunct consonants.
26. Non-initial *kṣa* changes to *ska* (Vr. 11, 3 only in *ṣprekṣ* and *ṣācakṣ* ; Hc. 4, 297 ; Nami. 2, 12) ;
to *hka* (Hc. 4, 296) ;
to *śka* (Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita ; Lalita.) ;
to *kkha* (Vr. 11, 8 generally ; Jogi.).

Vocabulary. *ṣvraj* changes to *ṣvayya* (Mṛcch.), *ṣvañña* (Hc. 4, 294 ; Lalita.).

ṣtiṣṭha „ „ *ṣciṣṭha* (Hc. 4, 298 ; Vr. 11, 14).

hrdaya „ „ *haḍakka* (Vr. 11, 9).

aham „ „ *hake*, *hage*, *ahake* (Vr. 11, 9).

ahaṃ, *vayam* change to *hage* (Hc. 4, 39).

śrgāla changes to *śiāla*, *śiālā*, *śiālaka* (Vr. 11, 17).

kṛta, *mṛta*, *gata* change to *kaḍa*, *maḍa*, *gaḍa* (Vr. 11, 15).

Morphology. Masc. Nom. Sing. affix *-as* changes to *e*, *i* or is elided (Vr. 11, 10) ; to *e* (Vr. 11, 10 ; Hc. 4, 287 ; Lalita. ; Jogi.).

Adjectives ending in *-ta* (*ka* affix cf Pāṇini) change *-as* to *u*, *e*, *i*, or elide *-as* (Vr. 11, 11).

Gen. Sing. *-asya* changes to *-āh*, or *-āśā* (Vr. 11, 12 ; Hc. 4, 299).

Gen.Pl. *ānām* changes to *āhā* (or *āṇam*) (Hc. 4, 303).

Vocatives of words ending in *-a* have *-ā* (Vr. 11, 13 ; Lalita.). For *tvā* (absolutive) we have *dāṇi* (Vr. 11, 16), and *iya*, *dūṇa* (as in Śaurasenī, Hc. 4, 302, 271).

BENGALĪ

We shall now examine the phonology, morphology and vocabulary of Bengali so far as they will enable us to compare it with Magadhi.

About the change of *r* to *l*, it is rather strange that Vararuci does not mention it. But all other grammarians regard this as one of the most important characteristics of Magadhi. This change is uniformly met with in the north-eastern inscriptions of Aśoka. In Bengali except *halud* or *haldi* for Skt. *haridrā* (Pr. *haladdā*, *haladdī*) and a few more words, there is no trace of this change. Indeed like the *haridrādi gaṇa* of Prakrit Grammarians (Vr. 2, 30 ; Hc. I, 258 ; Ki. 2, 35 ; Mk. fol. 17 ; Pkl. p. 52) the change of *r* to *l* far from being a characteristic is rather sporadic and exceptional as in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. This is also the case with Oriya and Assamese.

On the other hand, most words, which in Western Hindi contain a non-initial *l*, have in Bihari an *r*, as Bih. *phar* for W. H. *phal*. Hoernle thus explains, rather explains away, this difference from Magadhi :—"This proves firstly that the E. H. (Bihari) *r* is a pure dental sound, and secondly, that it is more modern than *l* of which it is in fact a comparatively recent modification. Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its dental *r*, there must have been formerly a *l*" and again towards the end of the paragraph he adds "N. (Nepali), B. (Bengali) again agree with E. H. in dental *r*", (Hoernle, para. 16). Hoernle's arguments in support of dental *r* are far from convincing to an open mind. He overlooks the fact of that

peculiar phonetic *idiosyncrasy* known as rhotacism (which is the case with E.H. as also with Avestan and Japanese) and tries to explain it by a dental *r*. Bengali *r* is not at all dental. Bengali mouth habitually pronounces cerebral sounds as *ṛ* and *ḍḥ* and also *l*, unlike Bihari (E. H.).

Modern Bengali indeed changes *s*, *ṣ*, to *ś* in pronunciation, but writes the three sibilants in conformity with Skt. It seems very possible that this change of *sa* to *śa* is comparatively modern. Even now in the Western frontier dialects *s* sound has been retained. Two of the cognate languages of Bengali, viz. Bihari and Oriya, do not show this *śa* and the remaining one, i.e. Assamese, in places where it does not change *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, to *h*, pronounces them as *s*. To this may be added the fact that in old Mss. of Bengali the use of *sa* preponderates over *śa*, even, where according to the modern system of spelling, we should expect *ś*. Dr. Grierson explains the want of palatal *ś* sound in Bihari as due to political causes. But a philologist will be very loath to accept political reasons for the wholesale change of pronunciation on the part of a people. I do not know how the Doctor will explain the existence of dental *s* in Oriya.

In Bengali initial *ya* is invariably changed to *ja* in pronunciation, though *ya* appears in writing. In Mss., *ja* often appears, where we should expect *y* in conformity with modern conventional Sanskrit spelling. Medial and final *ya* is generally elided; e. g. Beng. *bālā*, Skt. *balaya*; Beng. *byabasā*, Skt. *vyavasāya*; Beng. *bonā*, Skt. *vayana*.

Ja is never changed to *ya* in Bengali. This is also the case with other cognate languages, viz. Bihari, Oriya and Assamese. Hoernle in order to explain the 'impossible supposition', "that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries" solves the difficulty by asserting "that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between *y* and *j* and doing duty for both these two" (Hoernle, para. 18). He calls this semi-consonantal *y*. The facts adduced

by him to prove this semi-consonantal *y* can be more satisfactorily explained by other known phonetic laws.

There is no case of a systematic change of *na* to *ṇa* in Bengali ; rather it pronounces *ṇa* as *na*, though in its system of spelling the two *ns* are preserved.

From the above it is clear that the most prominent phonetic characteristics of Magadhi Prakrit do not appear in any of the languages of the Eastern Group of the Neo-Indo-Aryan vernaculars. If we admit Hoernle's explanation as to the prevalence of *r*, *s* and *j* sounds in these vernaculars, we may prove by his own logic as well that such languages as Western Hindi, Punjabi, Gujrati, which he himself admits as being derived from Śaurasenī Pkt., are descended from Magadhi Prakrit. By *reductio ad absurdum* his arguments are found to be untenable.

Skt. *dya* is changed to *ji* in Bengali with the lengthening of the preceding vowel, which presupposes an intermediate *jji* e. g. B. *āji*, Skt. *adya* ; B. *sājo* Skt. *sadyas* ; B. *√bāj*-Skt. *bādyā*.

Skt. *rya* is changed to *j*, e. g. B. *kāj*, Skt. *kārya*. Some times *rya* is changed to *ri*, e. g. B. *curi*, Skt. *caurya* ; B. *turi*, Skt. *turya*.

Skt. *rja* is changed to *j*, B. *√bhāj*, Skt. *√bharj*.

Skt. *ṇya* and *nya* are both changed to *n* ; Old B. *pun*, Skt. *punya* ; B. *ān*, Skt. *anya* ; B. *dhān*, Skt. *dhānya*.

Skt. *jñā* is changed to *ggyā* or *ggyā* in B. pronunciation Skt. *ājñā* (B. pronunciation *āggyā*) Skt. *jñāna* (B. pr. *ggyān*)

jñā is changed to *n*, *ṇ* ; B. *rāṇi*, Skt. *rājñi* ; B. *ānāḍi*, Skt. *ajñāni*.

ñja is changed to *j*, B. *ājlā*, Skt. *añjali* ; B. *ājan*, Skt. *añjana* ; B. *sajinā*, Skt. *śobhāñjana*.

The above phonetic changes can in no way correspond to the Magadhi phonology.

Skt. *ṭṭ* is changed to *ṭ*, B. *bhāt*, Skt. *bhaṭṭa* ; B. *hāt*, Skt. *haṭṭa* ; B. *pāt*, Skt. *paṭṭa*.

rt̥h is changed to *ṭh* ; e. g. B. *cauṭhā*, Skt. *caturtha* ; B. *sāṭhe*, Skt. *sārtham* 'with meaning'.

Original or secondary *ech* is changed to *ch* ; B. *bāchā*, Pr. *baccha*, Skt. *vatsa* ; B. *māch*, Pr. *maccha*, Skt. *matsya* ; B. *bachar*, Pr. *bachara*, Skt. *vatsara* ; B. *pāchā*, Pr. *pacchā* Skt. *paścāt* ; B. *kāchim*, *kaccham*, Skt. *kacchapa*.

Skt. *śm* is changed to *ś* ; B. *raśi*, Skt. *raśmi*.

ṣka is changed to *kh* and thence to *k* with the loss of aspiration in Modern Bengali ; e. g. B. *pukur*, *pukhur*, Skt. *puṣkarinī* ; B. *śukā*, Old B. *sukhā*, Skt. *śuṣka*.

The example of *ṣkh* does not occur.

Skt. *ṣṭ* is changed to *ṭh*, *ṭ* ; e. g. B. *sāṭhi*, *sāṭh*, Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* ; B. *muṭhā*, Skt. *muṣṭi* ; B. *āṭ*, Old B. *āṭh*, Skt. *aṣṭa*.

Skt. *ṣṭh* is changed to *ṭh*, *ṭ* ; B. *kāṭh*, *kāṭ*, Skt. *kāṣṭha* ; B. *piṭh*, Skt. *prṣṭha* ; B. *koṭhā*, Skt. *koṣṭha* ; B. *kuḍiā*, Old B. *kuḍhiā*, Skt. *kuṣṭhika*.

Skt. *ṣṇ* is changed to *n* ; B. *unān*, Skt. *uṣṇādhāna* ; B. *Kānāi*, Skt. *Kṛṣṇaka*.

ṣpa is changed to *p*, B. *bhāp*, Skt. *bāṣpa*.

There is no example of the change of *ṣpha*.

ṣma is changed to *m*. B. *om*, Skt. *uṣma* ; B. *kumḍā*, Skt. *kuṣmāṇḍa*.

Skt. *ska* is changed to *k* ; B. *kādh*, Skt. *skandha*.

st is changed to *th*, *t* ; B. *hāt*, Old B. *hāth*, Skt. *hasta* ;

B. *māthā*, Skt. *mastaka* ; B. *thām*, Skt. *stambha*.

sp is changed to *s* ; B. *bisud*, Skt. *brhaspati*.

spha is changed to *pha* ; B. *phaṭika*, Skt. *sphaṭika* ; B. *phoḍā*, Skt. *sphoṭaka*.

sm is changed to *m*, *s* ; B. *āmi*, Vedic *asme* ; B. *kise*, Skt. *kasmāt* ; B. *√pāsar*, Skt. *apasmara*.

stha is changed to *th*, *ṭha*, *kh* ; B. *thālā*, Skt. *sthāli* ; B. *ṭhāi*, Skt. *sthāni* ; B. *khān*, Skt. *sthāna*.

sn is changed to *n* ; B. *√nā*, Skt. *√snā* ; B. *nāi*, *neha*, Pkt. *neha*, Skt. *sneha*.

kṣ is changed to *kh*, *ch*, *h* ; B. *pākhi*, Skt. *pakṣi* ; B. *kōk*, Skt. *kukṣi* ; B. *dakhin*, Skt. *dakṣiṇa* ; B. *khan*, Skt. *kṣaṇa*.

B. *māchi*, Skt. *makṣikā* ; B. *chār*, Skt. *kṣāra* ; B. *kāche*, Skt. *kakṣe* ; B. *dāin*, Old B. *dāhina*, Skt. *dakṣiṇa* ; B. *ṣrah*, Skt. *ṣrakṣ*.

These phonetic changes, indeed, may be derived in a round about way from the Magadhi forms through hypothetical intermediate ones. Thus for example Skt. *ṭṭ* > Mg. *ṣṭ* > **ṣṭ* > **ṣṭ* > **ṭṭh* > **ṭh* > *ṭ* ; Skt. *rṭh* > Mg. *ṣṭ* > **ṣṭ* > **ṣṭ* > *ṭṭh* > *ṭh* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Mg. *sk* > *ṣk* > **ṣc* > *cch* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Mg. *sk* > *kkh* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Mg. *hka* > *kkh*, etc. But these may as well be derived directly from the Prakrit (Māhārāṣṭrī) forms. Thus in the above examples Skt. *ṭṭ* > Pr. *ṭṭ* > *ṭ* ; Skt. *rṭh* > Pr. *ṭṭh* > *ṭh* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Pr. *cch* > *ch* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Pr. *kkh* > *kh*. These phonetic changes indicate nothing as to the origin of Bengali.

Besides those, Bengali has certain peculiar phonetic changes which are not found in any of the known Prakrits ; e.g. Skt. *tya* < *ti*, B. *niti*, Skt. *nitya* ; Skt. *yya* < *ji* (similar to Skt. *dya* < *ji* see above) ; B. *sej*, Old B. *seji*, Skt. *ṣaṃyā* ; Skt. *lya* < *li*, B. *kāli*, Skt. *kalya*, B. *śel*, Old B. **śeli*, Skt. *śalya*.

Now let us turn to the vocabulary. Here we find except B. *ṣiyāl* (jackal) which may as well be derived from M., Ś., *śiāla*, AMg., Jm. *siyāla*, there is no correspondence in other words. Bengali *karila*, *marila*, *gela* cannot be derived from Mg. *kaḍa*, *maḍa* and *gaḍa*. The forms presuppose such prototypes as *karia*, *maria*, *gaa*, with the pleonastic suffix *illa*.

Now we come to morphology.

In Bengali it is true the nominative sometimes ends in *-e*. This may very likely have an origin altogether different from Mg. ending. Moreover this *-e* is not a characteristic of Magadhi, rather it is a common feature of all the Eastern Prakrits.

The Instrumental also (as well as Loc.) takes the same ending. Now the Nominative of the past passive participle in *-ta* and of the future passive participle in *-avya* is usually put in the Instrumental, such constructions being extremely common in Skt. and Pkt., e. g. Skt. *Rāmeṇa calitam*, Pkt. *Rāmeṇa calidam*, A. *Rāme' calilla* ; Skt. *Rāmeṇa karta-*

oyam, Pkt. *Rāmeṇa kāvvaṃ*, A. *Rāme' kariēvvau'*, etc. Now when these participles in *-ta* and *-tavya* became the normal forms of the preterite and the future in the Neo-Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, the agent case-ending by analogy spread out to the Nom. of such verbal forms as the present indefinite, where it will not be strictly grammatical. Thus from *Rāme' calilla*, *Rāme' kariēvvau'*, they began to say '*Rāme' calai*'. That such is the case, the use of *mui* and *tui*, which are clearly derived from Skt. *mayā*, *tvayā*, in the Nom. of all forms of verbs clearly proves. Thus Skt. *mayā* Pr. *mai*., A. *mai'*, Old Beng. *mai*, *mo'i*, Assamese *may*, B. *mui*; Skt. *tvayā*, Pāli *tayā*, Pr. *tui*, *tai*, A. *tai*, Old B. *tai*, *toe*, Assamese *tay*, B. *tui*.

In A. the Instr. Sing. ends in *ē*. In Old Bengali both the Nom. and the Instrumental are also found in *-ē*. Thus *sab debē' meli sabhā pātīla ākāte* (Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan, p. 1), *stutīe' tuṣīla Hari* (K. K. p. 1), *tomhe nānā rūpē' kaile' āsurer khay* (K. K. p. 1). As to the pronouns *se*, *ye*, it may be noted that AMg. *se*, A. *ye*, A. *ke* are also instrumental forms. The Nom. in Bengali might have come to have *-e* by losing the nasal, a common feature in the language.

The Genitive endings are quite different. The Beng. Genitive ends in *-r*, *-er*. In B. sometimes the Voc. Sing. in *-a* stem ends in *-ā*. But according to Hemacandra 3, 30 and Simharāja fol. 5., the Voc. Singular of *a* stems in Māhārāṣṭri and AMg. may also end in *ā*.

In Mg. participles ending in *-ta* may have *u* in the Nom. In A. Nom. of *-a* stems may have *u*. So the final *u* cannot be regarded as a characteristic of Mg. This *u* appears in a few words in B., like *kānu*, *yādu*, *bāpu*, *bābu*, *māmu*. In B. preterites in *la* (which are derived from participles in *-ta* with pleonastic suffix *illa*) end in *-a* in the 3rd per. sing. This retention of the final vowel is due to the presence of accent at the final vowel like other adjectives in *-ta*.

In Mod. Beng. the absolute ends in *iyā* and in Old B. in *i* (as also in Mod. Beng. poetry) *-iyā* as well as *-iyā'*. The

suffixes *-i* and *-yā* are also found in A. and AMg. respectively. *-iyā* is cognate with AMg. *yāṇa-*. Old B. *laiñā*=*laiyā*, AMg. *lahiyāṇa*. Cf. Śkt. inst. ending *-ena*, A. *-ē*. As regards Vararuci's *dāni*, no trace of it can be found in any other grammar or text. It may be a false reading for *dūṇa* of Hc.

For Śkt. *-tum* (*tumun*), B. uses *-te*. This is cognate with AMg. *-tae*; e.g. B. *karite*, AMg. *karittae*, *karettae*. This is ultimately derivable from Vedic *-tavai*.

From what has gone before, it is clear that Bengali can in no sense be said to be derived from Magadhi Prakrit as known to us. The Prakrit from which Bengali, as also the other languages of the Eastern Group, is descended, can only be ascertained or reconstructed by a thorough examination of the phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary of Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Bihari and by comparing them with all the known forms of Prakrit especially the Eastern forms of Prakrit ¹.

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH

ABBREVIATIONS

A.—Apabhraṃśa	Mṛcch.—Mṛcchakaṭīka
AMg.—Ardha Māgadhi	Mk.—Mārkaṇḍeya
B.—Bengali	M.—Māgadhi
C.—Caṇḍa	Nami.—Namiśādhu
Hc.—Hemacandra	Pkt.—Prākṛta-kalpa-latikā
Jogi.—Jogimārā Cave Inscription	Pr. or Pkt.—Prākṛit
Ki.—Kramadīśvara	Skt.—Sanskrit
Lalita.—Lalitavigraha-rāja-nāṭaka	Vr.—Vararuci

1 For this paper I have consulted R. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*.

Will in Early Buddhist Scriptures

Some twenty-seven years ago I put on record a general impression made upon me by psychological data in the Piṭakas.¹ This was that, whereas these scriptures taught religion very emphatically as a matter of training the will, there was in them no word we could rightly translate as 'will' (let alone 'willer'). I referred to Matthew Arnold's remark about the people of Soli uttering solecisms and knowing not the word. There seemed a curious dumbness in wording the very keynote, as it seemed, around which those scriptures played so closely. They had a plenty of terms implying will. And it was a poor explanation to say that the teaching negated will and condemned 'desire'. Translators, in a great poverty of language or of interpretation, had been using 'desire' for some sixteen Pāli words, varying in ethical meaning from lust to holy aspiration. And popularizers failed to do justice to the insistence of the teaching on the need of spiritual energy and endeavour.

So much for 1897. I have repeated this view since² but with nothing that deserves to be called a 'more-word' on the first impression. Perhaps such a more-word may appear if we place the matter in a more historical setting³.

Long before the days when for a time a Buddhist church was paramount in India, organizing its dogmas and editing its mass of still unwritten 'scripture', in the day when the Sākyaputta Gotama was teaching men the Way, there appears to have been nowhere any adequate idea of will,

1 Read at the Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1897; printed in *JRAS.*, Jan., 1898; reprinted subsequently in Burma.

2 *Buddh. Psychological Ethics*, 1900, pp. lxx ff.; *Buddhism*, 1912, p. 224; *Compendium*, 1910.

3 Cf. *Buddh. Psychology*, 1923, Supplement.

or of man as a willer. It followed inevitably that there was no sufficing word for either. Man was speaker, seer, hearer, doer, feeler, mover, thinker¹, and for all these activities names had been found. But man had not yet felt his way to the one inner force exerted in all of them, to the instrument by which he reacted, by which he expressed, or refused to express himself as doer, speaker, thinker. There were words for modes and phases of him, in which we should now say that will was more or less implicated: words for wish and appetite, desire and craving, energy and effort; and there was choosing-forms of the stem *var*, bifurcate, it appears, of *val*, whence we of the will-wording got what we sought for. But there would seem to be no such pronouncement as that just cited, in which man is conceived as 'willer', exerting in 'will' the very instrument of self-expression.

India was not ready for such a word. The world was not ready. The world is scarcely yet ready. Hence I now repeat, we get, in the teaching, initiated by Gotama and developed by the church, which acknowledged him, his teaching and itself as a threefold head, a very gospel of will—the evoking of will, the training and 'taming' of will, good will, self-salvation by will—without any grasp of the fact, the nature, the importance of will, and without any distinctive word for it.

It is just conceivable that with such a teaching the Buddhist church might have grasped that fact, discerned that nature, and found a name for it—as we do when we grasp facts—have laid hold, for example, of just that strong stem *var*, of which we catch a glimpse now and then², had it not eliminated the 'willer' in the *attā*. The Buddhists

¹ *E.g.* in Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad; Regnier ranked it as one of the oldest.

² *Vara* in its teaching is chiefly negative, repressive, e.g. in saṃvara, nīvaraṇa. But in the world the *vara* is the wooer, the bride-chooser.

deserved their nickname of Vibhajjavādins; they were ahead of their day in analysis. But they did not get very far in developing that curious hybrid known to our world and our day also, a systematic analysis of consciousness without the conscious one. Nevertheless the call upon man's will to save 'himself' coupled with their faith in the capacity of that self to be trained might have led them to a wonderful advance, had they not developed the curious dogma of *anattā*. Nevertheless it is more probable that the tradition, the limitations of those early days would have, even so, been too strong. For if the older Upaniṣads, for all their recognition, their quasi-deifying of 'the man' (*ātman*) could not find a place and a name among man's activities for the bed-rock activity of will and of the willer, it is scarcely likely that the Buddhists, even without the blinkers of *anattā*, even with will implied in their teaching, would have come upon man as willer.

Let me note once more the will-points in this notable teaching. It conceives man in his mind, and in his life as no finished being, good or bad, but as capable of changing, nay, as inevitably in a process of changing. Mind especially is infinitely capable of being worked, of being made-to-become better or worse¹. Man may ripen from life to life, or he may not; it is in his power (i.e. in his will) to do either. His mind is action no less than are his speech and his deeds action. In moral weight, nay, in power over matter, his mind takes precedence over the deed that follows its activity². In his deeds he is mainly, not wholly, moved by appetite, passion, lust, craving. Desire³ may dominate him for good or for ill. The great change in any earth-life, when for instance he is entering (willingly) on the Path, is a process of 'desire, zeal, weighing, earnestness'⁴. When, in the Paths, he is fighting evil thoughts, he

1 Cf. *Ang.*, i, 5f.

3 *Chanda*.

Cf. *Majjh.*, i, 373f.

Majjh., i, 480.

is putting forth 'desire, effort, endeavour'¹. Any psychic power he may develop is a work of will, literally, efficiency : *iddhi*. His realizing saint-ship, the earth-climax of the Path is a matter of will-wrestling². And more generally speaking, three chief points in the teaching can only be understood of will and a willer : (1) man is the heir of deeds he has done and willed to do ; (2) man as way-farer of the worlds goes as he wills ; (3) man is in a 'becoming', and 'makes-to-become' (*bhāveti*) what he was not before—a process of will.

We have here enough materials from which there should have come a view of man as not only, and not so much a beholder, a thinker, a conscious one, as a willer. Or, if we keep to the crippled, the impersonal way : from all this a theory of will should have emerged, as the essential feature, the 'one thing'³ to bring out in any attempt to sum up the factors in man.

What, in the earlier books, the Pāli books, do we actually find in place of a theory of will, a word for will ?

We find two or three summations of man as body and mind. The simplest, the one probably in popular use in the Founder's day, was just body and mind (*kāyo, cittaṃ*)⁴. There was also the very old dyad name and shape (*namarūpaṃ*), meaning about the same. *Cittaṃ*, no less than its equivalents *mano* and *viññānaṃ*⁵, expresses man as being impressed, as having sensations, as being excited thereat, than man as willing and wording his will in thought. *Nāma*, identified later with the plastic (*√nam*), nature of mind, is in the earlier books, once only⁶, resolved into the five factors : feeling, perceiving, thinking (or intention), touch, work of mind. But in the later Abhidhamma Piṭaka *nāma* is resolved into the more frequently used summation : that of the Khandhas,

1 *Majjh.*, i, 119f. ; ii, 11.

2 *Ibid.*, i, 480.

3 *Ekadhammo*, cf. *Aṅguttara*, i, 5 etc.

4 Cf. *Saṃy.*, ii, 94 ; iii, 1f.

5 Cf. *Saṃy.*, ii, 94.

6 *Majjh.*, i, 53 : *vedanā, saññā, cetanā, phasso, manasikāro*.

or groups. Nor is there agreement in its books. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*¹ finds in *nāma* all the four Khandhas of mind. The *Vibhaṅga* gives to *nāma* only three of them².

This later massing of Khandhas under *nāma* weakens the significance, in the earlier list of contents just cited, of the third term *cetanā*. If work of mind (*manasikāro*) be taken as a general cognitive term (and it should be understood in a general sense in the Suttas), how is *cetanā* distinctive? *Cetanā* does literally mean thinking. It is the verbal noun of *ceto* or *cetas*. The word in the Vedic, appears to have a volitional implication: thinking in relation to action, intention. And in the Nikāyas it occurs in contexts where it may very plausibly be translated by will. Thus it occurs (1) as if in apposition with *patthanā*, wishing, and *paṇidhi*³, intent, aspiration; again (2) in a mid position *between* these two and *vitakka*, *saṁṇā*, *diṭṭhi*, words of more cognitive meanings⁴. Again, the verb *ceteti* is placed as if in apposition with *paṭappeti*⁵, intends to do, plans. Again, Gotama describes his early austerities as a repressing of *cittam* by *ceto*⁶.

Nevertheless, we never find, among the definitions of words in the Nikāyas, nor even in the very numerous definitions in the Abhidhamma, that either *ceto* or *cetanā* is ever explained in terms which we should use to describe will in any of its phases. For instance, *viriyam*, *sammappadhānam* and *paggāho*, energy, right effort, and grasp, are in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, described alike by a sheaf of vigorous terms of exertion⁷. But *cetanā* is not named among them. Nor is *cetanā* described by any one of them in its turn⁸. Nor is

1 *Dhs.*, § 1309.

2 *Vbh.*, p. 136f. The Siamese edition tries to make good by following the *Majjhima*.

3 *Samy.*, ii, 99.

4 *Ibid.*, 154.

5 *Ibid.*, 65.

6 *Majjh.*, i, 242. Neumann renders by *Gemüth* and *Wille*.

7 *Dhs.*, § 13.

8 *Ibid.*, § 5.

cetanā used to describe *chando*, where we first find the word 'desire-to-do'¹.

It would have been indeed more true to say, that Buddhist teaching, in so far as it recognized will at all, took it up into mind or cognition, than that it anywhere thought of mind as distinctively volitional. It must never be forgotten that it adopted the very significant position as to mind being action (*kamma*) no less than deed or speech. But it limited this position to its teaching in what we may call world-worth. Man's worth, as a wayfarer through the worlds, is determined by his actions, including therein his thoughts, his purposes. But when it is a question of his nature and life on earth and of the training and growth of him there, we hear much less of mind-*kamma*.

Yet here are a few noteworthy exceptions: 'I say, monks, that *cetanā* is karma; when one has purposed (*cetayitvā*), one acts by body, speech, mind'². Two other such passages are brought to join the first in the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgani* to show the nature of deliberate, conscious action³.

So near was the teaching to lighting upon the real clue to man's nature, and yet so far! My collaborator, Mr. S. Z. Aung, pointed out to me long after I had written of Buddhism as a will-gospel without 'will', that *cetanā* bore that meaning, at any rate now in Burma. (I omitted to ask him in reply for the Burmese for 'will'). I readily accepted the suggestion so far as it goes⁴. (Buddhists find an implication of intent or purpose in a word meaning thinking, and to translate it by 'will' is a very far cry from finding in Buddhist doctrine any adequate grasp of the fact of will, and of man as a willer.)

1 *Kattukamyaṭṭhā* (*Vibhaṅga*, p. 208).

2 *Ang.*, iii, 415.

3 *Expositor* (Atthasālinī, 88), 177; *Samy.*, ii, 39f; *Ang.*, ii, 157f. Cf. *Points of Controversy* (Kvu., viii, 9), 225.

4 *Compendium*, p. 236 f.

Let us go back to the summation of body and mind, and consider that of the five groups. Discounting the material group, *rūpaṃ*, we find four 'immaterial groups'¹ like yet unlike our tripartite division of knowing, feeling, willing. We find a feeling-group, two knowing-groups not well distinguished, and one group called co-efficients: *saṅkhārā* (preparations, conditions). These appear to consist of any states or complexes not brought under the other three groups. No attempt is made in the Sutta Piṭaka to classify these possible co-efficients into any fixed number of kinds. But in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka we find such lists numbering about fifty. In the Suttas we find one passage explaining the title,—'why, monks, do you say *saṅkhārā*?' Because they compose what is compound. What is the compound they compose? They compose body (*rūpaṃ*) to make body, feeling to make feeling and so on². Centuries later the commentary on this passage was thus worded: 'Just as one cooks rice-gruel or a cake to make the same, so is the being brought together by antecedents and wrought up into a compound called *rūpaṃ*.....' and so on. 'By composing is meant toiling, kneading together, effecting. The essential mark of a *saṅkhāra* is something purposed (thought of, minded, *cetayitaṃ*).

Almost from these passages we should be prepared to learn that the things or states specified under the *saṅkhāra* group were of the nature of will. What do we find?

In the relatively older Suttas we find two sets of terms involving *saṅkhāra*, but having no connection with the notion of a *khandha*. These are the four *Iddhipādas*—shall we call them steps or stages in will?—and the three *saṅkhāras* of body, speech, and mind³. In the former are four variants of concentration,—by desire, by effort, by sense-mind (*citta*), by investigation, got by *padhāna* and *saṅkhāra*. Here

1 *Arūpino khandhā*.

2 *Samy.*, iii, 86.

3 *Majjh.*, ii, 11; i, 301.

saṅkhāra comes again near to will. In the latter, a lay catechizer asks the teacher (she had been his wife in the world-life): 'how many are the *saṅkhāras*?' 'Three; the *saṅkhāra* of body, that of speech, that of mind'. 'Which are they?' 'Respiration; attention and considering; perception and feeling'. 'How is that?' 'Inhaling, exhaling are bodily, bound up with the body; when one has attended and considered, one utters speech; perception and feeling are mental, bound up with mind'. Here *saṅkhāra* appears clearly and simply as preparation or condition for a physical or mental result, not necessarily entailing effort (*padhāna*). We get this meaning of something prepared, conditioned again in the thought being *sa-saṅkhārena*, instigated, suggested, or not, in the analyses of the *Dhammasaṅgani* (§ 1f.).

We may judge there that, in the term *saṅkhāra* (with the verb *abhisankharoti*), the Indian mind was getting near a distinction of the nature which we should now call will. When, however, we look at the relatively later detailed lists of the *saṅkhāra*-group, said to be adjuncts of this or that good or bad or indeterminate thought, we find that volitional co-efficients are in a considerable minority.

Take the list belonging to the first class of good thoughts in the *Dhammasaṅgani*¹. We may discount the many repetitions in the fifty items, the purely negative states, such as *alobho*, etc., the two biological co-efficients of life and contact and the six psycho-physical conditions of fitness,—serenity, buoyancy, etc. This reduces to only thirteen the number of terms distinctively and positively defined. Of these thirteen one is emotional, five are cognitive, one is conational, three are partly cognitive partly conational, three are rather what would come under complexes. Here they are :—

Emotion	Cognition	Cognition-Conation	Conation	Complex
zest or rapture } (<i>pīti</i>) }	attending (<i>vitakka</i>) considering (<i>vicāra</i>) insight (<i>paññā</i> etc.) collectedness or memory (<i>sati</i>)	concentration (<i>samādhi</i> etc.) purpose (<i>cetanā</i>) intent (<i>saṅkappa</i>)	energy or effort (<i>virīya</i> etc.)	faith, conscientiousness, fear of blame
(1)	(5)	(3)	(1)	(3)

From this scheme we may gather at least one thing : that (it was not in the Buddhist view of man to distinguish any radical feature or force which we should call will or volition. They did distinguish as an adjunct in mental life the sense of effort or energy. They did distinguish in the state of mind called *samādhi* an element of tension, intensely controlled and directed which we render fairly well by concentration.) They did distinguish a close relation to overt action (namely, action in word and deed) in thinking, and this phase of thinking they called *cetanā*. Beyond this, the word *saṅkhāra* is more promising than is borne out by the contents of the group so called. For in *pīti*, *paññā*, *hiri* we see no preparation or conditioning to justify their place as *saṅkhāras*. *Cetanā* heads the list, but it does not make its followers modes of will. And we are tempted to see in this *khandha* an instance of the Buddhist liking for a dumping ground, where might go any residue not fitting under other heads. Witness the way Buddhists explain the fifth of the five world-orders, the *dhamma niyama*¹.

But we are asking too much and unwisely of the relatively early, crude culture of the Piṭaka editors, if we seek

1 The explanation in my *Buddhism*, p. 119, is gathered from Buddhaghosa's illustration, but Ledi Sayadaw explained it to me as just such a dumping ground.

in it, either in the letter or in the spirit, a consistent, well-digested, well-organized body of knowledge. How gladly indeed would we not exchange those often half-baked efforts to be systematic and doctrinal for a more loyal, and a less edited record of what the first teachers in their nearly forgotten and lost utterances really said! Centuries later we come across, in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, a teaching, anticipated in the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka, where *cetasikas*, mental properties, have annexed all the mental *khandhas* save that of 'minding' itself, and have superseded the *khandha* doctrine¹.

In such a scheme we no longer look for a distinctly volitional section, such as the title *saṅkhāras* warranted us more or less to expect. But we do see, in the very title—for *cetasika* would seem to have, as an adjective, none of the will implication of *ceto*—that all down those centuries, the fine will-materials in Buddhist teaching had not resulted in any clear grasp that man was a willer at least as much as he was contemplater and feeler and sense-recipient. By those materials they might have become psychologically what Schopenhauer was metaphysically. They might have resolved their man-compound into body and will, and seen in mind and feeling modes of will. But they had no 'man'. (One can de-personalize thoughts and even feelings; but will without willer is so illogical that even our own psychologists drop out will and makeshift with 'instincts and impulses'.)

(If we turn from a corner of the world having such materials and seek elsewhere, it is not likely we shall make good what Buddhism failed to do. Socrates revealed to us man as psyche, willed by a 'daimôn', but free to follow the willing or not. But he did not figure it just so. And any way he was put to death. In the mental analyses of Aristotle, we find no such grip of man, the psyche as willer, as would have brought with it the needed word.)

Boulesthai is slipped into the *De Anima* but is left alone. There was promise of light, for we read much of man as mover, as self-mover. But to find the very word was not for the Greek any more than for the Indian. It was not in either to develop the thing named by the word which we have found and are developing.

(In both India and Greece we are ever overshadowed by an old-world conception of man. And for this conception of himself, man had found names in plenty. Man was the beholder, the appraiser, the contemplater. He was 'speaker, seer, hearer, smeller, taster, feeler'. He also touched and worked. But little could he do in that way to make or mar his world. His world came to him, and like Adam, he named what he saw so come. He did now and then go to find his world, when hunger drove. That unless he lived by the sea, was a tremendous business; all had to come along. In these ways he learnt more to mind, i. e. to measure things. Yet for ages he could, as worker, as willer, do but little in proportion to the wealth of the messages that sense, especially sight, brought to him as recipient, as beholder. Hence he spoke of himself in names of receiving and beholding. He 'stood amongst' things: understanding, intelligent. He accepted: perceiving, conceiving, apprehending. He watched: contemplating, meditating. He measured: minding, weighing, comparing, reasoning. He moved, but not much. He chose, but the world of things choosable was very little.)

The Greek set out betimes to learn more of this world and life that were so interesting. Death was not interesting; it was as the blind spot in his vision. The seen man, the seen world, the nature of these was his study, the form of man his will's delight. His self-expression was individualistic. He founded modern science, he opened the way to our realizing that in us which is the spiritual analogue of world movement: radiant will. (But he saw man as intelligent rather than as willing.) He did not, in his very little

world, will together. There was a noble exception to this one brief day, when Persian conquest threatened, but it was not repeated.

The Buddhist had a far wider conception of life than the narrower vision of the Greek. Death was no blind spot for him. His noble tenet of the Way was a way of all the worlds, with his fellowmen dwelling and awaiting him in each and any of them. But he paralyzed all the development of his fine will-data by placing them under the robe of the monk. The monk-life had its uses. But it became a sinister tyrant, when its ideals and its limitations became the guide of man willing to learn the unknown, willing to find welfare for himself with his fellows. The monk-world forswears the worldly. And under things worldly it dumps all manner of human quests. It goes itself a-questing, but not so much to expand life as to wither up its springs. For it sees in life mainly fear and sorrow, decay and death. And the saint becomes one who, in losing love of life, loses the springs of its prolonging.

Thus Buddhism, in placing the monk and his peculiar ideals above the laity, paralyzed real secret of developing its own strength as a virtual gospel of will. It paralyzed man's concerted efforts to will his welfare, by removing him from the world, from the great laboratory of experiment in good will to men.

And so, for all its notable teaching on Way and Act, on energy and becoming, on good will and gods made human, Buddhism could find no words worthy to name that which is the very spring and fount to make that teaching fruitful,—the will of the willer seeking welfare, seeking the goal of the supremely well. Isolated from exercising that will among his fellows in all human relations, the Buddhist in his Dhamma fell back again and again on negative words,—on *nibbāna*, *nirodha*, *virāga*, *nibbidā*, *alobha* and the like—and on ambiguous words such as *attha*, with its eight meanings, for 'Good' and *cetanā* and others.

In this way and that the Buddhist *dhamma* went further than its fellow-gospels. It left its impress on their thought, after its monk-ridden church had melted away from its motherland. But it weakened its hands both by its organization, and also by overdoing in error the protestantism with which it started. It hindered its most earnest disciples in social will-work by sequestering their lives, and it did not seek the man, the *attā* (as its founder bade early converts seek him) in the will-worker.

Hence its real message—that what really matters in religion is, not this or that god-cult, not this or that rune rightly uttered, but what the man does among men and how he lives in view of the world-way to the goal—was impeded and the vehicle of it made unfit to serve the world. Turning from world-problems, the scriptures left man's social development unguided. Nay, where it could have supported and comforted, it left the mourner with the wail—as the writer knows too well—‘all *sāṅkhāras* are transient!’ At its start it called to man :

‘*Opened are the portals of the undying!*’ So they were. But it gave no clear call to man to will to seek more knowledge on that opened way. It has herein stood still, ever intent upon a way to cut short life, even in higher worlds and so win—a negation.

Whereas then, in Buddhist thought, as expressed in Pāli literature, we find a movement bringing to man's use a new attitude on life as *religion*, a new earnestness as to conduct, a new emphasis on action, on progress, on the possible potency in what we now call, or should call will, we find that this thought could not see just so much ahead of the old world as to grasp either the unifying principle of will, or man as willer, and thereby find a word for the same. Meanwhile there had settled in the plains and forests of mid-Europe, by the seas and hills of Italy other Aryans of the great Trek. And these, albeit they were less men of thought than Indian and Greek Aryans, were more than

these the children of a way of working in fellowships, of working for a common purpose, of exercising a general will, of submitting to a general will. And it was they who took with them and used for their work together the root word **WAL** (**WAR**=choice) : it was they who as fellow-willers worded the variants of those Key-words of our health and our coming-to-be,—**WILL** and **WELL**.

C.A.F. RHYS DAVIDS

Rasātala or the Under-World*

(A forgotten country)

II

(5) *Mahā-tala* from the *Hae-tele* of Hae-talites, who under the name of Great Yuechi (Kushan) lived between the Jaxartes and Chu rivers after the conquest of this tract¹. Bokhara was a Hae-talite centre and in Bokharian language 'Haital' means 'a strong man'². (6) *Su-tala* from the *Kidarites* or Su-tribes, who lived on the upper Jaxartes and the Oxus. King Bali was confined in Su-tala at Balkh which is a corruption of the Turkish word *Balikh* which means 'the residence of a king'. (7) *Rasātala* is the Sanskritised form of *Rasa-tele*, the valley of the Rasa or the Jaxartes, on the banks of which the Huns resided. This is the general name of the entire region called Rasātala, but with regard to the seventh sphere called Rasātala the *Mahābhārata*³ says that the Surabhis, or Khorasmii of the classical writers, dwelt

* Continued from p. 136.

¹ *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 568 ; Smith's *Early History of India*, pp. 218, 242.

² *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 567, 565.

³ *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 101.

in this sphere ; it therefore included Kharism or Khiva. We have already stated that for the sphere Ni-tala the *Bhāgavata* has got Pā-tāla, and it should also be stated that for the sphere Talā-tala, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* has got Gabhastimat, and Gabhasti appears to be the name of a river in Śākadvīpa¹ or Scythia, which is either the Murgab or the Jaxartes, most probably the former. In the *Saddaratnāvalī* we have got Tala instead of Talā-tala, and Ta-la represents Tu-ho-lo of Hiuen Tsang, the country of the Tocharis². For the seventh sphere Rasātala, some of the Purāṇas³ have got Pātāla, but in the *Bhāgavata*⁴ Rasātala and Pātāla have both been mentioned as the names of two distinct and separate spheres, and Pātāla, as already stated, has been used for Ni-tala of the other Purāṇas. Pātāla is also used as a synonym for Rasātala as a general name of the entire region. Thus we see that Babylon was in Atala. Fan-tau mountain near the Great Pamir was in Bitala. Asma in Sogdiana was in Ni-tala, Margiana in Talā-tala. Bokhara in Mahā-tala, Balkh in Su-tala, and Khiva in Rasātala. Hence it appears that the entire region of Rasātala was bounded on the east by the Great Pamir, on the west by the Babylonian empire or Śālmaladvīpa, on the north by the northern boundaries of the countries situated on the north of the Caspian Sea and the Jaxartes, and on the south most probably by the Indian Ocean which was the Southern boundary of Śāka-dvīpa.

It will be remarked that at least two of the spheres of Rasātala, namely Talā-tala and Su-tala, derived Huns and Scythians were Turanians. their names from the Tocharis and Su tribes who were Scythians and not Huns. But it should be stated that both the Scythians and the Huns were Turanians⁵. And most of the Śakas or Scythians

1 *Viṣṇu P.*, ii, chs. 4, 5.

2 Beal's *Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 37 n.

3 *Agni P.*, ch. 120, vs. 1, 2. 4 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 24.

5 *JBBRAS.*, vol. IV, pp. 548, 564.

I. H. Q., September, 1925.

were Hunnic tribes¹. In fact both Herodotus and Strabo include all the Hunnic tribes under the general name of Scythians. The Tocharis, the Takṣaka Nāga tribe of the *Mahābhārata* and the Takiuks of Scythia, are however stated to be Tak-i-uk Moguls by M. Deguignes². Some of the tribes as the Messagetæ were Huns³, though according to Herodotus they were regarded as a "Scythian race"⁴. It should be here stated that in the 5th century A. D., the Huns lost the original name of Huns and began to be known as Turks, as one of their tribes of that name became very powerful. Later on the Mogul tribe of Huns under Jengiz Khan became very powerful, and this tribe gave its name to the whole nation⁵.

Rasātala has been principally described as the abode of the Nāgas, and the *Mahābhārata*⁶ gives two lists of names of the principal Nāgas who lived there, and the *Padma Purāṇa*⁷ also gives a list of their names. Though these names are stated to be names of individual Nāgas, yet it appears that each name represents a tribe of Huns. Śeṣa represents the "Sses" of Sogdiana⁸, the capital of which was Marakanda or Samarkand⁹. Vāsuki the Usuivis; Karkoṭaka the Kara-Kasak, the Kasaks were also called Kirghiz. They lived all over Central Asia; a dynasty of the tribe of Huns reigned in Kāsmir after the Gonanda dynasty¹⁰.

1 *JBBRAS.*, vol. IV, p. 563. 2 Tod's *Rājasthān*, vol. I, ch. 6, p. 60.

3 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 562.

4 Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 103; see also M. Huc's *Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China*, vol. I, p. 237.

5 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 558.

6 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 35; Udyoga, ch. 102. 7 *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi, ch. 6.

8 *Geography of Strabo*, vol. II, pp. 240 note, 245.

9 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 40.

10 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 103; Dr. Stein's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol. I, bk. iv; Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 345, 368.

Takṣaka, as stated before, represents the Tocharis, the Tak-i-uk Moguls who lived in Tocharistan or Bactria, after whom the whole country was called Turkestan. Takṣaka.

They are the Tuṣāras of the *Matsya Purāṇa*¹ and Tukhāras of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*² by Varāha-mihira. They were the inhabitants of the country Tu-ho-lo of Hiuen Tsang, which may phonetically represent Tur, and so indicate the origin of Turan, the region to which Wilford assigned the Tukharas³. Parīkṣit of the *Mahābhārata* was treacherously assassinated by a Takṣaka.

Ēlāpatra represents the Ephthalites or the white Huns, from whom the word Pātāla, as the name of the seven spheres, has been derived and subsequently applied to Elāpatra.

the whole country of Rasātala. The Ephthalites were a most powerful tribe of Huns who lived in Rasātala or the valley of the Jaxartes, and who invaded India long before the time of Alexander the Great, and made settlements in the Punjab and in Sindh. They overran Persia and killed its king Firoz in a battle in 484 A.D. Their descendants also invaded India at the time of Skandagupta. The corruption of the two words *Elā* and *Patra* is *Alā* and *Pātā* respectively, and it is possible to conceive that the transposition of these two words might have led to the formation of the word *Pātāla*. There can be no doubt, however, that the word *Pātāla* has been derived from the Ephthalites, and it is confirmed by the fact that from the settlement of the Ephthalites in Sindh, who have been called Sogdoi⁴ by Alexander's historians, the delta of the Indus was called Pātalene and its capital was called Pātāla⁵. The *Mahābhārata*⁶, however, says that the word *Pātāla* means a

1 *Matsya P.*, ch. 121.

2 *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 16.

3 Beal's *RWC.*, vol. I, p. 37 note.

4 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 354.

5 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 183 note.

6 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98.

"great fall" of water from the moon and other "watery heavenly bodies". This is of course a mythical interpretation. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang mentions that the serpent Elāpatra lived in a tank on the north-west of Takṣasīlā at Hassan Abdul in the Punjab and obtained a share of the relic after Buddha's death¹. The Ephthalites were also called Haetalites, and another of the seven spheres, Mahātala, has derived its name from them. In the Bokharian language "Haital" means a "strong man",² as stated before.

Ugraka represents the Uigurs³, Āryaka the Ariacæ⁴, Sumukha the Kumūks⁵, Tittari the Tatars, afterwards called Tartars⁶, Aśvatara the Aspasians or Ugraka and other Nāgas. Asis⁷, and perhaps the Assakenoi of Arrian⁸, Śālipiṇḍa the Salor, the oldest Turkoman tribe recorded in history⁹; Dadhimukha the Dahæ, a celebrated Scythic tribe who lived on the shores of the upper Jaxartes, after whom the whole of Central Asia was called the "country of the Dahis"¹⁰; Āpūraṇa, the Aparnis of Strabo¹¹, who lived in the 1st century B. C.; Kāliyas and Kālakeyas

1 Beal's *RWC.*, vol. I, p. 137; vol II, p. 41.

2 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 565.

3 For the name see Prof. Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 348.

4 *Ibid.*, I, p. 242.

5 *Ibid.*, I, p. 349. For Sumukha the *Padma P.* (Śrṣṭi, ch. 6) has *Durmukha*.

6 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 349, 342; Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 12 note.

7 Tod's *Rājasthān*, vol. I, p. 61; McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 60.

8 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 180.

9 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 304.

10 *Farvardin Yast* (XIII), 144 in the *SBE.*, vol. XXIII; *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 548.

11 *Strabo.*, bk. XI, ch. viii, 2, trans. by Hamilton and Falconer, vol. II, p. 243.

the Karas described as pitiless robbers and an exceedingly savage tribe of Turkomans¹.

Muṣakāda represents the Massagatæ, who, according to Herodotus, lived on the east of the Caspian Sea² beyond the Araxes³ which is evidently the river Jaxartes, as it is said that Asia is bounded "on the north by the Caspian and the river Araxes which flows towards the rising sun."⁴ They were the Maśaka (Kṣatriya) of Śākadvīpa⁵. They have been included among the Su tribes of Scythians along with the Tocharis and the Dahæ, but they were actually Hunnic tribes⁶. It is evident that after their name the province of Śākadvīpa, in which they lived, was called Maśaka, the Massagetæ of Ptolemy⁷. The Massagetæ, which means the "Great Gete", were a very powerful race, and Cyrus king of Persia lost his life in a battle with their queen Tomyris and the greater part of the Persian army was destroyed. They were known by the name of Getes,—“Djetes,” that is Jetes of Transoxania,—and also by the name of Jits or Jāts in India, and some of the Rajput clans claim descent from the latter⁸. At the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, many communities of Massagetæ had settled in the Deccan as has been allegorically

1 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 304; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 100.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. I, ch. 204 (vol. I, p. 104).

3 *Ibid.*, bk. I, ch. 20; vol. I, p. 103. Tod also says "We will merely add that the kingdom of the Great Gete whose capital was on the Jaxartes preserved its integrity and name from the period of Cyrus to the fourteenth century, when it was converted from idolatry to the faith of Islam" (*Rājasthān*, vol. I, p. 97.)

4 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. IV, ch. 40 (vol. I, p. 302).

5 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. 11.

6 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 548, 562.

7 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. 11.

8 Tod's *Rājasthān*, vol. I, p. 97; Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 174.

described in the story of Jātāyu and his brother Sampāti. In fact Jātāyu is a contraction of Massagetæ or a variant of Gete. Jātāyu lived in Janasthāna and Sampāti dwelt in a cave in the Vindhya mountain in Mysore, which should not be confounded with its namesake in upper India¹, while the rest of the Deccan was interspersed with the settlements of Rākṣasas who were also Turanians and belonged to the Hunnic tribe. According to Herodotus, who flourished in the 5th century B.C., the Massagetæ were cannibals, as he mentions it among their customs : 'Human life does not come to its natural close with this people ; but when a man grows very old, all his kinsfolk collect together and offer him up in sacrifice ; offering at the same time some cattle also. After the sacrifice they boil the flesh and feast on it ; and those who thus end their days are reckoned the happiest. If a man dies of disease they do not eat him, but bury him on the ground, bewailing his ill-fortune that he did not come to be sacrificed. They sow no grain, but live on their herds, and on fish, of which there is great plenty in the Araxes. Elsewhere Herodotus says, "The Scythian soldier drinks the blood of the first man he overthrows in battle"². These were the customs of almost all the Scythic tribes though Herodotus speaks of cannibalism with special reference to the Massagetes only. Strabo also says that some of the Scythians were ferocious and were cannibals³. Herodotus himself, it appears, did not believe that the Massagetæ were a Scythian race ; he, however, says that by many they were regarded as such, and in their dress and mode of living they resembled the Scythians⁴. It seems that like the Suparṇas and Surabhis

1 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Aranya, ch. 49 ; Kiṣkindhyā, ch 56.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, pp. 109, 312.

3 Hamilton and Falconer' *Strabo*, bk. VII, ch. III, 9 in Vol. I, p. 464.

4 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 103, 108.

of the Su tribe, some of the Massagetæ to which Jātāyu belonged, became early converts to the Aryan religion and subsequently became followers of Viṣṇu, as it appears from the fact that though Massagetæ, Jātāyu and his brother Sampāti have been stated as the nephews of Garuḍa being the sons of his brother Aruṇa¹ who belonged to the Su-tribe. As a Vaiṣṇava, Jātāyu gave up eating flesh, while his brother Sampāti manifested some hankering after the flesh of the monkeys whom he saw from his cave at Vindhyaśāla where he resided, and perhaps for this proclivity his wings were said to have been scorched by Sūrya, the Sun-god, who is identical with Viṣṇu. As Garuḍa was the vehicle or charioteer of Viṣṇu, and Aruṇa of Sūrya, so Jātāyu, on account of his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism, is said to have been an ally of Daśaratha, fought hard with Rāvaṇa and was killed by him, while Sītā was being abducted by him in the wilds of Daṇḍakāraṇya; and it was Sampāti who gave a clue to the monkeys as to the whereabouts of Sītā².

(To be continued)

NUNDO LAL DEY

1 *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi, ch. 6.

2 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Aranya, ch. 15; Kiṣkindhyā, chs., 56, 58.

The Northern Buddhism

III

Two works of Nāgārjuna's disciple Āryadeva have been published, one is *Cittaviśuddhi-prakarana* and the other fragments of his *Catuṣṣatikā*. Both have been discovered and published by me. Yuan Chwang mentions Āryadeva in connection with an edict promulgated by one of the kings of Magadha prohibiting the entrance of Buddhists into his city because a brāhmaṇa worsted them in argument and became a favourite with the king. But Āryadeva challenged him, defeated him, and re-established Buddhist ascendancy in Magadha. Āryadeva was a warm advocate of the Mahāyāna, and is characterised by the Chinese as the most spiritual of all spiritual writers. His *Cittaviśuddhi-prakarana* advocates Mahāyāna and says that when a man girds up his loins to save the world his petty faults should be overlooked by his contemporaries. He is very bitter against brāhmaṇas. He says if salvation can be gained by a dip into the Ganges then the fishermen are all saved, not to speak of the fish which are day and night immersed in it. The book has been revised by another Āryadeva in later times, for at the end are mentioned images not known in the great Āryadeva's time and there was one Āryadeva in Bengal who wrote also in Bengali. The editing of *Catuṣṣatikā* was an arduous work with me. I got only 23 palm leaves out of, say, a hundred and the vendor had obliterated all ancient page-marks and put consecutive leaf-marks of his own. I was at sea. I had to copy each leaf in separate sheets of foolscap and by dint of reading found the sequence of leaves. The colophons of chapters often helped me but some leaves I could not at all locate. At last my late lamented friend Satish Chandra and his Lama came to my rescue and from the Tibetan translation arranged the verses. The verses were

accompanied with the commentary of Candra Kīrtti. The commentary is very illuminating. But the leaves are not consecutive. One leaf, say, from the second chapter, the next from the fifth, and the two intermediate chapters are not there. However, the fragments were put in order. The work of Āryadeva contained 375 verses of which about 125 were recovered from the fragments. The first eight chapters had many funny stories and in the last eight the author combated the doctrines of the Sāṅkhyas and the Vaiśeṣikas. This is all that has yet been recovered from Nepal in original Sanskrit of Āryadeva's work.

Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva were the founders of the Mādhyamika system of Buddhist philosophy and the Mahāyāna school of Buddhist religion that is Bodhisattva-yāna. There is a misapprehension that all Northern Buddhists were Mahāyānists but this is wrong. All the Northern Buddhist sects survived till the last days of Buddhism in Bengal. But they were cast into the shade by the Mahāyānists. For we know from Sarat Candra Das's *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* that even the Mahāsāṅghikas had a big monastery at Vikramaśīla even in the 11th century. So the surmise of Suzuki that the Mahāsāṅghikas and the sects that arose out of them were merged in the Mahāyāna school is not quite correct. I have doubts if the Bodhisattva-yāna itself is Mahāyāna, for the early Bodhisattva-yāna is wanting in that catholicity which we find in the Mahāyāna.

Shortly after the time of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva there appeared one Maitreya-nātha who wrote kārīkās or verses in eight chapters and started the theory of Vijñānavāda or Yogācāra ; in fact, many Buddhists were not satisfied with Śūnyavāda and questioned,—What is it ? Shall we be mere void ? No intelligence ? No sensation ? Is that mukti ? Is that nirvāṇa ? Is that the aim for which people should work so hard and so strenuously and for so many millions of years ? That cannot be. There must be consciousness. All Buddhists believe in the momentary character of all phenomena. There

is nothing permanent except Śūnya, the *Paramārtha*. Now Maitreya said, 'No'. There should be Śūnya but there should be consciousness of Śūnya. But this is impossible in those who believe all things to be momentary, even ideas. But the stream of ideas may be permanent though not the ideas, the acts of consciousness. This transcendental stream of consciousness took the place of bare Śūnya in his school. This is Vijñānavāda. This is Yogācāra ; no one speaks of Maitreya as the founder of this theory. The great exponent of this theory was Asaṅga in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era. But Yuan Chwang says that Asaṅga received his inspiration from Maitreya the coming Buddha.) We in the twentieth century are not prepared to accept such a story specially when we know that a real historical person preceded Asaṅga and his name was Maitreya-nātha.) About the historicity of Maitreya there is another evidence. Sadajiro Sigiura, a Japanese scholar, in his thesis on Hindu logic says that Nāgārjuna in the second century A.D. believed in four pramāṇas and that Maitreya-nātha in the third century did away with the third pramāṇa (analogy or upamāna). It is well known that the Prajñā pāramitā of 8000 ślokas was modified and enlarged into the Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā according to the kārīkās of Maitreya-nātha. So there is no doubt about the existence of an historical person Maitreya preceding Asaṅga.

Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were brothers. They hailed from Peshawar. Asaṅga believed in Mahāyāna and Vasubandhu in Hīnayāna. Vasubandhu wrote his epoch making work the Abhidharmakośa in his early life. But later in life Asaṅga converted him to his faith and both the brothers preached Mahāyāna of the Yogācāra school. They generally lived in Ayodhyā, enjoyed the patronage of Gupta kings and had numerous followers. The books written by them are numerous but only one work in original Sanskrit by Asaṅga has come down to us and the credit of the discovery and publication of it belongs to Prof. Sylvain Lévi. It is a magnificent work in verse explained in prose

and from it we can form an idea as to why the Mahāyānists called their opponents Hīnayānists or low kind of philosophers. Vasubandhu's great work, as a Hīnayānist, was Abhidharma-kośa. It had two commentaries and a third learned man commented on all three. His commentary was in the Hodgson collection. But it was a very hard nut to crack. I tried several times to understand it but failed. In 1898 Prof. Sylvain Lévi induced me to give up the idea as there is a Chinese translation of the text by which this commentary of the second remove may be cleared. I procured the text from China and engaged a Japanese scholar to re-translate it into Sanskrit and we did only a few ślokas but my Japanese friend had to go home and the work was dropped. But I now see that Prof. de la Vallée Poussin has published the third chapter of the work, text, commentary and Tibetan translation.

Asaṅga and Vasubandhu had a distinguished student. This was the famous Dinnāga, the logician, who discarded the authenticity of scripture and reduced the Tarkaśāstra of ancient India to pure and simple logic with two pramāṇas, perception and inference. His works had many commentaries in India and many more in China and Japan where they were studied with great energy in the monasteries, and the monks often came to argue with college students versed in European logic. My Japanese friends say that they often enjoy the fun of the controversies between the Eastern and Western logicians. All our search in Nepal for any scrap of Dinnāga's logic or any commentary of it or any abridgment of it has proved vain. There are Tibetan translations of all the works by Dinnāga and his school. In India and very recently a small work by him has been found in Kathiawad and it is in the course of publication in the Gaekwad Sanskrit series.

Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Dinnāga flourished in the fifth century A. D. But with them came to an end the great original thinkers of the Buddhists. After them for three

or four centuries more, we hear of many eminent scholars and commentators among them. But these were commentators, digest-makers, exegetists, writers of abridgments and of polemical works. They not only worked and preached in India but went to many countries beyond India viz., Annam, China, Japan, Korea and so on. Students came to India from these countries and lived in the great monasteries of Nālandā, Kāśīnīra, Mathurā, Benares and other cities. The three great Chinese travellers Fa-Hien, Yuan Chwang and It-sing belonged to this flourishing period of Buddhist scholarship. Indian Buddhists not only wrote numerous works in their own country but in other countries, too, and that, not only in Sanskrit but in the languages of the countries of their adoption. Kumārajīva, though an inhabitant of Khotan, was of Indian extraction and he was not only the best translator of Sanskrit works in Chinese but he is still regarded as one of the four great writers in that language noted for the lucidity of their style. Paramārtha wrote the life of Vasubandhu in Sanskrit and had it translated into Chinese (Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka). The accounts of Chinese travellers, comprehensive works like the Śikṣā-samuccaya give us names of hundreds of authors and works of this period. This was the most productive period for the four schools of Buddhist philosophy, an account of which is likely to be interesting but space does not allow all that being given.

In the 7th century A. D., the Muhammadans destroyed all old kingdoms, tribes and communities round the Caspian sea, lakes Van and Aral. The priesthood of the nations, thus destroyed, crossed the Himalayas and came over to India, teaching people the worship of male and female deities in each other's embrace and the deification of letters of the alphabet, two prominent features of Tantrik worship. From this immigrant priesthood Indians imbibed the idea of Mahā-sukhavāda, and the Buddhists adopted these ideas in their faith and made their religion attractive. Already

the dry discussions of the learned monks had induced less studious Buddhists to take to the repetition of mantras. These mantras have peculiar forms and peculiar efficacies. For instance, the *Prajñāpāramitā* in any recension required many years to master and many more years to realise the truths taught in them. But a short cut was made. A mantra was made, called *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya*, the repetition of which many times in the day was taught to the less enlightened people to be as efficacious as the study and realisation. *Rājya-vardhana*, the brother of *Harṣavardhana*, is said to have been in the habit of repeating it. A copy of this mantra has been found in the *Horiuzi* monastery of Japan written in the character of the sixth century A. D. The process of inventing similar mantras continued for centuries giving rise to many such *Hṛdayas* and many hundreds of *Dhāraṇīs* or protective spells. So when the immigrant priesthood flying from the Muhammadans came to India they found the soil prepared for them.

In the eighth century, a *rājā* of Orissa organized the *Mantrayāna* Buddhism into what is called *Vajrayāna*. His son *Padmasambhava* converted Tibet to this faith, his son-in-law *Śānta-rakṣita* of *Vikramapura* in *Dacca* wrote books on *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* and his daughter preached the new religion with great success in India and is regarded as the *Bhagavatī* by all classes of Buddhists. Her *Advaya-siddhi* is a curious medley of high philosophical conception and the worst sensual practices. In that century the *brāhmaṇas* were making great strides in combating the Buddhist idealism. *Kumārila* in the beginning and *Śaṅkarācārya* in the end of that century succeeded in destroying the Buddhist influences in all parts of India with the exception of Bengal, *Magadha* and *Orissa*. Here *Indrabhūti*, his family and his followers reigned supreme. This was the time also when Tibet became a disciple of Indian Buddhism.

The asceticism of Buddha had long lost its hold on the *Mahāyānists* and now the enjoyment of the good things of

the world became the creed of a sect of Buddhism, first *pañca-kāmapabhoga* the enjoyment of the five senses, and last of all the company of women. From sensuality it descended to its grosser forms. The last is the Sahajayāna the easy way to salvation. The first preacher of this Yāna was an inhabitant of the Rāḍha country or Burdwan Division of Bengal. The Vajrayānists and Sahajayānists were people who wrote in Bengali. Their songs and couplets are the earliest Bengali composition yet found. Some of the most famous men of this period wrote in Bengali. For instance, the great monk of phenomenal learning who converted Tibet to Mahāyāna Buddhism in the eleventh century wrote in Bengali. His songs have not yet been found but his guru, Ratnākaraśānti, who was by far the best logician and philosopher of his time, wrote songs some of which have been found. These men knew Vajrayāna and Sāhajayāna but they were adepts in the philosophy of Mahāyāna. Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna who converted Tibet in the 11th century was an inhabitant of Vikramapura in Bengal born in 980 A. D. He was a brāhmaṇa and a rājā by birth, but he lost his property and became a Buddhist, studied Sahajayāna with the founder of the Yāna, wrote a book on the essential doctrines of the Yāna in collaboration with his Guru, left India, studied Mahāyāna in Pagan, returned and became the abbot of the Vikramaśīlā Vihāra and the governor of all Buddhist properties in Magadha and Aṅga. But the Tibetan king was anxious to take him to Tibet and reform the Church. The Tibet mission prevailed upon him to go. He went there at the age of 58, worked there 14 years, and then died at the mature age of 72.

The Vajrayāna and the Sahajayāna went on with their secret and mysterious worship till the end of the twelfth century when they with the whole country were overtaken by the Muhammadan conquest. Magadha, Nālandā, Odantapuri, Vikramaśīla were all destroyed. East Bengal only survived. Buddhism of the Vajrayāna school flourished there and

Jagaddal was the chief centre of Buddhist learning when Tibetans used to come in numbers to get Sanskrit books translated into Tibetan and to collect mss.

It was about 1320 A. D. that Buddhists lost their last hold in Bengal and fled to Nepal. The Nepal people say that there were two migrations from India to Nepal, one about 800 years ago and another about 650 years ago. This time six men came, all of them having the word 'vajra' at the end of their name. The Nepalese Buddhists sang the songs composed by the six men as a charm not knowing their meaning and they say that one of them brought the image of Vajrayogin with him and consecrated it in the Samkhu Sahar, 15 miles north of Khatmandu, much nearer to the eternal snow than that famous city. Thus the last stronghold was lost and the image was carried away.

The history of Northern Buddhism is over in India. But in order that the difference of Northern and Southern Buddhism may be easily understood and easily remembered, I may here give in a succinct form the various transformations which the Buddhist Trinity underwent during the course of these 25 centuries. In Southern Buddhism the trinity was Buddha Śākyamuni, Dharma the teachings, and Saṅgha the congregation of monks. This trinity is represented in stone as the Dharmacakra-pravartana with two stag's heads on two sides and a spoked wheel supported by them. This gradually took the form of English W and gradually after several steps became Jagannātha, Subhadrā, and Balarāma the images worshipped at Puri.

But in Northern Buddhism the order was reversed. The trinity became Dharma, Buddha and Saṅgha, that is, Buddha's teachings were placed above his personality; though in Northern Buddhism, Buddha was regarded as *lokottara* (supermundane), his teachings were still more supermundane. In the Mahāyāna, abstract ideas were substituted for concrete ones and the trinity was Prajñā, Upāya, and Bodhisattva. I got these ideas of the transformation of Trinity not so

much from books but from Paṇḍit Indrānanda. These are substantially true; there are various intermediate stages of development. Indrānanda was very communicative and in my sojourn in Nepal he did his best to help me in understanding the developments of Buddhism. Śākyamuni lost his place in Buddhist trinity from this time. At the next stage came the five Dhyāni Buddhas, five Tārās, and five Bodhisattvas all representing Śūnya or the unconditioned, the absolute and the eternal. In the Svayambhū Kṣetra all these are in and around the great stūpa, but Śākyamuni is at the entrance of the enclosure with human features and with a pen in hand. From the trinity Prajñā, Upāya, and Bodhisattva developed the idea of another trinity the Dharmakāya, the Nirmāṇakāya and the Sambhogakāya,—ideas found in India but fully developed, I believe, in what Suzuki calls the eastern Buddhism of later days in China and Japan.

The five-fold trinity of five Dhyānis, five Tārās and five Bodhisattvas when united and transferred to stone and bronze becomes Heruka and Vajravārāhī with Lokeśvara as their Bodhisattva. But in Vajrayāna, Heruka is rarely represented single but almost always in the embrace of his consort Vajravārāhī. Out of 108 images round the Mahābodhi stūpa in the Bhutia Bastee in Nepal, no less than 45 are in Yab-yum or in embrace, Heruka and Vajravārāhī. This Prajñā and Upāya of later Mahāyāna became united representing the emancipated soul in the embrace of Śūnya here represented as Vajravārāhī or Nirātmā Devī. Śākyamuni's place is nowhere in the later forms of the religion which goes by his name.

The last and most beautiful representation of the trinity, I believe, is the Saḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā. In this there are three beautiful images generally in white marble of Maṇidhara, Padmapāṇi and Saḍakṣarī. The images are similar in every way except that the last has something to show that it is an image of a female deity. This trinity is embodied in the famous mystic formula "Om Maṇi Padme Hūṃ".

A Problem of Ancient South Indian History

I. *Introduction*

To the student of the ancient history of South India, the problem of the date of the Sangam epoch in Tamil literary history is of the greatest interest and importance. The Sangam works give us vivid accounts of a highly civilized state of society, where the arts of war and peace attained considerable development. They tell us of the civil administration of the ancient Tamil country, of its social life and religious practices, its political activities and commercial enterprises. They give us accounts of a vast number of Cheras, Cholas, and Pandyas, whose 'uncouth names' (the expression is the late Mr. Vincent Smith's) are unknown to the epigraphist. The military achievements of these kings and their almost extravagant munificence as patrons of letters are extolled by contemporary poets, whose names are not less 'uncouth' than those of their royal patrons. They ruled over a smiling land, of which the kings, poets and people were equally proud. The wealth and importance of the country attracted foreign merchandize to its ports, where trade on an international scale was carried on. Thus, speaking of Musiri, the modern Cranganore, which was one of the ports of the ancient Chera kingdom, a poet named Eruk-kattur Tayan Kannanar writes in *Ahanānūru*, a Sangam work, in the following strain: "The thriving port of Musiri, where large and beautiful ships of the Yavanas, with loads of gold, come splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar, which belongs to the Chera, and go back laden with pepper". In *Puranānūru*, another Sangam work, Paranar writes: "Fish is bartered for paddy; sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market; the gold received from the ships in exchange for commodities sold is brought to the shore in barges at Musiri, where the roar of the surging

sea never ceases, and where Kuttuvan presents the rare products of the sea and the mountain to visitors". Kuttuvan, whom the poet mentions, is the well-known Chen-Kuttuvan, the Chera king who is the hero of several Sangam works. From *Pattinap-pālai*, another Sangam work, we see that Puhār or Kāveri-pattinam, the capital and chief port of the Chola Kingdom, was in the days of Karikala, the famous Chola monarch, a great emporium. Horses, gold, pearl, coral, precious stones, spices, articles of food, and manufactured articles were brought to the port, where there was so much brisk and thriving trade and commerce that the king found it necessary to maintain an efficient customs house and establishment. About these interesting times, epigraphy is silent, and their elucidation is possible by a thorough and critical study of the Sangam works, which the indefatigable labours of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—have fortunately rendered possible.

What is the approximate date of the Sangam period? The question has proved to be one of the greatest puzzles of South Indian chronology, if we are to judge by the bewildering diversity of answers given to it. Indeed, one cannot help thinking that the methods of investigation that have been pursued must have been vitiated by some radical defect, when one notices that all possible dates between the first and the tenth century after Christ have been assigned with greater or less confidence to the Sangam period. For example, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* informs us that the 'Augustan age of Tamil literature', as the late Dr. Caldwell called this period, is to be placed somewhere between the 9th or 10th century and the 13th century A. C. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai and the officers of the Madras Archæological department tell us that we should seek for the Sangam period in the 7th or 8th century A. C. Pandit Raghava Aiyangar of the Tamil Lexicon Committee has attempted to place the Sangam period in the 5th century A. C. Other scholars, of whom I may particularly mention the late Mr. Kanakasabhai

Pillai, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the University Professor of Indian History in Madras, and Mr. Srinivasa Pillai of Tanjore, have maintained that the Sangam period should be sought for in the second century A. C. There are yet others who would look for the Sangam period before the Christian era. The expounders of every one of these views are scholars of proved ability and established reputation; but obviously all of them cannot be right, and possibly all of them may be wrong. Each one has attempted to carry on research along his own line, and to state results independently of others; and every body knows that the pursuit of special lines of investigation easily tends to beget prejudices, and in the statement of results it is not always easy to avoid the fallacies due to individual prepossessions. Discrepant as their conclusions may be, these scholars have as the result of their investigations provided us with a wealth of material, which when subjected to a careful process of analysis, criticism and co-ordination, may yield valuable result by providing us with a tentative solution of the problem that may be accepted.

In examining the various answers made to the question, we should remember that a hypothesis, however high the authority of the person who vouches for it, can have no significance, if it has no real connection with the facts which it is supposed to explain. Nor can the validity of a hypothesis be inferred from its agreement with a single fact. It is a rule of inductive logic that a hypothesis is valid in proportion to the number and variety of facts which it is able to explain. In other words, the guarantee for the validity of a hypothesis consists in the consilience of results. A hypothesis may be accepted as reasonably established, when a number of independent facts points towards it as the one conception fitted to bring them all into intelligible relations. It will be my attempt in this paper to test the various dates that have been advanced, in consonance with this rule.

II. *IXth or Xth century theory*

In spite of the high authority of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the view there expressed may be rejected as obsolete. That view was first stated about a century ago by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, when the materials for the investigation of the problem were extremely scanty. In his article in the 9th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Dr. Rost repeated that view ; and that article has been bodily reproduced in the 11th or the latest edition of that work. When Dr. Rost wrote his article, the old Sangam works, excepting the immortal Kural had not been made available in print ; but since then, many of the Sangam works have been published, and much valuable research has been made ; and it is strange that the literary and historical material since brought to light has been totally ignored by the editors of the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. How far out of focus is the date given in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* will be patent if we remember that upon that view the Sangam age will be posterior by several centuries to the earlier Śaiva hymnists, Jñānasambanda and Appar, who were the contemporaries of the great Pallava Narasimha I, the destroyer of Vātāpi. The late Prof. Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum thoroughly exposed the unsustainability of this hypothesis in his *Some Mile-stones in Tamil Literature* ; and one can only express one's wonder, not unmixed with pain, that the error should still persist, and find its way into some works, intended to be of authority, like Frazer's *Literary History of India* and the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

III. *VIIth or VIIIth century theory*

If the view expressed in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* may be summarily dismissed as out of date, the view expressed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai cannot be so dealt with easily. He is a recognized authority on astronomical calculation ; and it is with his assistance that the dates of many of the

South Indian kings mentioned in inscriptions have been determined. The service that he has done to South Indian chronology is incalculable ; and naturally, therefore, a date fixed by him as the result of astronomical calculation will *prima facie* command acceptance. And when to his personal authority, which is deservedly high, is added the fact that his date has won ready acceptance among the experts of the Government Archæological department, his view would appear to be too well entrenched to be easily assailed. From certain astronomical data found in *Chilappatikaram* and the eleventh *Paripadal*, both Sangam works, he tells us that the former work cannot be anterior to 23rd July, 756, and the latter must have been written after 17th June, 634. The startling definiteness of the dates arrests attention, and tempts, nay compels, acceptance. 'To beard the lion in his den, the Douglas in his hall' were perhaps less hazardous than to oppose Mr. Swamikannu Pillai on the question of an Indian date which he has fixed by calculation ; nevertheless, with due deference, I venture to state that his dates in this matter cannot be accepted. To place the Sangam period between the middle of the 7th and the middle of the 8th century would be to ignore altogether the political condition of Tamil India as depicted in the Sangam works, and of the rest of India in that period as now known to us. From the time of Simhaviṣṇu (c. 575-600 A. C.) the Pallava supremacy was the most outstanding fact of South Indian history for nearly three centuries. The period indicated by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai is covered by the reigns of, among others, Mahendravarman I, Narasimhavarman I, Paramēśvaravarman I, Narasimhavarman II and Nandivarman II, all Pallavas of Kanchi ; and during this period of Pallava domination, the Cheras and Cholas, and to some extent the Pandyas did not count for anything practically. The Sangam works make no reference to the Pallavas at all ; not one Pallava king, great or insignificant, is even casually mentioned in

those works. On the other hand, a large number of Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas, with names some of which may be regarded as unpronounceable and almost forbidding, and many feudatory chiefs under them are sung about by the Sangam poets. Among them, I may, by way of illustration, mention Chen-Kuttuvan, Imayavaramban Nedunchéralādan, Pal-yānai-chelkelu-Kuttuvan, Kalamkai-kanninār-Mudi-chéral, Ādu-Kotpāttu-chéralādan, Chelva-kadumko-vāliyan, Perum-chéral-Irumporai, Ilam cheral-Irumporai, Yānaikkat-chéy-māntaram-chéral Irumporai, Pālai-pādiya-Perum Kadumko, Perum-chorru-Udiyan-chéralādan of the Chera kingdom, Karikāl-Peruvalathān, Ilamchény-chenn, Nalam-killi, Kutamurāt-tunchiya Killi Valavan, Vél-pah-ṛadakkai, Peru-nar-killi, Cholan Chen Kannan of the Chola kingdom, and Nedum cheliyan, Mudukudumi peruvaludi, Ilavantikai-tunchiya Nan-māran, Kūdakarattu-tunchiya māran valudi, of the Pandya kingdom. Among the chiefs, mention may be made of Pékan, Ori, Kāri, Evvi, Nannan, Adiyamān Anji, Vicchi-Ko, and Pāri. It is significant that not one Pandya or Chola king of the 7th or 8th century whom the inscriptions have brought to light is referred to in Sangam works, while they belaud the prowess and munificence of a host of kings and chieftains that ruled and exercised authority over the Tamil kingdoms. No one would have the temerity to say that the Tamil kings and their achievements detailed in the Sangam works could be made to fit into the epoch of the Pallava ascendancy. These rulers must necessarily belong to a prior age. About the middle of the 7th century the Pandya king of Madura was Kun Pandya *alias* Ninṛa-Sir-Nedu-Māran, and the Pallava king of Kanchi was Narasimhavarman I; while about the middle of the 8th century, the Pandya and the Pallava kings were respectively Jatila Nedunjadaian Parāntaka, the donor of the Vélvikudi grant, and the well-known Nandivarman Pallava Malla. The Vélvikudi plates, the text of which Mr. K. G. Sankar published recently in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic*

Society, Bangalore, mention the Pandyan Mudu Kudumi of the Sangam period as a remote ancestor of Ninṛa-Śīr-Nedu-Māran or, as he is called in the grant, Māravarman the victor at Nelveli. This Nedu Māran was converted to Śaivism by Jñānasambanda, and at the instance of the latter became one of the most cruel persecutors of the Jains, of whom it is said he impaled 8000 in Madura. Jñānasambanda and his elder contemporary Appar, who is said to have converted to Śaivism the Pallava Mahendravarman, son of Narasiṃha I, have in their Devaram hymns referred to the Chola king Chen Kannan, with reverential devotion ; and it is seen from the references that by the time of the two hymnists, a hoary and consecrated legend had become woven about the name of that Chola monarch. Dr. Hultsch thinks that even at the time of the earliest of the dynastic Cholas brought to light by epigraphic research, Chen Kannan must have been only a name ; and we see from the Tiruvālangādu plates of Rajendra Chola I that Karikala Chola 'of extensive glory' was an ancestor of the 'emperor' Ko. Chen-Kannan. All this indisputably shows that we should seek for the Tamil kings of the Sangam era long before the middle of the 7th century.

Besides, as already stated, the middle of the 7th century coincides with the date of Jñānasambanda and Appar, and their royal disciples Ninṛa-Śīr-Nedu-Māran and Mahendravarman. Those were the days when the Jains were most mercilessly persecuted both in the Pandya and the Pallava country. The flame of passion and prejudice against the Jains was fanned with equal vigour by the Śaiva Nayanars and the Vaiṣṇava Alvars ; and by the time of Śrī Śaṅkara (8th century) the Jains had ceased to be an important factor in the Tamil country. It is difficult to believe that it was during this period of bitter persecution, that the growth of classical Tamil literature went on apace, mainly under Jain auspices ; for every body conversant with Sangam literature knows to what great extent we are indebted to the

Jains in that respect. The Sangam age was pre-eminently the period of the predominance of the Jains in Tamil letters. The author of *Chilappatikaram* was a Jain ; while his brother, the Chera king Chen Kuttuvan, was a Śaivite. It is patent that there was then perfect religious toleration, and the differences in religious belief did not break asunder the bonds of family, much less did they affect the amenities of social life. Again to look for the Sangam period in the 7th and the 8th centuries will be to regard the Sangam poets as contemporaries of the Śaiva hymnists and the Vaiṣṇava Alvars ; and to do so would be to ignore the evidence supplied by the language, matter and verse-form and metre employed in the works of the Sangam and the hymnal period respectively.

Apart from the difficulties noticed above, let us inquire if the dates supplied by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai can really be obtained from the astronomical data given in *Chilappatikaram* and *Paripadal*. In a paper on '*The Date of Chilappatikaram*' which I published in 1917 in the Madras Christian College Magazine, I have shown that in spite of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's emphatic statement that 756 A. C. satisfies all the astronomical conditions mentioned in *Chilappatikaram* not even one condition could, without very material alteration, be made to apply to that year. Similarly, in regard to 634 A.C. which that distinguished scholar has arrived at from astronomical data found in the XIth *Paripadal*, Mr. Somasundara Desikar of Tiruarur has examined its correctness in a series of articles recently contributed by him to *Sen Tamil*, the organ of the Madura Tamil Sangam ; and demonstrated its inaccuracy. I do not intend to examine in detail these dates over again ; but I shall state the position very briefly indeed. In connection with two situations in *Chilappatikaram*, astronomical data are supplied, in one place by the commentator Adiyarkku-nallar, and in another by the author of the poem, Ilan-ko-adigaḷ himself. The former relates to the fight from Kāveri-pattinam of the hero and the heroine, and the latter relates to a fire that broke out in Madura. In regard to

the first occurrence, the commentator tells us among other things, that in that year the month of Chitrai (Meṣa) commenced on Sunday, the third lunar day (tṛtīyā) co-existing with Svāti star, and that the flight took place on the 29th Vaikasi (Rṣabha) which was a Tuesday, the fourteenth day of the waxing moon, after the moon had set, while yet the sky was dark, the star being Kettaji (Jyēsthā). Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself admits that in 756 A. C., the month of Chitrai began on Sunday, *pratama* or first lunar day with *Chitrai* star and that the flight, to agree with that year, must have taken place, not in the small hours of the morning between Tuesday and Wednesday under the influence of the malignant *Kettai* star, but early in the morning between Monday and Tuesday, when the prevailing star was *Anusham*. He also admits that Tuesday was not *Caturdaśi* or 14th lunar day, as the commentator says, but it was a full-moon day, and that there was an eclipse that day. Indeed as regards the flight, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date is at complete variance with every particular mentioned in the commentator's note. Turning to the fire, we read in the poem that it occurred at night on a Friday which was the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Ādi, the star Bharani being succeeded in the course of the night by the star Kartigai. On 23rd July 756, there was *Aśvini* star till 43 gh. or till after 11 p. m., besides it was the *sixth* day of the dark half (*Kṛṣṇa Sasthi*) having lasted that day for 38 gh. after sunrise. There was no *Kartigai* (Kṛttikā) star at all that night, nor was it *Aṣṭamī* as the text expressly requires. In arriving at 756 A. C. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has brushed aside the statements of both the poet and the commentator, and substituted data of his own; and if instead of the 8th century, he had decided upon any other period as the most probable, he could, by the same process of editing, revising and modifying the premises supplied by the work, have arrived at the result he wanted. The other date, 17th June 634 A. C. is said to be deduced from the 'horoscope', to use Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's expression,

of a flood in the Vaigai river, which is found in *Paripadal* XI. The poem says that the river was in flood on a day when Venus was in R̥ṣabha, Mars in Meṣa, Mercury in Mithuna, Kṛttikā star was at the zenith at dawn, Jupiter in Mīna, Saturn in Makara, the moon was eclipsed by the serpent, Agastya was in Mithuna, and the hot weather had been succeeded by the season of rain. The commentator, Parimēl-Aḷagar, explains, referring to the language of this passage, that the month was Āvani (Simha) the star was Avittam (Śraviṣṭhā), the moon and Rāhu were in Makara and Ketu was in Karkāṭaka. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai rejects the planetary positions given here as astronomically wrong or impossible, puts a strained construction on the passage, brushes aside all inconvenient statements and constructing a horoscope of his own, comes to his conclusion about the date. It seems to me that this is an unsatisfactory method. With the Sun in Simha, the positions assigned to Mercury and Venus in the poem may be challenged as wrong by modern astronomers; but 'Bhagavan' Garga seems to have thought that this planetary position was not impossible. There is no doubt that the ancient belief was that the position was possible but apart from that, why should the Sun be removed from Simha and placed in another zodiacal sign, Mithuna, as Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date would do? There are ample data in the text and in the commentary for placing the sun in Simha. Then again, why should Saturn be removed from Makara to Dhanu? On 17th June 634, Saturn was in 257° , that is to say 13° away from Makara; and Saturn takes a year to travel 13° . Again Kṛttikā cannot be at the zenith at dawn on that date. And what about Agastya? The poet regards its position as an important factor. Some use is intended to be made of it in checking the result; and so long as it is not done or is not possible to be done one cannot be too cautious in positing a date.

(To be continued)

K. G. SETHA AIYAR

The Evidence of Pāṇini on Vasudeva-Worship

The *sūtra* iv. 3. 98 of Pāṇini has long been regarded as an evidence of the antiquity of Vāsudeva-worship. Says Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Vaiṣṇavism* : "In his comment on Pāṇini iv. 3. 98., Patañjali distinctly states that the Vāsudeva, contained in the *sūtra*, is the name of the worshipful, i. e. of one who is pre-ominently worshipful (i. e. God). The worship of Vāsudeva must be regarded to be as old as Pāṇini." Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda in his article "*Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava traditions*" (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 1, 1919), not only accepts this position but even goes further than this ; he even affirms the existence of the worship of Arjuna. Says he : "If Vāsudeva in Pāṇini's aphorism iv. 3. 98 is a god and not a kṣatriya, it follows that the other person named in the *sūtra*, Arjuna, is also a god and not a kṣatriya". Further on he says : "....Vāsudeva and Arjuna were not only recognised as gods at the time of Pāṇini, but also as a divine pair as described in the *Mahābhārata*. In this connection he refers to the story of Nara and Nārāyaṇa in the Ādi Parvan of the *Mahābhārata*. So we have not only the theory of Vāsudeva-worship but also the theory of an ancient worship of Arjuna, which is now defunct. This theory of the worship of Arjuna is supported by Barth also in his *Religions of India* (p. 172, f. n.). Says Barth : "In the *Mahābhārata*, for example, and also in Pāṇini (iv. 3. 98), there are indications of an ancient worship of Arjuna quite analogous to that of Kṛṣṇa. Barth gives no specific references to the *Mahābhārata*. Perhaps he has the story of the Ādi Parvan in his mind and the general fact of Arjuna's divine descent. But in spite of all this, the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* about the existence of worship of Arjuna, is very inconclusive. That Arjuna was the God of a sect which went by his name

and that his worship formed a cult, is scarcely proved by anything in the *Mahābhārata*, unless we confuse 'respect' with 'worship'.

The theory of an ancient worship of Arjuna, however, becomes more plausible when we come to Pāṇini iv. 3. 98. And the contention seems quite reasonable that if we can infer Vāsudeva-worship from this rule (iv. 3. 98) of Pāṇini, we can, and ought to, infer Arjuna-worship also from it. So far Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda is perfectly right. Not only this, but according to the same logic, it seems that one might even go farther and suggest the existence of the worship of other personages as well, such as, Nakula, etc.

The position is this: Rule no. 98 (iv. 3. 98) must be read with rule no. 95 (viz., '*bhaktiḥ*'). Now, rule 95 (iv. 3. 95) is a leading rule which applies not only to rule no. 98, but also to several others. In fact, it is the key-note of the group of rules from 95 to 100, inclusive. *Bhaktiḥ* (iv. 3. 95) is the meaning in which the suffixes mentioned in the section, along with others, may be used. The suffixes *van* and *van̄*, are only two out of several other suffixes which may be used for the purpose; and Vāsudeva and Arjuna (rule 98) are only two out of several other words to which some one or other of these suffixes may be applied to convey the same meaning viz. '*(sa asya) bhaktiḥ*' (95).

Hence, if the derivative Vāsudevaka (according to iv. 3. 98) is taken to mean 'worshipper of Vāsudeva', then, for the very same reason, Arjunaka, another derivative under the same rule, must also be taken to mean 'worshipper of Arjuna'. But unfortunately, we cannot stop here. The same is the meaning in which the suffixes according to rules 96, 97, 99 and 100, also are employed.

Now, if *bhaktiḥ* (95) is understood to mean 'worship', then, rule iv. 3. 96 speaks of worshippers of cakes (*āpūpika*) and of preparations of milk (*pāyasika*). Rule 97 gives us worshippers of Mahārāja (Indra?). Rule 99 is a very generous rule and implies the existence of worshippers of all kṣatriya-

and gotra-names ; for instance, there were the worshippers of Nakula (Nākulaka). Rule 100 is still more generous and proves the existence of the worshippers of lands as well as of kṣatriyas such as the worshippers of the land and also the kṣatriyas of Aṅga, etc. Now, there is nothing to show that *bhakti* as applied to rule 98 is different from what it means in rule 96, or 99, or 100. So, if we speak of worshipper of Vāsudeva or Arjuna under rule 98, we ought to be prepared to think of other worshippers of other objects, too, under the other rules. But is this possible ? If, however, we are not prepared to infer the existence of these other worshippers, are we justified in inferring Arjuna-worship, or even Vāsudeva-worship from rule 98 ?

The inference about Vāsudeva-worship is based on two important assumptions, viz. : (i) That the word Vāsudeva in rule 98 has been understood by Patañjali to mean a god other than the kṣatriya (Kṛṣṇa) of that name ; and (ii) that the word *bhakti* in the leading rule 95 means 'religious adoration'.

Now, taking the first assumption first, we should bear in mind that to Pāṇini, Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇi family was known ; so was Arjuna ; and hence on the face of it, there is nothing to imply that in rule 98, he was *not* thinking of Vāsudeva, the kṣatriya. But there is one difficulty. The form 'vāsudeva' could be obtained as a kṣatriya name by another rule from the stem *vasudeva*, and then by rule iv. 3. 99 the form *vāsudevaka* could be derived with exactly the same meaning and pronunciation. The case of Arjuna is different ; it could not be included within the scope of rule 99 ; for, in that case, the form would have been 'ārjunaka', with a long *ā*. So, for the form 'Arjunaka', rule 98 is necessary. But why does Vāsudeva find a place there ?

If Patañjali had simply said, in answer to this question, that it is a pardonable redundancy, all our speculation about Vāsudeva-worship in Pāṇini would have been impossible. But instead, he attempts to be scientific and suggests two

alternative solutions. In the first place, he suggests that by taking the word 'Vāsudeva' along with 'Arjuna' in rule 98, Pāṇini wanted to indicate, though still at the risk of redundancy, that, in a compound of these two words, 'Vāsudeva,' though it contains more vowels, should still precede 'Arjuna' (*Vāsudeva-śabdasya pūrva-nipātaṃ vakṣyāmīti*). As an alternative solution of the difficulty, Patañjali says that we might also keep the word Vāsudeva out of the category of kṣatriya names, and understand it as a (proper) name of the Lord. It is this statement which is at the base of all our speculation about Vāsudeva-worship in Pāṇini. This passage has been understood to refer to a god other than the kṣatriya of that name. Hence the existence of a god of that name has been inferred. But was Patañjali really thinking of a god of this name? Our contention is that his language does not warrant any such interpretation.

(i) The word *athavā* in the *Mahābhāṣya* is significant. He first speaks of the precedence of 'Vāsudeva' in a compound with 'Arjuna'. There he was apparently thinking of the close associates of the *Mahābhārata*, viz. Vāsudeva and Arjuna. This explanation does not appear satisfactory even to himself; so, he thinks out an alternative explanation, but surely not a different meaning of the word.

(ii) "Or" he says, "it is perhaps not a kṣatriya name". Now, how can it be a kṣatriya name by being derived from the word 'Vāsudeva'? As so derived, it would apply to all descendants of Vāsudeva, and rule 99 would be applicable; and so the word would be redundant in rule 98. But if the word 'Vāsudeva', however derived, be taken as exclusively applied to Kṛṣṇa,—as, indeed, it usually is,—then it would be a proper name and would require special mention in some rule. This is what Patañjali means, when he says : *saṃjñā eṣā tatra bhagavataḥ*. That a word can forego its etymological meaning and acquire a new significance is not an unknown phenomenon. However, it is a plausible solution of the difficulty about the presence of the word 'Vāsudeva' in rule 98.

(iii) The expression *tatra bhagavataḥ* is only an idiomatic way of referring to persons entitled to respect. It does not necessarily suggest reference to any deity.

So, it is not at all clear that Patañjali was thinking of any sect of worshippers whose god was called Vāsudeva. If that were so, he would not have hazarded it only as an alternative hypothesis. He was evidently thinking of the person who was so closely associated with Arjuna. If he was not thinking of the kṣatriya Vāsudeva, how could he at all entertain the possibility of the form *vāsudevaka* being derived under rule 99 ?

The name Vāsudeva, though a derivative name and though, as such, applicable to others of the same clan, had already begun to be applied to Kṛṣṇa in exclusion of all others and was thus acquiring the nature of a proper name. That is all that can be inferred from Patañjali's statement *athavā naiṣā kṣatriydkhyā ; samjñū eṣā tatra bhagavataḥ*. More than this, Patañjali does not appear to have said.

With regard to the second assumption in this connection, viz., that *bhakti* in rule 95 means 'religious adoration', we may point out that in the group of rules from 95 to 100, the derivatives contemplated are mostly from names other than those of gods. Except the doubtful case of rule 97, and the supposed case of Vāsudeva in rule 98, no other god's name is considered under these rules. The sect-names of the worshippers of other well-known gods, such as Śiva or Viṣṇu, are not really derived under these rules (iv. 3. 95-100). These are derived under rule iv. 2. 24 (*sā asya devatā*). The names indicating the gods worshipped by any one are the true index of a man's religious adoration. Rule iv. 2. 24 and rule iv. 3. 95 cannot possibly mean the same thing ; for, in that case, Pāṇini would be guilty of an unpardonable redundancy from which Patañjali is labouring so hard to save him. Now, if rule iv. 2. 24 obtains derivatives to indicate the god worshipped, and if the derivatives under rule iv. 3. 96-100 also meant the worshippers of

particular objects, then surely, the interposition of rule iv. 3. 95 (*bhaktiḥ*) giving the meaning in which these latter derivatives are to be obtained, was clearly unnecessary. Instead of giving this new rule about the meaning, rules 96-100 might easily be grouped under rule iv. 2. 24. But this has not been done. We have, therefore, to distinguish the meaning given in iv. 3. 95 from that given in iv. 2. 24 ; and if religious adoration is to be the meaning anywhere, surely it must be where the names are indisputably the names of gods, i. e., rule iv. 2. 24.

Again, rules iv. 3. 95-100 belong to the miscellaneous section headed by aphorism iv. 2. 92 (*śeṣe*). This rule implies that the principal meanings have been considered before ; and the stems and the suffixes considered hereafter constitute a miscellany. Can religious worship be considered so unimportant as not to find a place by the side of other important meanings ? Sect-names were very commonly used, e. g. Śiva, etc. They were not a grammatical rarity, to be explained along with obsolete or rarely used terms. Yet while rule iv. 2. 24. (*sā asya devatā*) is given an important place, rule iv. 3. 95 (*bhaktiḥ*) is relegated to a rather less important place. These considerations seem to prove that 'bhakti' in rule iv. 3. 95 does not imply religious adoration.

By the way, do we really find many uses of the terms like Vāsudevaka, derived under rules iv. 3. 96-100 ? If they were sect-names, indicating religious worship, would not their use have been more frequent ? A grammarian has to account for rare and obsolete words also ; the fact that a word is noticed by a grammarian does not prove that it is much used. A religious designation is, however, likely to be frequently used.

It appears, therefore, that, *bhakti* in rule iv. 3. 95 has been misunderstood. *Bhakti* has been explained by Nārada and Śāṇḍilya (*Bhakti-sūtras*) to mean a feeling akin to fondness (*anurakti*). Is not fondness a possible meaning in the rules we are considering ?

Whatever that may be, unless we are prepared to admit

the existence, at some time or other, at some place or other, of worshippers of lands, men, and even cakes, we cannot take *bhakti* in iv. 3. 95 to mean religious adoration.

Now, if Patañjali in his comment on iv. 3. 98 was not thinking of a *god* Vāsudeva, and if *bhakti* in iv. 3. 95 does not mean religious adoration, then, what other evidence have we in Pāṇini about Vāsudeva-worship ?

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

Politics and Political History in the Mahābhārata

III

Bhīṣma's opinion regarding Duryodhana's claim is found in his admonition to that prince in the midst of the assembly of Bhārata elders and allies summoned to settle the dispute about the succession to the Kuru kingdom. Elsewhere the *Mahābhārata* (Udyoga, ch. 147) gives us another account of the Kuru state and this throws a flood of light on the events and their importance. Bhīṣma narrates before the assembly the whole story from his own abdication and determination to serve his step-brother. Incidentally we are further told that Vicitravīrya was excluded from the kingdom by his people, and on his exile the people approached Bhīṣma (*tadābhyadhāvan mām eva prajāḥ kṣudbhayapīditāḥ*—Ud., 147, 25) and requested him to ascend the throne which but for his voluntary renunciation was his and that it was the will of the people that he should become king for the benefit of the people :

Prajā ūcuḥ :—

Upakṣiṇāḥ prajāḥ sarvā rājā bhava bhavāya naḥ,
Itiḥ praṇuda bhādraṇ te Śāntanoḥ kulavardhana.
Piḍyante te prajāḥ sarvā vyādhibhir bhr̥śadāruṇaiḥ,
Alpāvasiṣṭā Gāṅgeya tāḥ paritrātum arhasi.
Ādhiṇ praṇuda vīra tvaṃ prajā dharmeṇa pālaya,
Tvayī jivati mā rāṣṭraṃ vināśam upagacchatu.

The people who approached Bhīṣma included the Pauras, the townsmen or burghers, the office-bearers of the state, the priests and the brāhmanas. The appeal fell on deaf ears and Bhīṣma, true to his principles, refused to violate his oath. Anyhow it shows how the people took upon themselves the task of filling the throne, and the language too is significant.

However matters soon came to a head. The sons of Pāṇḍu grew up to manhood; their virtues attracted the people to their side, and they now began to speak openly for the accession of the Pāṇḍu prince to the throne. This was galling to Duryodhana the eldest of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons, and he relates to his father the whole story of the great popularity of the Pāṇḍavas (Ādi, 141, 32-38).

The people wanted the Pāṇḍavas to be their rulers in place of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Duryodhana thereupon asked his father to banish the five brothers to the city of Vāraṇāvata, thus removing them from the eyes of the citizens :

Pāṇḍavebhyo bhayaṃ na syāt tān vivāsayatām bhavān,
Nipuṇcābhyupāyena nagaraṃ Vāraṇāvatam (Ādi, 142, 4).

This however was a step which the old king did not disapprove. But he feared the consequences of the step, which might lead to a revolution, in which the people were sure to take the side of the virtuous Yudhiṣṭhira. The king feared for his own life and the lives of his sons, who were sure to fall victims to popular fury, and he expressed his apprehension in the words :

Te purā satkṛtās tāta Pāṇḍunā nāgarā janāḥ,
Kathaṃ Yudhiṣṭhirasyārthe na no hanyuḥ sabāndhavān
(Ādi, 142, 11).

This popular clamour for the young Pāṇḍava princes made the old king dread the consequences of ousting the Pāṇḍava princes from the state, and consequently Duryodhana had recourse to the stratagem of sending them away to Vāraṇāvata to be burnt down along with the inflammable house prepared by the royal conspirators. Their miraculous

escapes, their success at the svayamvara of Draupadī, and their marriage are well-known to all Indian readers of the Epic. At length when the news of their success reached the ears of the old king, he along with his old ministers had the princes restored to their royal position, which was sanctioned by the legal right of inheritance and the force of popular choice (*prakṛtīnām anumate pade sthāsyaṃti Pāṇḍavāḥ—Ud., 204, 11*). Here too the language is significant. The Pāṇḍavas are described as being established by virtue of popular choice. Their restoration however was short-lived.

Events did not pass smoothly. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who seemed to have based their claims upon the regency of their blind father, sanctioned by the handing over of authority to him by Pāṇḍu on the eve of his abdication, did not relish the prospect of their succession to the throne, and remained constantly on the alert to dispossess them through fraud or gamble. So they invited them to a dice-play, in which the Pāṇḍavas lost everything. Restored once more, they again yielded to the temptation of a play, lost everything and departed, consenting to live as hermits for 12 years with another year's life incognito. When at the end of that period they returned and claimed their inheritance, this was refused by their opponents and thereupon the partners had recourse to the arbitration of might. Both armed themselves with friendly kings and India was divided into two great camps. All this together with the history of the war is too well-known to be narrated here, particularly because the subsequent history is of no use to us.

Soon the great war was over, the Pāṇḍavas alone survived and the eldest of them became the *de facto* ruler of the state by right of conquest. The old blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra retired to the forest, but not before he had given an account of his rule to the community, both as a regent and a *de facto* ruler who had remained the titular head of the state for a long period. Weak, weary, and worn out in body and mind, he craved pardon from his people for the sins of his

subject has been discussed by a number of scholars eminently by Mr K. P. Jayaswal in his "Hindu Polity".

*Nature of king's rights : The King as custodian
of popular rights*

The king thus ruled not by virtue of divine privileges, but by virtue of popular consent. The tributes he got from his subjects were not spent in his own luxuries but for doing good to his subjects. Such is the duty attached to the royal office from the days of the Vedas downwards. The king was merely a custodian of his people's money and tributes. The Epic thinkers are almost unanimous about it. Thus when a king is offered the girl Mādhavī by the sage Gālava in connection with the payment of the heavy *śulka*, the king expresses his inability and says,— "Whatever accrues to me from my people is not for my enjoyment, but belongs to the people (*paura-jānapadārtham*). A king, who spends money for his own pleasure, is neither able to achieve dharma or fame, nor gets any benefit after death". In the Jātakas too we find an echo of the same idea. Thus in the Tailapātra Jātaka, the king tempted by the yakṣiṇī formally reminds the latter that he has had no control over his subjects ; he was simply empowered to chastise the wicked.

In lieu of services, the king received his taxes. These were regarded as his *wages*. Such an idea was a heritage from the old Vedic times and was fostered by the influence of the social contract theory, which arose towards the close of the Vedic period and which was elaborated by the Epic thinkers. The rights of kings were far from being absolute, and in more than one place, the taxes are designated as mere *wages* (*vetana*).

*Tyrannicide or deposition of tyrants : Instances
from the Mahābhārata*

Thrones of despotic princes were insecure. Irresponsible rule or high-handedness often made the subjects rise

in revolt and they put an end to despotism. Tyrannicide was common, and the political thinkers of the Mahābhārata prescribed the death of the despot as the only remedy for tyranny. In more than one place we have passages, which call upon the people to put their vicious rulers to death. Nay, in many places it is regarded as a duty (Śānti, ch. 67). In another passage, which is preserved in the midst of verses lauding the various kinds of gifts, we are told "that a king who failed to protect his subjects from oppression by robbers or enemies, or under whose rule the people starved or women were dishonoured, deserved death in the hands of the people, as if he was a mad dog."¹

In the Aśvamedha parva, we have the account of the deposition of king Khanīetra of Oudh (Aśva., ch. 4). Elsewhere we have accounts of the downfall of the Daṇḍakas, (Daṇḍakānām mahādrumam Aurvakeṇa nipātitaṁ), the deposition of Arjuna Kārtavīrya, of Aila, of king Dambhodbhava, who despised and maltreated the brahmins. Some more scattered accounts of deposed tyrants are found, and in these, most of the names of ill-fated tyrants mentioned by Kauṭilya occur. But by far the most important is a list of such ill-fated kings, who brought destruction on their race by their sins, and in this list, we find the names of most of the princes mentioned by Kauṭilya in his chapter on 'Indriya Jaya', and whose names were not identified by Shamasastri. In the course of the debate before the Bhārata war, Bhīma mentions them (Ud., 74, 13-17) :—

Haihayānām Udāvartto Nipānām Janamejayaḥ,
Bahulas Tālajaṅghānām Kṛmīṇām uddhato Vasuḥ.
Ajavinduḥ Suvīrāṇām Surāṣṭrāṇām Ruṣardhikaḥ,
Arkajaś ca Valihānām Cīnānām Dhautamulakaḥ.
Hayagrīvo Videhānām Varayus ca Mahaujasam,
Bāhuḥ Sundaravegānām Dīptākṣāṇām Pururavaḥ.
Sahajaś Cedi-Matsyānām Pravīrāṇām Vṛṣadhvajah,

Dhāraṇaś Candra-Vatsānām Mukuṭānām Vigāhanah.

Śamaś ca Nandivegānām ityete kulapāṃsanāḥ.

Karāla Vaideha's name mentioned in the Kauṭīliya is not in the list. In a chapter of the Mahābhārata he is described as a pious king discussing the Sāṃkhya doctrine with Pāṇcaśikha, one of the earliest expounders of the system. The name also occurs in the Buddhacarita¹.

Other forms of government :

The Yādava confederacy

But while we have nothing more about Northern India, we have some interesting side-lights on the Yādavas, which enable us to know something of another type of government which existed in the south where the Yādavas a tribe of fighters ruled. In the days of the great war, the Yādavas were not regarded as kṣatriyas of pure Aryan blood but as Vrātyas. So says Bhūriśravas to Arjuna who following the advice of Kṛṣṇa had cut off his hands, while he was about to smite his rival Sātyaki². Here Bhūriśravas reproaches Arjuna for following the advice of Kṛṣṇa, and attributes his misdeed to his connection with the Yādavas, whom he describes as not only wicked and perverted by nature but also as Vrātyas.

Moreover, as is well-known to all students of the Mahābhārata, there prevailed among them not only marriage with first cousins, but also other customs which did not find a place among the Aryans.

From the Epic we learn that the Yādavas had a constitution similar to that of the Licchavis. The Yādavas were a confederation of several clans and comprised the clans of Bhoja, Andhaka, Vṛṣṇi, and Kukura among them. As to the government of the whole confederation, we find an assembly of chiefs who ruled their small states independently. This

1 *Buddhacarita*, iv, 80.

2 *Droṇa P.*, cxli, 15.

assembly was under an officer called Sabhāpati, who in times of emergency summoned the Yādava princes and elders to assemble in the Sabhā and deliberate. In this connection we are told in the Sabhā-parva (ch. 220, 10-13) of the Sabhāpati who summoned the Yādavas to arms and communicated to them the tidings of Subhadra's abduction by Arjuna by beat of drums.

For this confederation as a whole, they had no king in the ordinary sense of the word but had an elected chief who acted as the President. The affairs of the state were managed by the elders whose voice was supreme. Vāsudeva or Śrīkrṣṇa regarded later on as the incarnation of God himself was one of the elders. In ch. 81, śloka 25 of the Śānti Parva, he is described as one of the Saṅgha-mukhyas of the Yādava Saṅgha and is warned by Nārada to guard against dissensions in the Saṅgha as this was sure to destroy the confederation. These chiefs, however, seem to have retained autonomous jurisdiction over their own subjects and tribesmen. Their independence would be inferred from the passage :

Yādavāḥ kukurā bhojāḥ sarve cāndhaka vṛṣṇayaḥ,

Tvayyāsaktā mahāvāho lokā lokeśvarāśca ye.

which describes the chiefs of the Yādavas, Kukuras, and Bhojas as lokeśvaras or "rulers of men themselves".

But while they retained local jurisdiction and ruling authority, they were not crowned kings in the ordinary sense of the word. This would appear from ch. 37, śl. 29 of the Sabhā Parva, where, in course of the dispute regarding the *arghya*, the Cedi Śiśupāla takes exception to the selection of Śrīkrṣṇa on the ground that he was neither eligible to nor worthy of that high honour as he did not come of a royal family (a-rāja), nor had he been ever crowned king.

Republicanism and Śrī Krṣṇa

Before we conclude we must say something of Śrīkrṣṇa, undoubtedly the central figure in the present version of the Epic narrative. Equally great as a religious teacher, and

in war and politics, Śrīkṛṣṇa today is regarded as an incarnation of the Deity. His political career and teachings, as described in the Epic, show him to be worthy of that reverence, with which India invokes his name, and no account of the Mahābhārata politics will be complete, unless we attempt to set forth the main outlines of his policy, or the part he played in the political life of contemporary India. Here we summarize his activities during the three important phases of his career :

1. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a Vṛṣṇi prince and a scion of the ruling Yādava kṣattriya tribe. The efforts of his earlier life were devoted to the destruction of the power of Kāṃsa (son of Ugrasena) who had usurped the headship of the Yādavas, and was trying to perpetuate absolute power, in league with a number of eastern princes i.e. Jarāsandha and his allies e.g. Bhagadatta of Kāmarūpa, Vakra of Kuruṣa, and Puṇḍra Vāsudeva, lord of Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and the Kirātas. This league was joined by some of the other kṣattriya princes e.g. the Cedi Śiśupāla and Bhīsmaka. This league compelled a number of kṣattriya princes to move westward. The Yādavas too, like the princes of the Śūrasenas, Śālvas, Pāṭaccaras, South Pañcālas, and East Kośalas, had to move and they retired to the fortified city of Kuśasthalī, and to Dvārāvātī.

2. After his success against Kāṃsa whom he killed, he set up his (Kāṃsa's) father Ugrasena as the elected President of the confederacy and tried to re-organise the Yādavas. He directed his energies against Jarāsandha (whose daughter Kāṃsa had married) and tried to free India from his policy of 'blood and iron'. It was the practice of the latter to uproot all local monarchs and to imprison them. He and his allies had become a menace to the kṣattriyas of the west and so Kṛṣṇa revived the kṣattriya league composed of the Ailas and the Ikṣvākus, and called upon Yudhiṣṭhira to perform a Rājāsūya, a preliminary step to which would be the overthrow of

Jarāsandha, who was despatched more by stratagem than by force and whose son Sahadeva was put on the throne of Magadha.

3. The last phase of Kṛṣṇa's life was devoted to the settlement of the dispute between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. He tried his best to win over or persuade Duryodhana to a policy of conciliation but he failed. Duryodhana, not only listened to his counsels of moderation but went so far as to attempt to imprison Kṛṣṇa.

In the assembly, on the eve of the great Bhārata war, when all efforts at mediation or compromise failed, Kṛṣṇa delivered a number of speeches in which he called upon the Kuru elders to avoid a fratricidal war. His arguments won over the Kuru elders to his views, but even then Duryodhana proved obdurate. Thereupon Kṛṣṇa delivered his final address and called upon the Kurus to act on the principle of sacrificing the disturbing elements in the royal family for the general good. He asked them to follow the example of the Yādavas by deposing and arresting Duryodhana and his counsellors and thus to restore peace.

The Democratic Gaṇas

Next to these limited monarchies, oligarchical confederations, and despotic states, we have a large number of gaṇas whose administration and administrative machinery are so well described in ch. 107 of the Śāntiparva and which have been explained and interpreted by Mr. Jayaswal. We have mention of a large number of gaṇas mentioned in these chapters where in connection with wars or conquests we have some real geographical data showing the political condition of the country.

The most important of these were : —

1. The Yaudheyas.—They have been mentioned by Pāṇini in his sūtras (II. 3. 113-7) and this goes to prove their existence in the 7th century B. C. Their coins too have come

down to us, bearing the name Yaudheya gaṇa. They have been referred to the 1st or 2nd century B. C. They are mentioned even in the inscriptions of Rudradāman and in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The Vijaya-gaḍh Pillar inscription refers to one who has been described as "yaudheyagaṇapuraskṛtasyamahārāja-mahāsenāpateḥ etc."

2. The Mālavas.—A large number of their coins has been discovered. References to them are common in later inscriptions.

3. The Audumbaras.—They are also mentioned in Pāṇini and in Megasthenes, and we have three coins of the Audumbaras, which sometimes bear the inscriptions of the tribe, sometimes of the king and sometimes of both. They have been referred to the 1st century B. C.

4. The Vṛṣṇis.—They are also mentioned as a Saṅgha in the Arthaśāstra. A single coin of the corporation has been found and is referred to the 2nd century B. C.

5. Śivis.—They are mentioned along with the Trigartas, Ambaṣṭhas and Mālavas. Some of the Śivi coins are interesting, bearing the inscription majhamikāya śivijanapadasa.

6. The Arjunāyanas.—They are mentioned also in the Allahabad Pillar inscription along with the Yaudheyas, Mālavas etc. Some of these have been referred to the 1st century B. C.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJI

Pāli, the Language of the Southern Buddhists

The *Cullavagga*¹ records that two Bhikkhus made complaint to the Master that the members of the community, being of diverse origin, were changing the utterances of the Buddha by the use of their own dialects (*sakāya niruttiyā*). They suggested accordingly the use of Sanskrit or Sanskrit verse (*chandaso*) as a means of securing uniformity. The Buddha, however, made reply: *anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanam pariyāpuṇitum*. Buddhaghosa assures us that the meaning of this instruction was that the monks were to learn his utterances in his speech, that is, the dialect of Magadha. W. Geiger² has recently defended this interpretation of the passage, arguing that the Buddha was merely dealing with the proposal to use Sanskrit as a mode of securing the maintenance of the exact form of his teaching; he negates this, and requires, in accordance with Indian feeling, the use of the speech which he himself actually used. Unhappily this explanation is clearly untenable. It is incredible that, immediately after the use of the term *sakāya niruttiyā* in the representations of the Bhikkhus as applying to the use of their own dialects, the Buddha should have employed this phrase to express a totally different meaning, when with the slightest change of expression he could have made his meaning perfectly plain. Moreover, we can understand without difficulty the statement of Buddhaghosa as due to a later tradition, which had too little understanding of the spirit of the Buddha to realise that he was in no wise inclined to claim for his statements the necessity of preservation in the precise form in which they were uttered. Not the exact words of his teaching, but the Dhamma was the

message that he desired, as we know, to hand down to posterity.

When the significance of this notice is duly appreciated, we must realise that we have no substantial ground for the belief that Māgadhī must be regarded as the sacred language of Buddhism *par excellence*. Without disobedience to the Buddha the doctrines of Buddhism might be handed down in Pāṣāṇī, in Apabhraṃśa, in Sanskrit, in Māgadhī or some other form of Prākṛit, and we have now abundant evidence, apart from tradition, to prove that his permission was acted on, and various forms of speech were employed to record the tenets of the faith. But it is natural that the tradition popularised by Buddhaghosa should find defenders, and the claim that Pāli is based on Māgadhī has been supported on historical grounds. The Buddha, it is pointed out, though not born in Magadha, did the chief part of his lifework there and in the adjacent countries. We may assume that his own speech was the *lingua franca* of the educated classes of India in his time, which was the product of the necessities of intercourse. Such a *lingua franca* would unite features of different dialects, but would tend to be free from the most marked peculiarities of any. When used in teaching in Magadha, however, it would tend to assume in the mouth of the Buddha a distinct flavour of Māgadhī, and on his death this dialect would become established as the proper medium for recording the exact words of the master. The theory is plausible, but it lacks any conclusive force. We have no evidence of the existence in the time of the Buddha of any such *lingua franca* as is supposed; for all we know Sanskrit served then the purposes of such a speech, and the legend of the proposal of the Bhikkhus mentioned above suggests that this was the case. Nor can we say that in point of fact the Buddha did lay aside his mother tongue in order to adapt himself to Māgadhī.

1 Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4; Windisch, *Actes du XIV. Congrès international des Orientalistes* (Paris, 1906), i. 252ff.

The evidence is clearly quite inadequate to prove either that the Buddha's speech was Māgadhi, or that the Canon was redacted in his speech, and on historical grounds other connections have been found for Pāli. Thus Westergaard¹ and E. Kuhn² have connected Pāli with the dialect of Ujjayini, relying not merely on connection with the Gīrnār dialect of the Asokan inscriptions but also on the view that this was the mother tongue of Mahinda, who introduced Buddhism into Ceylon. Rhys Davids³, on the other hand, held that the Buddha himself would use the speech of the official classes of Kosala, that this language spread with the influence of the Kosalan dynasty until it was spoken east and west from Delhi to Patna, and north and south from Sāvatti to Avanti, and that Pāli was a literary dialect based on the spoken language of Kosala, probably in the form which it assumed at Avanti. Oldenberg⁴, again, rejecting the mission of Mahinda as unhistorical, argued that the introduction of Pāli into Ceylon must be deemed to be due to the influence of the people of Kalinga whose proximity to the island rendered them the natural source of influence and whose speech, as evidenced by the Khandagiri inscription, has marked similarities to Pāli. E. Müller⁵ supported this derivation by pointing out that in early times it was the north-west of Ceylon which was the seat of culture, pointing to influence from Southern India and not to Aryan immigration from the Ganges valley.

These divergent views have each plausibility, and they suffice to show that on mere arguments of a historical nature no serious progress is possible. Nor can anything be established by the ingenious effort of Max Walleser⁶

1 *Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte*, p. 87.

2 *Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 9.

3 *Buddhist India*, pp. 153ff.; *Cambridge History of India*, i. 187; *Pāli Dictionary*, p. v.

4 *Vinaya Piṭaka, Introduction*, pp. 1ff. 5 *Pāli Language*, p. ix.

6 *Sprache und Heimat des Pāli-Kanons* (1924).

to show that the name Pāli preserves in reduced form the city name Pāṭali and denotes the speech in which the Pāṭaliputra canon was redacted. Ingenious as is his contention, it contains far too many hypotheses to be of serious importance in settling the question. We must, in fact, be satisfied with such conclusions as we can draw from the comparison of Pāli, as we find it in the oldest parts of the Buddhist Canon, with the scanty and unsatisfactory records which we have of early Indian dialects.

Even a cursory examination of Pāli is sufficient to show that the language as we have it is very far from representing any single dialect. The variety of treatment of the same phonetic elements is inconceivable save on the hypothesis of mingling of dialects. Thus the combination *-ry-* of Sanskrit is represented in Pāli by *-yy-* from assimilation, as in *ayya*, *kayya* (Sanskrit *ārya*, *kārya*) ; or by epenthesis we have *ariya*, *kariya* ; or by metathesis the *y* passes before the *r* and then is combined by contraction with the preceding vowel, as in *acchera*, *issera*, (Sanskrit *āścarya*, *aiśvarya*) ; or again we find such forms as *ayira*, *kayira*, which can be explained either as instances of metathesis after epenthesis, or as epenthesis in lieu of contraction after metathesis. Dialectical differences also must be invoked to explain such divergences of treatment¹ as the contrast between *ikka* (*rkṣa*), and *pakkha* (*pakṣa*) ; *culla* (*kṣulla*) and *chuddha* (*kṣudra*) ; *akkhi* and *acchi* (*akṣi*) ; *attha* (*asta*) and *atthi* (*asti*) ; *rasa* (*hrasva*) and *rahada* (*hradas*) ; *addhā* (*adhvā*) and *-vhe* (*-dhve*) ; *rasmi* (*raśmi*) and *amhi* (*asmi*) ; *ratti* (*rātri*) and *satthu* (*śatru*) ; *nahāna* and *nhāna* (*snāna*) ; *leyya* (*lehya*) and *mayham* (*mahyam*) ; *gabbhara* (*gahvara*) and *jihā* (*jihvā*) ; or *accha* (*rkṣa*), *ikka* (*rkṣa*) and *uju* (*rju*) besides *brahant* (*brhant*) and *iruvēda* (*ṛveda*). Not rarely we find differentiation of meaning with distinct forms ; thus *vaddhi*, success, but *vuddhi*, growth ; *maga*, wild beast, *miga*,

1 See M. Grammont, *Mélanges Sylvain Lévi*, pp. 65ff.

gazelle ; *chaṇa*, festival, *khāṇa*, moment ; *chamā*, earth, *khamā*, mercy ; *aṭṭa*, law suit, *attha*, thing ; *vaṭṭati*, it is right, *vattati*, he becomes ; *vaṭṭa*, round, *vatta*, duty. The Sanskrit *prthivī* is represented by *paṭhavi*, *paṭhavi*, *puṭhuvī*, *puṭhavi*, and *puṭhavi*, and examples of variant treatment can be indefinitely multiplied.

In some cases, of course, we may suspect that difference of handling of sounds apparently similar is due to the preservation in Pāli of distinctions lost in Sanskrit ; but cases of this sort are usually dubious. The attempt, for example, of Pischel¹ to explain the variation between *kḥh* and *cch* for Sanskrit *kṣ* as due to derivation from an Aryan *kṣ* and *śṣ* respectively, has definitely failed to convince scholars in general. In other instances we can explain variations by reasons independent of dialectical influence ; sound changes cannot come into being instantaneously, and there must be a time before they have affected all the sounds to which they are applicable ; or the influence of analogy intervenes to prevent their operation. After making, however, every allowance for such causes, there remain far too many inexplicable variants to permit of doubt as to dialectical mixture. It must, however, be borne in mind that when we speak of dialects the test is not merely local ; in a society with sharply divided social grades, there may be true dialectical variations, and sound change may proceed much more rapidly among the lower classes, especially if of mixed blood, than among the upper classes, particularly if the latter are subject to the normalising influence of a sacred language such as Sanskrit. Forms like Kusināra or the original of the Greek Palibothra may have been current in the mouths of the humbler townsfolk long before they were admitted into refined speech or literature, just as London is often represented in the pronunciation of the less educated classes by Lunnon.

¹ *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, pp. 316ff. See Geiger, *Pāli*, p. 56.

The real difficulty, therefore, is not to recognise dialectical variation, but, as in the case of the Homeric dialect, to decide what can properly be asserted to be the basic dialect of the Koine known as Pāli. A definite theory of the original basis is that of H. Lüders¹, who suggested that the oldest Buddhist scriptures were composed in Old Ardhamāgadhī, and that in part at least the existing Pāli Canon represents a translation from Old Ardhamāgadhī. It is important to note that this theory is not precisely in accord with that of Geiger², which is in general harmony with that of Windisch, and which holds that Pāli actually is a variety of Ardhamāgadhī. Geiger regards Pāli, as we have it, as in essence a Koine based on Ardhamāgadhī, while Lüders merely holds that it is a western dialect—not precisely specified—into which Ardhamāgadhī works have been translated.

Lüders supports his theory by the admitted fact that in the time of Asoka there existed an official speech, that of the Pillar inscriptions, which may fairly be held to have been a Koine in northern India. In this speech, he holds, not only Mahāvīra, to whom tradition accords the use of Ardhamāgadhī, but also the Buddha preached, and it is to this that we must trace the Māgadhisms which have been noted in Pāli. He rightly insists that the true analogue of the Pillar Inscriptions is not to be found in the Māgadhī of the grammarians but in Ardhamāgadhī. We have in fact in the inscription in the Yogīmārā cave in the Rāmgarh hill a specimen of true Māgadhī which contains the essential distinguishing mark of the use of the palatal sibilant in lieu of lingual and dental sibilants. We have not the slightest reason to suppose that this peculiarity is a development from the dialect of the Pillar Inscriptions, and we

¹ *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, pp. 40f. ; *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* 1913, p. 1003.

² *Pāli*, p. 4. He ignores Lüders's views, which Michelson (*Ind. Forsch.* xli. 265f.) criticizes.

must, therefore, hold that the better appellation of the dialect in which they are written is *Ardhamāgadhī*.

The number of distinct "Māgadhisms" or rather "Ardhamāgadhisms" is not large, when we pass over phenomena common to *Ardhamāgadhī* with other dialects. The most noteworthy, of course, is the use of *-e* where Pāli normally has *-o*, representing the *-as* or *-ar* of Sanskrit. Thus we have in adverbs *pure*, *sve* or *suve*; in the noun *bhikkhave* as the formal address of the master to his disciples and *bhante* as a formula of address; in the nominative plural we have *dhummāse* corresponding to the Vedic *dharmāsas*; *-e* appears not rarely in the nominative singular masculine as in *purisakāre*, very rarely in the neuter nominative as in *dukkhe*; here also we may reckon the occasional *-e* of the vocative singular as in *Bhesike*, which is best taken as a nominative used in lieu of the vocative proper. We find also rarely the form *se* in lieu of *taṃ*, corresponding to *śe* in *Māgadhī* and *se* in *Ardhamāgadhī*, and, what is specially significant, the form is stereotyped in the common *seyyathā*, *taḍ yathā*. There is also the parallel form *ye* for *yad*. We find also a considerable number of individual irregularities which have parallels in *Ardhamāgadhī*. Thus *sakkhim*, which, of course, is parallel to Sanskrit *sākṣam*, stands beside *sakkhāṃ* in *Ardhamāgadhī*; both have *tharu* for *tsaru*; *khīla* for *kīla*; *phusita* and *Amāg*. *phusiya* represent *prṣata*; *chāpa* (*ka*), and *chāva*, *śāva*; *cheppā*, and *cheppa*, *śepas*; *hata*, and *hada*, *hṛta*; both have *velu* for *veṇu*, and *naṅgala* for *laṅgala*; both lingualise the *d* of *daṃṣ* and *dah*; to Pāli *tāvatiṃsa* *Ardhamāgadhī* has a parallel in *tāvattisa*, and so on. We may ascribe to the influence of *Ardhamāgadhī* the presence of some of the cases of *l* in Pāli. Definitely to it Lüders assigns those instances in which we find in Pāli verses accusatives masculine and feminine, and rarely nominatives masculine, ending in *ni* (*puttakāni*, *vedāni*, *sabhāni*); he holds that the *Ardhamāgadhī* declension, for instance, of *pulisa* was in the plural nominative *pulisā*, accusative *pulisāni*,

and he traces this rule in the *Ardhamāgadhī* of the Jaina Canon, though the language of these texts has been converted into a later form of *Ardhamāgadhī* influenced by the western dialects. The evidence is specially interesting, because the preservation of these apparent neuters was obviously helped by metrical considerations; Pāli has normally *-e* for the accusative plural masculine, and this form would spoil the verse if simply substituted for the older *Ardhamāgadhī*. Müller, again, claims Jaina parallels, and presumably origin, for the rare forms *abhihaṭṭum* and *daṭṭhu* used as gerunds.

The list of parallels suggesting derivation might easily be lengthened; thus, while *eva* is the predominant form in Pāli, we find also after vowels and nasal vowels *yeva*, which is also used in the *Ardhamāgadhī* of Asoka and of Aśvaghoṣa. But enough has been adduced to make it most probable that the Pāli Canon represents in part texts composed in *Ardhamāgadhī*. To go further than this, and to assert that the basis of Pāli is *Ardhamāgadhī*, is a very different proposition, and one for which no evidence appears to be available. It is unreasonable to regard as basic a dialect which in essentials has been altered. Lüders¹ claims for Old *Ardhamāgadhī*, on the score of the inscriptions and Aśvaghoṣa, the rule that *-e* stands for Sanskrit *-o*; that *l* is found throughout, not *r*; that *n* only, not a palatal or lingual nasal, is found between vowels; that *yeva* is the regular representative of *eva* when a vowel precedes; and that a vowel is lengthened before the affix *-ka*. Not one of these rules is observed regularly by Pāli, and we are entitled to look elsewhere for its base.

The *Ardhamāgadhī* regarded by Lüders as the source whence part of the Canon has been translated retains medial consonants, and does not soften hard consonants between

1 *Pāli Language*, p. 128.

2 *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 40.

vowels. Sylvain Lévi¹, however, goes further, and holds that in Pāli we must recognise traces of a dialect in which sound changes had proceeded further than what is found in Pāli. The Jains and the Buddhists alike, he holds, used first one of the dialects of Magadha in which consonant degradation had been in progress; when finally they came to reduce their scriptures to permanent form, the Jains carried out a systematic reduction of intervocalic consonants to the *ya-śruti*, while Buddhism acted in the opposite sense under the influence of the western elements which had gained control of the Church; the language consecrates the triumph of Sanskrit influence under the Pāṭheyakas of the west as against the people of the east, Pācīnakas, the heroes of the council of Vaiśālī. But this triumph did not take place by the time of Asoka or even of the later Mauryas, as is evidenced by the testimony of the inscriptions.

The argument of Lévi rests on a number of peculiarities in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit in which, he holds, we must see traces of the forms of words employed in an older version than the Canon, and is supported by analogous forms in inscriptions. Thus the Bhābhṛū edict contains the forms *Lāghulovāde* for *Rāhulovāda*, and *adhigicya* for *adhikṛtya*, where the softening of the *k* is rare in Pāli and the retention of *cy* is alien to Pāli. At Bharhut we find *Anādhapedika* for *Anāthapiṇḍika*, *Maghādeviya Jātaka* for *Makhādeva Jātaka*; and most important of all *avayesi* for *avādesi*. In Pāli we have the name *Māgandīya*, in the Jain Canon *Māgaṃḍiya*, which corresponds certainly to *Mākandika* in Sanskrit; similarly we have *Kosiya* for *Kauṣika*. Pāli knows the village *Kajāṅgala*, while Sanskrit has *Kacaṅgala*. Buddhist Sanskrit has preserved the name *Ṛṣivadana*, explicable only as against the *Isipatana* of Pāli by its derivation from an older dialectical form which Pāli has obliterated. Pāli again has kept

1 *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 10, xx. 495ff.

Ālavī as a place name, but restored *aṭavī*, forest. Misunderstanding of the old river name *Ajiravati* has resulted in Pāli having *Aciravati*, and analogously it has *Pokkhara-sāti* for *Pauṣkarasādin*. It has replaced by *uposatha* the reduced form which Buddhist Sanskrit preserves as *poṣadha*, and *opapātika* is a half Sanskritization of the older form which may be traced in the Sanskrit *aupapāduka*. From this point of view Lévi offers new suggestions to explain the three obscure rubrics of the *Pātimokkha*, *Pārājika*, *Śaṅghādisesa*, and *Pācittiya*; the two former would represent Sanskrit *pārācika* (AMāg. *pārañciya*) and *saṅghātiseṣa*. Clearer is *ekodi* for *ekoti*, which is preserved in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and there is no careal doubt that the famous crux *jalogi pātum* of the Vaiśālī Council record is explained by reference to *jalauka*. Moreover the existence of a dialect which softened intervocalic consonants is betrayed by hints in Asoka's own records; Delhi has *libi* (*lipi*), Jaugada has *laheyu* and *hidalogu*, and Dhauli *lahevu* and *ajalā* for *acala* of Jaugada, while Palibothra of the Greek texts shows the softening of *p* and presupposes the reduction of *t* to *d*, then to *l*, and then haplology, or the dropping of *d* and contraction as in Kusināra in Pāli.

Geiger's¹ objections to Lévi's contentions are somewhat vague. He holds that all the proposed etymologies are not equally convincing, but this leaves most of them unaffected. He contends that weakening is found not merely in technical terms but also in other more ordinary words; this, however, merely indicates that Pāli has even more signs of derivation from a dialect in a more advanced stage of decay than Lévi has proved. Thirdly, he insists that there are instances of hardening as well as of softening, and that softening is only one of various signs that Pāli is a mixed dialect; Lévi's theory, however, explains hardening as false Sanskritization, and definitely indicates that a Magadhan dialect with

weakening of consonants has had an effect on Pāli and that Asoka did not recognise a Canon in Pāli, nor was it accepted even under his successors. More than that he does not seek to establish.

Pāli, as has been seen, differs essentially from Ardhamāgadhī or Māgadhī and this difference is so far recognised by Sir George Grierson¹ that he modifies the theory of Windisch that Māgadhī is at the basis of Pāli to run: "Literary Pāli is the literary form of the Māgadhī language, the then Koine of India, as it was spoken and as it was used as a medium of literary instruction in the Takṣaśilā University". The point of the addendum is that in this way it is possible to explain the many similarities traced by Konow between Paisācī Prākṛit and Pāli on the strength of which Konow claimed that Pāli like Paisācī was a dialect of the Vindhyas and perhaps of the regions further to the south and the east. There is not, it must be pointed out, the slightest evidence that the Pāli Canon was connected with Takṣaśilā, and the antiquity of that University cannot be proved by Jātaka evidence. But what is far more important, the evidence adduced is quite inadequate to support the theme. To take his proofs in order: (1) the hardening of soft consonants is purely sporadic in Pāli; in the principal Paisācī it is requisite only for *d* and in the weak cases of *rājan*, and even in Cūlikā Paisācī only one variety requires all medials to be hardened. The process is one of which instances occur, as in Pāli, sporadically in Prākṛit, and there is no cogency in comparison with any one Prākṛit. (2) The retention of intervocalic consonants is common to all three Prākṛits in Aśvaghoṣa and is simply a sign of comparatively early date. (3) The use of epenthesis in words such as *bhāriya*, *sināna*, and *kaṣaṭa* is an ordinary Prākṛit feature in the first two cases; and, if *kaṣaṭa* is not a metathesis of *sakaṭa*, as usually taken, Konow

1 *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 117ff.

justly compares *kaṣaṭa* with the Māgadhi, *kaṣṭa*. (4) The change of *jñ*, *ny*, and *ny* to *ññ* is common to Māgadhi, and probably to all Prākritis at an early state as indicated by Aśvaghoṣa's Prākritis. (5) The preservation of *y* in lieu of changing it to *j* is characteristic of Māgadhi and older Prākritis in general. (6) The termination -o of nominal bases is not peculiar to Paisāci, but is generally western and Sanskritic. (7) The inflexional system of Pāli is generally similar not only to Paisāci but to the western Prākritis. (8) The use of *r* in Pāli and not *l* can equally well be accounted for by Sanskritic and western Prākritic influence; in Paisāci in fact only the standard Prākrit retains *r*.

We have, therefore, no proof of any kind to enable us to look to Takṣaśilā as of importance in the development of Pāli; history is silent and language does not favour the suggestion, so that it is needless to enter into the vexed and somewhat unprofitable controversy² as to the original home of Paisāci, especially since Sir G. Grierson has admitted that the Pisācas may have spread down the Indus into Rajputana and the Konkan. We are, therefore, free to consider the claims of the western Prākritis to be considered in connection with the development of Pāli. Konow's contention¹ in favour of the Vindhya as approximately the home of Pāli may be passed over, because the parallels from Paisāci as we have seen are not convincing, even if we accept his theory of the original location of Paisāci, which has, on the whole, the support of the most probable view of the dialect and place of origin of the *Brhatkathā* of Guṇādhya. Lüders³ has indicated that there are striking parallels between the Gīrnār dialect in Asoka's inscriptions and Pāli as regards the formation

1 On Paisāci cf. Grierson, *ZDMG.* lxvi. 49ff. with Konow, *ZDMG.* lxiv. 95ff and *JRAS.* 1921, pp. 244f., 424f. The disappearance of all save *s* in Paisāci tells against Grierson's view; Reichelt, *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 245.

2 *ZDMG.* lxiv. 119.

3 *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* 1913, pp. 990, 1006.

of the locative singular of *-a* stems and the accusative plural masculine in *-e*. But the most careful adduction of evidence is that of R. Otto Franke in *Pāli und Sanskrit*. He enumerates many points in which the eastern Prākṛit of Asoka differs essentially from Pāli, corroborating the view above arrived at that Ardhamāgadhī is not the basis of Pāli, and equally clearly he shows that the Prākṛit of the north west is different in essentials from Pāli. On the other hand both the western and the north-western dialects have forms agreeing in important respects with Pāli. Thus we have parallels for the assimilation of *ly* to *ll*, for the retention of *br* in *brāhmaṇa*, *u* for *r* in the declension of nouns of relationship as against *i* in the eastern dialect, *aḥaṃ* as against *hakaṃ*, and *ayaṃ* in the nominative masculine and feminine of the demonstrative. In other cases the parallelism is confined to the Prākṛits of Madhyadeśa and the south-west; such are *i* in the equivalents of *kṛta*, *laṭhi* for *yaṣṭi*, *l*, *l*, and *lh* for intervocalic *ḍ* and *ḍh*, *-smā* for the ablative masculine and neuter of *-a* stems; *-ā* for the dative of such stems; oblique cases of *-u* and *-ū* stems in *-uyā*; *-arā* in the instrumental singular of *-r* stems; and *cha*, six. A more precise location for Pāli is deduced from the fact that to its *dhītā* and *duhitṛ*, there are parallels in Mathurā, Sānchī and Bharhut, while south of Nāsik, which has both *dihitu* and *duhitu*, forms in *duhu-* or *dku-* prevail. A location south of Mathurā, Sānchī and Bharhut is indicated by such facts as the frequent use of *ri* for *r* in Mathurā; by *kṇa* for *kṣa* there also; by *-ye* in feminines in *-ā*, *-i* and *-ī*, *-u* and *-ū*; and by *-are* in the instrumental of *-r* stems. Special connection with the south is indicated by the occurrence there of forms with Pāli parallels, such as *paṇuvisa* (Junnar); *sattari* (Nāsik); *r* for *d* in *-daśa* and for *ḍ* in *-dré* and *-dréa*; and *ch* in *cikicha* in Girnār, where also are found the potentials *asa*, *asu*; feminine

1 pp. 131ff. He uses besides the Asokan other early inscriptions.

plurals in *-āyo* ; and third person plural *Ātmanepada* endings in *r*. On the other hand, there is divergence between Pāli and the south in certain significant cases ; we have, as already mentioned, *duhu-* or *dhu-* for *duhi-* ; in Nāsik *varisa* is found in lieu of *vassa* ; *p* or *pp*, in Gīrnār *tp* (*pt*), represent *tm* in *ātman*, where Pāli has *tt* ; *bi-* and *be* represent Sanskrit *đvi-* and *dve*¹, while Pāli has *dvi-*, *di-*, or *du-* ; Gīrnār also represents the abstract suffix *-tva* by *-tpa* (*-pta*), and frequently omits the aspiration in the equivalents of Sanskrit *sth* and *ṣṭh*.

Franke's final conclusion is that the location indicated for Pāli is south or south-east of the Kharoṣṭhī country the home of the north-western Prākṛit ; south of Mathurā and perhaps also of Sānchī and Bharhut, or at least not in the immediate vicinity of these places ; west or south-west of the region of the north-eastern Prākṛit ; north of Nāsik, and east of Gīrnār. This leaves the area between the western and the middle Vindhya as the probable location and Franke added the conjecture that Ujjayinī might be the headquarters of the language, since Asoka was governor there before he became Emperor, his wife, mother of Mahinda, was a native of Cetiyaḡiri, near Sānchī, and Mahinda himself lived there in his boyhood before he carried Pāli literature to Ceylon.

It is unnecessary to accept all the details of Franke's argument or his precise location of Pāli. The essential feature of the case is that there is abundant evidence to allow us to connect Pāli with the western dialects rather than with the eastern, so that we can with fair confidence accept the view that Pāli is rather western than eastern, and that neither Māgadhi nor Ardhamāgadhi is, strictly speaking, the basis of the dialect. At the same time we may admit that texts in Ardhamāgadhi had an influence on the form of the Canon, which must also have been strongly under the influence of Sanskrit.

1 Pāli, like these dialects, has *bū-* for *dvā-* in *dvādaśa*.

This conclusion is perfectly in harmony with the important evidence regarding the history of the Prākṛits which Lüders¹ has adduced from Aśvaghoṣa's fragments ; we see that what is doubtless Old Śaurasenī presents features more akin to Pāli than does the later Prākṛit. Thus there is no elision of consonants, and one instance only of softening of *t* to *d* ; normally intervocalic *n* remains unaltered ; an initial *y* is never altered to *j* ; as in Pāli *dy* in *udyāna* gives *yy*, not as later *jj* ; *jñ* and *ny* result in *ññ*, not as later *nn* ; *dāni* and *idāni* occur as in Pāli ; in *adaṇḍāraho* we have *a* as the epenthetic vowel, not *i* as later ; *duguna* shows *du-* for *dvi-*, later *di-* alone is allowed, while Pāli has both ; Aśvaghoṣa again uses *tuvaṇ*, as in Pāli, for the later *tumaṇ*, and has *tava* for *tuha* ; he has also *karoṭha*, common in Pāli, in later Prākṛit unknown, and for gerund *kariya*, found in Pāli. Further we find *pekkh-* (*prekṣ-*) as in Pāli, and *gaṃissiti* may be compared with such Pāli forms as *sakkiti*, *dakkhiti*.

The conclusions thus suggested differ essentially from those of Rhys Davids as summed up in the preface to his *Pāli Dictionary*. In his view by the 7th and 6th centuries B. C. there existed a standard Kosalan speech, which was that of the Buddha, and the Pāli scriptures were in the main composed within a century after the Buddha's death in this Kosalan. The Ceylon tradition which calls Pāli Māgadhi means only that Pāli was thought to be the speech of Asoka, the Magadhan, to whom ultimately the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon was due. The Asokan inscriptions prove the existence of a standard language which is a younger form of the standard Kosalan. There is, however, no reason whatever to adopt the view that the language of Asoka's Magadhan empire was Kosalan or to accept the suggestion that Kosala became part of the Magadhan Empire by the peaceful succession of the Magadhan ruler to the Kosalan

1 *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, pp. 47ff.

throne, with the result that, as in the case of the union of Scotland and England, the language of Kosala prevailed over Māgadhi, as did that of England over the speech of Scotland. Moreover the assumption of the early date of the Buddhist scriptures is certainly unproven¹, and, even if we accepted the theory of date for the substance, it would be impossible to assume that the form remained unchanged. Rhys Davids ignored the conclusive evidence of the Bhābhṛā inscription which shows that Asoka did not follow a Pāli canon even if he knew a canon, and, if he adopted his own language to give titles of canonical texts, we cannot doubt that his contemporaries also would hand down the texts adapted in language to the speech of the day, in accordance, as we saw, with the probable intention of the Master himself.

The facts reveal a different aspect. The Buddha preached in a dialect which we cannot define, because we have no authentic information; it may have been standard Kosalan or a Magadhan dialect, but we have no knowledge to decide which or to describe their characteristics. The Asokan official or standard speech cannot be styled Māgadhi, but may be named Ardhāmāgadhi; in it were recorded at one time Jain traditions and probably Buddhist also. But this Ardhāmāgadhi or other Magadhan dialect is not reproduced in Pāli, though there are traces in that language of the use of texts in another dialect or dialects. The basis of Pāli is some western dialect and in its literary form as shown in the Pāli Canon we have a decidedly artificial and composite product, doubtless considerably affected by Sanskrit and very substantially removed from a true vernacular. The date of the development of this literary speech and the production, on the basis, no doubt, in some degree of older tradition, of the Pāli Canon, seems most naturally to be assigned to the period immediately following Asoka, but the evidence

1 See my *Buddhist Philosophy*, chap. i.

is inadequate to support any certain conclusion. But it must be noted, as against Rhys Davids, that the forms of Pāli are not historically the oldest of those known to us¹. These are to be found in the north-western dialect of the Asoka inscriptions, where the maintenance in some measure of the three sibilants, the transformation of *r* into *ir* or *ur*, the maintenance of *r* in conjunction with other consonants, and the retention of *tm*, are, among other points, proofs of a linguistically older state of affairs than that found in Pāli. Even in the case of the Gīrnār dialect of the Asokan inscriptions it would be impossible to establish the priority of Pāli, in view of such phenomena as the retention of long vowels before double consonants and traces of the retention of *r* in certain consonantal combinations as well as the use of *ṣṭ* where Pāli assimilates; moreover that dialect appears to have maintained a distinction for some time between the palatal and lingual sibilants. There is, therefore, nothing whatever in the linguistic facts to throw doubt on the date above suggested.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

¹ Cf. Reichelt, *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 243, 247.

Bhāti Rajputs

The Modern Representatives of the Indo-Bactrian Rulers of Kabul and Northern Punjab

The Bhāti Rajputs of Jaisalmer, the westernmost desert State of Rajputana, claim descent from the deified Yādava hero Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. According to the annals of that State the Yādavas became dispersed at the death of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and many of them, including Śankhañbha, a great-grandson of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, proceeded northwards¹. After a brief stay in the further Doab of the five rivers they eventually left the Indus behind them and, passing into what is now the kingdom of Kabul, "peopled these countries even to Samarkand" (Tod).

Their king Gaj founded Gajni (Ghazni) and made it his capital. He successfully measured swords with the kings of Khorāsān and Rūm² who had invaded his kingdom. The king of Khorāsān subsequently again invaded Ghazni and, in the battle that ensued, both the kings lost their lives and the Yādavas were temporarily dispossessed of Ghazni.

Sālbāhan, the son and successor of Gaj, founded Sālbāhanpur (modern Sialkot) in the beginning of the first century A. C. and moved his capital there. He also regained Ghazni

1 Sāmba, a son of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, had preceded them in the same direction and the Samā Jādeja and Chūḍā-Samā Rajputs of Sindh, Cutch and Kathiawar claim descent from him.

2 This may or may not be Rome but there can be no denying the fact that in the history of the North-West Frontier of India the Emperors of Rome were at this period a factor to be reckoned with, as is evident from some of the early coins of the Yueh-chi king Kadphises I bearing the portrait of Emperor Augustus of Rome.

and left his son Bāland¹ there as his viceroy. He subsequently defeated the Śakas and from 78 A. C. established the Śaka era in commemoration of his victory².

When Bāland came to the throne he entrusted his nephew Chakito, the son-in-law of the king of Bukhara (Sogdiana) and the progenitor of the tribe of Chakito Mongols, with the government of Ghazni and himself repaired to Sialkot. In his time "the Turks" (Sk. Turaṣka, as Kalhaṇa calls the Yueh-chi from Central Asia) "began rapidly to increase and brought all under their sway, and the lands round Ghazni were again in their possession".

In the time of Bāland's son and successor Bhāṭi, from whom the tribe takes its name, Ghazni itself was also lost finally and irrevocably and the Turks made it their capital.

The Turk (Turaṣka or Yueh-chi) king of Ghazni subsequently dispossessed Bhāṭi's son and successor Mangal Rao of Lahore and Sialkot and the Bhāṭis were gradually driven southwards till crossing the Sutlej they took refuge in the Indian desert which has since been their home. Here they founded Taṇot in 731 A.C., Derawar in 852 A. C. and Jaisalmer, the present Bhāṭi capital, in 1156 A. C.

The foregoing brief sketch of the traditional history of Bhāṭi rule in Bactria, Kabul and Northern Punjab, from pre-historic times to about the end of the first century of the Christian era, has been culled from the annals of Jaisalmer but the outlines of contemporary authentic history of these countries, from the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great in 327 B. C. to the time of the final overthrow of the Indo-Bactrians of the Punjab by the Yueh-chi about the middle of the first century of the Christian era, are too well-

1 According to Bhāṭi chronicles "Rasālū, the great mythical hero of the Punjab folk-tales, with whom the legendary history of Sialkot is closely connected, was a younger brother of Bāland".

2 This appears to be a mere myth based on nothing beyond similarity of names.



known to leave any room for the supposition that these Yādavas ruled anywhere there, unless we identify them with some Indianised Greek or Hellenised Indian ruling house of that period.

As a matter of fact this traditional history of the Bhāṭi Rajputs is in many respects strikingly identical with the known history of the Indo-Greeks who ruled over Bactria, Kabul and Northern Punjab and who, along with their old allies and neighbours the Sogdians¹ (Sogdis) and the Chorasians², were, between 140 B. C. and 60 A. C., gradually driven out of their respective homes by the Parthians in the west and the Yueh-chi Turashkas in the north, the Indo-Bactrians (Bhāṭis) of Sialkot being of course the last to encounter the Yueh-chi onslaught under Kadphises I who is reputed to have come down the Kabul valley and swept away the last traces of Greek and Parthian dominion on the Indian frontier. "The date assigned long prior to the Christian era agrees with the Grecian" (Tod) and many names including those of their countries as well as their capitals are also identical; and we feel convinced that the aforesaid King Bāland of Ghazni and Sialkot of the Bhāṭi annals is no other person than Milinda,³ the Hellenised Indo-Bactrian king of Kabul and Sialkot, who was a great patron of Buddhism, and that the king of Ghazni, who expelled the former's descendants from Lahore and Sialkot, is none else but the Yueh-chi king Kadphises I, who is known to have invaded the Punjab from that direction about 50 A. C.

1&2 The Sodhā and Chūḍāsamā Rajputs of the present day. The former have always given and do even now give their daughters in marriage preferably and almost exclusively to the Bhāṭis and the latter along with the Samās and the Jādejās claim consanguinity with the Bhāṭis and state that they are the descendants of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba.

3 Menander of the Greeks and Milinda or Milindra of the Hindus after whom the well-known "Milinda pañha" or the 'Questions of Milinda', the well-known treatise on Buddhism, in questions and answer was so named.

Genealogists of ruling and aristocratic houses all the world over have always conferred, and do even now confer, on their patrons pedigrees linking them on to well-known and historically important ruling houses of much greater antiquity, and in India their choice has almost invariably fallen on the 'Solar' and 'Lunar' Kṣatriya races of pre-historic times. If these Indo-Greek rulers of Bactria, Kabul and Northern Punjab were Greeks at all, and not Hellenised Indians as we must hold them to be unless there is absolutely no truth in the tradition about the Indian origin of the Bhāṭis of Ghazni and Sialkot, then their genealogists must have similarly linked them on to the Lunar race and exalted them as the descendants of no less a personage than Lord God Śrī-Kṛṣṇa himself.

The appellation Bhāṭi appears to us to be the vulgarised form of a territorial name derived from the word 'Bactria' and we are of opinion that king Bhāṭi, from whom the Bhāṭi Rajputs derive their present 'patronymic', perhaps never lived but is, like Gaharwar Singh of Gaharwar (Gāhaḍawāla) genealogies, a much later invention of the bard.

These Bactrian (Bhāṭi) and Sogdi (Soḍhā) exiles from the north at first settled much nearer the Sutlej than their present homes and the tracts of country round Sirsa in the Punjab and round Suratgarh in the north of the Bikaner State are locally known after them as Bhaṭiānā (= Bactriana) and Soḍhān (= Sogdiana) respectively down to the present day, although it was many centuries ago that the Bhāṭis and the Soḍhās had to desert these tracts and settle round Jaisalmer and Umarnkot, giving these last named tracts the names of Bhāṭipā and Soḍhān respectively.

Similarly the Samā Rajputs, of whom the Chūḍāsamās and the Jāḍejās claim to be branches¹, originally settled in

1 The Chūḍāsamās and the Jāḍejās (Jāḍejās) also intermarry and some genealogists would make the latter the descendants of Śrī-

Sindh, and while there, most of them became half-hearted proselytes to Islam. After a rule of several centuries in that country, many of them, between the 10th and 16th centuries of the Christian era, moved further south into Cutch and Kathiawar where they carved out several new principalities and thereafter gradually reverted to the original (orthodox Hindu) faith of their forefathers with the result that they now freely intermarry with other Hindu Rajputs of western India and are no longer "the connecting link between the Hindu and the Moslem" (Tod) as they were at one time reputed to be.

KUNWAR SHIVNATH SINGH SENGAR

Ministers in Ancient India

Since the inauguration in 1921 of the Reforms in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1919, we Indians have been hearing much of ministers in the different provinces,—their selection, appointment, service, duties, resignations, retirement, re-appointment and so forth. These induced me to work out a paper on the subject of how ministers in ancient India were appointed, what duties or functions they discharged, what their relation with the king and the people was, and how they fared in their service to the State and the people. I desire to illustrate occasionally my general remarks by actual deeds of some ministers belonging to the different periods of Indian history and of others mentioned in some of the Sanskrit *Kāvyas*; but for this purpose I shall not traverse beyond the 12th century A. D.

Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna in the following order :—1. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, 2. Pradyumna, 3. Vajranābha, 4. Kṣīra, 5. Jāḍejā. The Bhāṭis and the Samās also intermarried in the past but do not do so now.

A word of explanation is necessary here as to what I mean by the title of my paper. The term 'ministers' I take to mean what is generally meant by both the terms 'ministers' and 'councillors' in modern politics, to the exclusion of any other sense which that word 'ministers' may convey, e.g. in ecclesiastical matters. Political theories formed no part

of any ecclesiastical history in India. In Hindu Title of the idea of the State, sacerdotalism could never paper reign supreme over imperialism. In short, I explained. have used this word to refer to all classes of chief advisers to the sovereign and the chief executive officers of state, and therefore it includes all classes of such officers of state, mentioned in ancient Hindu political treatises, law-books and *kāvya* literature, as are denoted by the words *mantrin*, *saciva* and *amātya*, and sometimes the chief superintendents or heads of the various departments of the public services called *adhyakṣas*.

Sanskrit writers of somewhat later period made indiscriminate use of the three words, *amātya*, *saciva*, and *mantrin* for denoting councillors and ministers, whether they were advisers in counselling or deliberation, or chief executive officers carrying into execution any plans or measures schemed out. Let me explain here the exact meaning of these three words. Both the words *amātya* and *saciva* mean associates or companions and the word *mantrin* means a person who is concerned with *mantra* or secret counsel or deliberation on political matters. Amarasimha the famous Buddhist lexicographer of the Gupta period in one part of his lexicography (VIII, 8, 4-5) points out with clear precision missed by many commentators and writers that an *amātya* who is the king's *dhi-saciva* (elsewhere called *mati-saciva*) i. e. an associate or minister for counsel shall only be called a *mantrin*, and that all *amātyas* other than the *mantrins* are *karma-sacivas* i. e. associates or ministers for action or execution and that the latter are also called *mahāmātras* or *pradhānas*. So it comes to this that all *amātyas*, although they may be called

sacivas, were not *mantrins*. The same lexicographer in another place (III, 3, 205) of his *Koṣa* apparently uses the terms *mantrin* and *saciva* synonymously. But there he only states the different senses of the word *saciva*, viz. a *mantrin* (counsellor) and a *sahāya* (companion or associate). Certainly a *dhi-saciva* is a *mantrin*. The great Śukrācārya, however, in chapter II of his *Nītisāra* uses these three and also some other terms to represent different classes or grades of state-ministers or officers. We find Kauṭilya using the term *mantrin* in a particular sense in his *Arthaśāstra*. According to him all *mantrins* were *amātyas*, but not all *amātyas* *mantrins*. It may, however, be noted here that Kauṭilya's *mantri-pariṣad* was not probably a deliberative body, but an executive one. It rather consisted of members who were not real *mantrins*, but who were executive *amātyas*, rather *karma-sacivas*, as is clear from the description of functions mentioned in that treatise. It should have instead been called *amātya-pariṣad*. So it appears that a king had some *mantrins* (with probably one chief, called a premier or chancellor) who formed an Inner Cabinet of counsellors only, and a host of *amātyas* as chief executive state-officers or heads of services, and a *mantri*- (rather an *amatya*-) *pariṣad* forming, as it were, an outer Assembly of executive ministers. The deliberative Cabinet of *mantrins* and the executive Assembly of *amātyas* together formed the two important governmental institutions in ancient India for carrying on the administration of the country.

Ancient India witnessed several forms of constitutional government, such as monarchical, oligarchical and republican or tribal states, existing contemporaneously or at different periods of her history, in different parts of the country. But the prevailing form of Hindu state-constitution was monarchical. The central problem of the speculation of Hindu political thinkers was the theory of state or in other words, the philosophy of sovereignty. In analysing this

great phenomenon of sovereignty (*aishvarya* or *svāmitva*), they could not discard the idea of the sinfulness of human nature which always tends to interfere with the rights of others and violate morals and manners. This

State and non-State. idea is clearly in evidence in Hindu *Niti-śāstras*, and *Smritis* (law-books) and even in old epics.

Political philosophers everywhere in the world are of opinion that "man is by nature wicked, his goodness is the result of nurture". Hence it is that governmental institution was a necessity for controlling or coercing human viciousness and wickedness and for keeping secure the life and property of the people and also for formulating and preserving what is called *dharma* (law, justice and duty), viz. the people's rights and liberties. In one word, government is meant for keeping up social order. The western theory of the 'law of beasts and birds' has its parallel in the Hindu conception of the *mātsya-nyāya* i.e. a state of lawlessness and disorder in which the strong want to oppress the weak, like strong fishes devouring the smaller ones. This is the condition of non-State. The Indian theory of State, therefore, is the absence of this condition of non-State or *mātsya-nyāya*.

The question of preservation of proprietary rights and justice etc. does not arise in regard to this non-Statel state. What is it that lies behind the two important factors in the State-theory of the Hindus, viz., property and *dharma*? The answer to this question is, it is the sovereign's power to punish the offenders, for which he is known as the *daṇḍadhara*. He is *daṇḍa* personified. The doctrine of *daṇḍa* finds a foremost place in all treatises on state-crafts, such as those by Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka, Śukrācārya and others and also in the law-books written by Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. It is the proper administration of the kingly power of punishment that saves a State from passing into the condition of a non-State. Fear of the royal punishment is the basis of social order. Even the sovereign himself is not immune from the operation of this weapon, *daṇḍa*, according to the

Hindu theory of State. He himself should be smitten by this very engine, if he fails to make a proper exercise of it for the good of the people. Therefore, the theory of social contract or compact appears to be the best way of explaining the origin of State according to Hindu political philosophers. Man being a political animal, it is quite fit that people in primitive state agreed by common consent to enter into one community, and form one body politic. In this compact there were two parties, viz., the king and the people—the former agreeing to rule righteously and not in accordance with his own sweet will and to protect the rights of his subjects, and the latter agreeing to pay him taxes (*balī*) in return for his services to the community.

Idea of
kingship.

Generally Indian kingship belonged to the second of the four great castes, viz., the kṣatriya, and it was usually hereditary. But there are clear indications in the early Indian books that election to royal office was not unknown. The subjects could choose for themselves a king and that bad kings could be removed from the headship of administration.

Ancient Indian political thinkers described the State (*rājya*) or the body politic as consisting of seven limbs (*aṅgas*) technically called the *prakṛtis* or constituent elements, for which *rājya* is said to be a *saptāṅga*¹ organism. These limbs are—(i) *svāmin* (the sovereign), (ii) *amātya* (ministers, councillors and heads of services), (iii) *janapada* or *rāṣṭra* (territory or the people according to Vijñāneśvara), (iv) *durga* (forts and fortified towns), (v) *kośa* (treasury or exchequer), (vi) *daṇḍa* or *bala* (army) and (vii) *mitra* or *suhṛit* (allies). These seven limbs are interdependent and they can only produce good result by working together. No

Saptāṅga
doctrine ;
amātya, the
second *aṅga*.

State can prosper if it be deprived of or is defective in respect of any one of these elements. This doctrine of the *saptāṅga* is the epitome of the theory of Hindu political constitution.

1 *Kautilya*, VI, ch. 1 ; *Amara*, II, 8, 17 ; *Kāmandaka*, IV, 1.

It is curious that Śukrācārya in his *Niṭisāra*¹ explains in a fanciful way as to how these seven limbs of the body politic can bear analogy with seven particular limbs of the human body. He says that the sovereign is the head of this political organism, the minister its eye, the ally its ear, the exchequer its mouth, the army its mind, the forts its arms, and the territories or the subjects its legs. The second only of these elements, viz., the *amātya* we wish to take up for discussion.

A sovereign must be adequately endowed with the three political *śaktis* or powers, viz., (i) *prabhu-śakti* (power due to the possession of army and treasure), (ii) *mantra-śakti* (power due to good counselling), and (iii) *utsāha-śakti* (power due to personal valour). But it is the due possession of the *mantra-śakti* that makes a king competent to decide the use of the six political expedients (*sandhyādi-śāḍgyanya*) and the four means of success (*sāmādyupāyacatuṣṭaya*)

*Mantra-
Śakti* and
what it con-
sists of.

and to understand his own position in respect of augmentation (*vrddhi*), stagnation (*sthāna*) or deterioration (*kṣaya*), without a proper knowledge of which he cannot expect to achieve for himself and his people the three human ends viz., virtue (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*) and enjoyments (*kāma*). A king's *mantra-śakti* depends entirely on his good fortune in having in his service the requisite number of highly qualified ministers and counsellors or statesmen. If his counselling power is of a very high order, no enemies, internal or external, can be successful in either defeating or deceiving him. People may sometimes tolerate a king without much of princely virtues, but his advisers without ministerial virtues can hardly be tolerated by them in his court. Is not a sandal tree an object of horror because of the residence of venomous snakes therein? Wicked ministers and councillors discard righteous ways of administration and care more for their self-aggrandisement than for the people's good. Hence a sovereign should see that

he is guided by good ministers, on whom he can entirely depend by entrusting the responsibility of government, and by himself remaining somewhat indifferent in state affairs. Candragupta Maurya was such a sovereign and depended entirely on the intellect of his brāhmaṇa premier Cāṇakya. Let me now deal with the question of the necessity of having ministers.

Ancient India could never think of state-craft without the appointment of ministers (*amātyas* or *sacivas*). It is on account of the most palpable fact of no kingship or government being possible in any country in the world without extraneous assistance that a sovereign should have and therefore appoint ministers for listening to their advice. manifold are the undertakings and duties of the State for the prosperity and happiness both of itself and its people. Some of these are under the direct vision of the ruler, some beyond his vision, and others inferential. State-works being multifarious and various,—some of them relate to different regions of the sovereign's territories and some are to be accomplished simultaneously. It is not humanly possible for the king to arrange, far less to perform them, single-handed; hence, he requires assistants or associates in the person of ministers and councillors for accomplishing all these various kinds of State-works in different places and at different times. Manu says¹ —“Even a most easy affair becomes difficult for one man to do unassisted—not to speak of the special difficulty of administering the most weighty affairs of State!” Kauṭilya speaks of the *rājya* or administration as *sahāya-sādhya* i. e. only possible to be carried on by associates. The great poet Māgha of the eighth century A. D. in one place of the *Sisupāla-vadha*² gives expression to the king's necessity for the opinion of others on important matters in a very beautiful line, which means, that “though aware of all essential facts, a man, alone

Necessity of
creating
minister-
ships.

1 Chap VII, v. 55.

2 Canto II, v. 12.

and unaided, entertains doubts as to the line of action to be adopted". There arise occasions with respect to state-affairs, when a king has to perceive the unknown, to corroborate the known, to clear dubious points, to infer the whole from the knowledge of a part, but all these are not possible without external assistance from able and accomplished advisers. Blind, as human beings are, to their own shortcomings, the kings must, of necessity, require the guidance and lead of great men in conducting state-business, so that their despotic and autocratic actions may timely be checked by the educative influence of his advisers, viz., the ministers and councillors, who, in old days, were respected by the sovereigns as, or more than, their own preceptors. Kings require admonishers all the more, for, they are apt to be misled by insolent pride due to the possession of power and pelf. In this connection, I wish to refer my audience to the famous advice given by king Tārāpīḍa's minister, Śukanāsa, to prince Candrāpīḍa during a visit before his consecration to the crown-princship, as we read in the prose-kāvya, the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa, a seventh-century poet of emperor Harṣa's court. Speaking of the teachings of *guru*-like ministers to kings, the premier says that "they are specially needed for kings, as the admonishers of kings are few. For, from fear, men follow like an echo the words of kings, and so, being unbridled in their pride and having the cavity of their ears wholly stopped, they do not hear good advice even when offered; and when they do hear, by closing their eyes like an elephant, they show their contempt, and pain the teachers who offer them good counsel. For the nature of kings, being darkened by the madness of pride's fever, is perturbed; their wealth causes arrogance and false self-esteem; their royal glory causes the torpor brought about by the poison of kingly power". In this beautiful address of Śukanāsa, we find in another part of it, how people should not believe in the theory of the divine right of kings, for, he says that kings sometimes welcome deception of them-

selves by their followers and "though subject to mortal conditions, they look on themselves as having alighted on earth as divine beings with a superhuman destiny; they love pomp in their undertakings only fit for the gods, and win the contempt of all mankind"; and "from the delusion as to their own divinity established in their minds, they are overthrown by false ideas, and they think that their own pair of arms have received another pair (like Viṣṇu); they imagine their forehead has a third eye buried in the skin (like Śiva)". Hence kings should always strive to be blessed with the valuable precepts of able ministers—who may be pilots of the world's government—ministers of the traditional type of Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Dhaumya and Damanaka, who respectively served kings Śunāsira, Vṛṣa-parvan, Daśaratha, Rāma, Ajātaśatru, and Nala, and also ministers of the historical type of Cāṇakya, Rākṣasa, Yau-gandharāyaṇa and the like.

Vijñāneśvara, the author of the *Mitākṣarā*, the famous commentary on Yājñavalkya's law-book, clearly mentions that the term *amātyas* includes, *mantrin*, *purohita* and others, i. e. the eighteen high officers of state coming under the category of *amātyas*. These eighteen state-functionaries are recognised in Hindu political treatises as the eighteen *tīrthas*. Kauṭilya's enumeration of these 18 officers occurs in the passage (I, 12, 8) where he enjoins the king to station spies to watch their movements. So we have, as it were, eighteen chief departments of state headed by these 18 *amātyas* or high officials. The list offered by Kauṭilya is as follows:—

- 1 *Mantrin*—the Chief Counsellor or Premier (Chancellor).
- 2 *Purohita*—the Royal Priest i.e. the king's adviser in matters spiritual.
- 3 *Senāpati*—the War Minister, rather the Head of the War office (some scholars translate it by the word Commander-in-chief of the Army).
- 4 *Yuvarāja*—the Crown-prince or heir-apparent.
- 5 *Dauvārika*—the Chief of the Palace door-keepers, Inspector-general of the Palace Police, i.e., the Lord Mayor of the Palace.

- 6 *Antarvāsika*—the Superintendent of the Queens' Department (= *antahpurādhiṣṭa* of the Rāmāyaṇa).
- 7 *Prasūta*—Inspector-general of prisons (corresponding to the *Kūrāgārādhiṣṭā* of the Mahābhārata and *Banṭhanāgārādhiṣṭa* of the Rāmāyaṇa).
- 8 *Samāharsā*—Collector-general of king's dues or revenues (= *dravya-saṁcayakṛt* of the Mahābhārata).
- 9 *Sannidhātā*—Chancellor of the Exchequer, i.e. Head of the Department of public service in charge of receipt and custody of revenue (= *kṛtyākṛtyeṣu arthānām viniyojaka* i.e. *dhanādikaṁ saṁcīya nidhātā*).
- 10 *Pradeśā*—Chief Executive or Magisterial Officer of the Criminal Department. (Some scholars, like Dr. Thomas, take the word to mean the Chief of the Intelligence or Report Department).
- 11 *Nāyaka*—This word agrees with the word *nagarādhyakṣa* of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa where it means the City-governor, such as was Cakrapālita, son of Paṇḍadatta, the Governor of the province of Surāṣṭra under Skandagupta. I have some doubt in the reading of this word in the published texts of Kauṭilya's book. Was it *nāgarika* or *nāgaraka* instead of *nāyaka*. Mr. Jayaswal in his newly published book on "Hindu Polity" translates this word by the English term generalissimo or the highest Military Commander.
- 12 *Paura-vyavahārika*—Chief Justice for the Capital city (= *dharmādhyakṣa*. Halāyudha was such a judge under king Lakṣmaṇasena).
- 13 *Kūrmāntika*—the Chief Officer for Mining and Manufacturing Departments.
- 14 *Mantripariṣadadhyakṣa*—the President of the Executive Assembly of ministers or *amātyas*. It does not appear that he was an officer like the President of the present day Legislative Council. Probably the Premier of ancient India was not, as in the English Cabinet, this presiding officer, who must have been a minister having special functions of his own to exercise (= *Sabhdādhyakṣa*).
- 15 *Dandapāla*—According to some scholars it refers to the highest punitive officer, and according to others to the officer in charge of the maintenance of the Army.
- 16 *Durgapāla*—the Officer-in-charge of the forts and fortresses.

17 *Antapāla*—the Chief Frontier Officer, and

18 *Ātavika*—the officer in charge of the Forests (= *aṭavīpāla*).

These eighteen high ministerial functionaries cover almost all the possible aspects of government. But they also had certainly under them several other subordinate officers for carrying on the work of administration of their own departments efficiently.

(*To be continued*)

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

Śālihotra

Āyurveda, according to Caraka (I, xxx), is the science of life. It gives us an insight into the phenomena and different manifestations of life ; its origin, development, and decay ; its existence in man and other animals and plants ; in health and diseases with prophylaxis and treatment ; its duration and the means of prolonging it ; its relations with the body and mind and the inter-relation between them ; its misery and how to avoid it ; and its happiness and the means of its augmentation. This definition is sufficiently comprehensive and includes for its consideration the divisions of medical science as a whole (*pūrṇāṅga*) and its various branches, the octopartite (*aṣṭāṅga*), and the three-shouldered (*triskandha*). The Āyurveda in its narrow sense treats man as its object, and we have well-known treatises dealing with it, viz., *Caraka Saṃhitā*, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, and other works too numerous to mention here. For a detailed list of such works I would refer my readers to my *History of Indian Medicine*, which is in course of publication by the University of Calcutta. The treatment of plants or 'sthāvara-jīva' or 'fixed beings' is a sub-division of Indian medical science, and notices of it (*Vṛkṣa Āyurveda*) are to be found in works on Botany, which are only available to us in a fragmentary condition in the writings

of Varāhamihira (chapter liv), in the Agni and other Purāṇas, in the Upavana-vinoda by Śaraṅgadhara, and in the contributions of Caraka, Suśruta, Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, and others, in the *Amarakoṣa*, and in the *Nighaṇṭus* of medicine, e. g., *Śabda-pradīpa*, a dictionary of medical botany by Sureśvara, court-physician to king Bhīmapāla of Bengal, and *Nighaṇṭu-teṣa*, a botanical glossary by Hemacandra.

In my work on the *Surgical Instruments of the Hindus*, (vol. I, pp. 130-1), I remarked : "In the *Siddhisthāna* (chapter xi of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*), there is a passage showing that veterinary science was well-known to the ancient Hindus at a very early period. This portion was edited by Drḍhabala and it is impossible to decide whether the passage refers to Agni-veśa-tantra or not. It runs as follows : "then the disciples asked, 'how are clysters to be made in cases of animals such as elephants, camels, cows, horses, lambs and goats ?' To this the sage Ātreya explained the clysters for animals etc." In the *Hārta Saṃhitā* (III, ii, p. 113), Ātreya is said to have lectured on the science of treatment for men, horses, elephants, deer, buffaloes, camels, snakes, mice, trees, and plants.

Animal anatomy was thoroughly understood in Vedic India as each part of the body of animals had its own distinctive name. Thus we find that in ancient India veterinary science was a subject in the curriculum of studies to be learned by the young aspirant to medical fame.

Treatises on the treatment of horses, elephants and cows exist even to the present time. Of all the sages, whose names are mentioned in connection with the teaching of veterinary science, Śālihotra stands pre-eminent. He is said to have learned the science from Brahman, the fountain-head of all medical lore, and to have expounded and taught the science to his disciples. He lectured on the subject of 'Horse and its Treatment', the *Hayāyurveda*, *Aivāyurveda*, or *Turaṅgama Śāstra*. Some chapters of his book are quoted in the *Agni Purāṇa* (ch. 281). The *Hayāyurveda* is also described in

the *Matsya* (chs. 189, 191) and *Garuḍa* (chs. 197, 207) *Purāṇas*. Garga was another ancient writer on 'Treatment of Horses'; his work is not available to us now, but he is quoted by Gaṇa in his work on *Āsvāyurveda*. Śukrācārya in his *Nṛti-sāra* treated the subject in detail, and he is largely quoted in the commentary on the *Āśva-vaidyaka*. King Nala is sur-named *Āśvavit*, versed in the science of horse. Nakula and Sahadeva, the twin-sons of Mādri, were taught by Droṇācārya in the art of training, managing, and curing horses and cattle respectively. In the *Mahābhārata* (IV, iii), when the Pāṇḍavas entered the services of king Virāṭa, Nakula declared himself well-versed in the science of management and treatment of horses, and Sahadeva referred to his scientific knowledge about the cows. To Nakula is ascribed the work called '*Āśvacikitsā*' or 'Treatment of diseases of the Horse' which is still extant. This book is also called *Śālihotra*. It has been edited by Pandit Umesh Chandra Gupta Kavi-ratna and printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, as a supplement to the *Āśvavaidyaka* by Jayadatta Sūri in 1887. Reference is also made in the *Āśvalakṣaṇa Śāstra* to a big treatise on the subject by Simhadatta (*GOML.*, Madras, vol. xviii, ms. no. 13318). Vātsya was another sage, versed in the veterinary science. Jayadeva also wrote on the treatment of horses and he is quoted by Jayadatta. Mallinātha Sūri has quoted verses from *Haya Lilāvati*. Bhoja was a writer on the same subject (*Vājicikitsā*), but no complete work of his is known to scholars. In the *Yuktikalpataru* draught and other animals are described by king Bhoja. This book has been printed in the Calcutta Oriental Series. There is another work *Āśvavaidya-śāstra* by Dipaṅkara. In the *Kavi Kalpalatā* we find some descriptions of horses and in the *Vasantarāja* (13th varga), prognostications are indicated from the characteristics of horses (*Haya Śakuna*). Sārāṅgadhara is the author of the *Turaṅga Parikṣā* and *Vāji-cikitsā*. Even as late as 1812, king Indusena wrote his *Sārasaṃgraha*, a short treatise on veterinary medicine, based on Śālihotra's work. The *Manah-*

priyamataṃ is a book on the characteristics of good and bad horses with hints for ascertaining their age, etc.

Pālakāpya expounded the science of treatment of elephants. He lectured on this science,—*Gajāyurveda* or *Hasty-āyurveda*,—to king Romapāda, the contemporary of king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. This work has been edited and published in the Ānandāśarma Sanskrit Series of Poona. Another book on the treatment of elephants is quoted by Alberuni (See Sachau's Preface to *Indica*, p. xi). The *Mātāṅgalīlā* (*Gaja-lakṣaṇa*) published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and *Gaja-cikitsā* are other works on the subject. The topic also finds a place in the various Purāṇas e.g., *Agni Purāṇa* (chs. 289-91), in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* and Kāmandaka's *Nitisāra*. The *Gajapaddhati* and *Aśvapaddhati* are chapters in the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi*, an anthology compiled by Sāyaṇa.

The fifth chapter of the *Syainika-śāstra* (Bib. Ind.), a book on hawking by the royal poet Rudradeva of Kumaon is devoted to the considerations of the kind and quality of the hawk's food, their tending in different seasons. In the *Tanjore Cat.*, LIX, (12, 305) D. ff. 8 is noted 'Aśvalakṣaṇa' said to be from the *Ākāśabhairava Tantra*, and *Gajasānti* (12, 297) D. ff. 4 from *Ākāśabhairavāgama*.

In the literature of the Jains we find descriptions of the vegetable kingdom and a comparison of the life history of plants with that of man. It is said that the cultured women of the time were versed in the different kinds of sciences (72 in number), in the list of which, mention is made of the science of horsemanship, management of elephants, medicine, chemistry, and *tarucikitsā* or 'Treatment of trees'. The women were also proficient in the 64 *kalās* or arts which are enumerated, and in the list we find *Ārāmaropana* (gardening), *Gajaparikṣā* (examination of elephants), *Aśvaparikṣā* (examination of horses), and *Vaidyakriyā* (practice of medicine).

In Magadha, horses and elephants were used for war. Rhys Davids remarks: "The testimony of Indian records ascribes the pre-eminence in the training of horses to the

extreme north and west which then belonged to Magadha, and the pre-eminence in the training of elephants to the east, which is precisely Magadha. This use of elephants in war may have been an important factor in the gradual rise of Magadha to the supreme power.

That the Indians were proficient in horsemanship, we have the testimony of foreign writers on the subject. *e.g.* Megasthenes and Arrian. "The greatest proficient use their skill by driving a chariot round and round in a ring ; and in truth it would be no trifling feat to control with ease a team of four high-mettled steed when whirling round in a circle".

The *Atharva Veda* is the repository of the medical science in its infancy, and we may trace the origin of veterinary medicine in its pages. In II, 32, we find a charm against worms in cattle (cows) ; it describes some parasitic diseases of cows and their treatment. I have described the scientific explanation of the hymn in my work the *Human Parasites in the Atharva Veda* which is in course of publication. The treatment of cows has always been a fascinating and useful subject for study in India, and *Go-vaidyas* or Cattle-doctors still practise their profession. But to such a disgrace has the practice fallen in recent times, that the word *Go-vaidya* is rather a term of reproach to physicians who are not sufficiently proficient in their art. Voelcker truly observes : "Comparatively little is known in India on the subject of cattle-disease, and yet it is one of great agricultural importance ; for, when an epidemic breaks out, the cattle perish in thousands, and do not seem to have a power of resisting it equal to that possessed by English cattle. The Indians believe the cattle epidemics are visitations of the goddess (Mātā), and they can only get rid of the epidemic by propitiating the goddess. The variety of names by which the diseases are known to the Indians in different places makes it hard to ascertain how far they really recognise the particular varieties and their respective symptoms. To a certain extent

it appears that the people are aware of the advantages of isolation, and make some use of it. The herding together of a lot of miserable half-starved cattle on the "village waste" is one of the most potent means of spreading disease"¹.

(To be continued)

GIRINDRANATH MUKHERJI

I. Inscription on the Pedestal of a newly found Viṣṇu Image (Trivikrama). No. E(a) 50. V. R. S. Collection. Rajshahi.

A. This Votive Inscription consists of two lines of fairly correct Sanskrit in *Anuṣṭubh*.

Inscription :—

[L. 1.] [Om] Jāyā Śrī-Narasi[n]hasya
Śrīmad-Ādipatātmajā

[2.] Nāṇokākhyākarotp[ny]ā[m]
[*pratimām*] Vaiṣṇavīmimāh (m)// (*Anuṣṭubh*).

Translation :—"Om ! The wife of Śrī Narasiṃha, the daughter of Śrīmad-Ādipat, Nāṇokā by name, has made this auspicious image of Viṣṇu".

Note. 1. Om is expressed by a symbol viz. 'ॐ'.

2. Ādipat seems to the *apabhraṃśa* form for Ādipati ; Nāṇokā, another *deśi* name. There was a time when *anuvāras* and *visargas* were used thoughtlessly and promiscuously after the last word of a śloka, whether appropriate or not. The word 'pratimām' (?) was altogether left out.

3. The last word seems to have been at first written as 'imāḥ' which was later corrected as 'imām'.

B. This Votive Inscription consists of two lines of fairly correct Sanskrit in *anuṣṭubh*. The script used is intermediate between those of Gopāla III's Māṇḍā Inscription on the one side, and on the other side, the Dacca Image

¹ Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture, Calcutta, 1897, p. 212.

Inscription of Lakṣmīnāṣaṃvatsara 3 (1122 A.D.). [Vide *JASB.*, vol. IX, 1913 ; and R. D. Banerji's *Origin of the Bengali Script*, Uni. Cal., 1919, p. 105].

So the epigraph may be put in the first quarter of the 12th century.

II. Inscription on the Pedestal of a broken Viṣṇu Image,

V. R. S. No : E. (2) 43.
345

A. This Inscription in two lines of very incorrect Sanskrit is on the pedestal of a standing Viṣṇu Image in black stone, excavated out of the Padumśahar Tank, Deopādā (P.S. Gōdāgādi, Dist. Rājshāhi) which place is also the noted findplace of Vijaya Sena's Temple Prasasti by Umāpatidhara. Only the feet of the main image and the female attendants are preserved.

Inscription :—

[L. 1.] Viṣṭu-dāśa-sutena ca sitā kuṭīnakeyinā/

[L. 2.] Śrṣṇeyam (?) Vaiṣṇavī-mūrtti candrākasthāyini subhāni/

Emended text :—

[L. 1.] Viṣṇudāśa-sutēnāpi
sitā kūṭi Nakēyinā

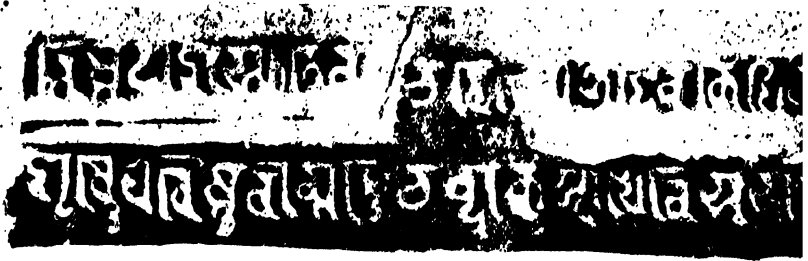
[L. 2.] srṣṭeyam Vaiṣṇavīmūrttiś =
candrārkaasthāyini śubhā//

Note. 1. In the word 'sutēna' the engraver seems to have first attempted to write the letter 'sya' which was later changed to 'su'.

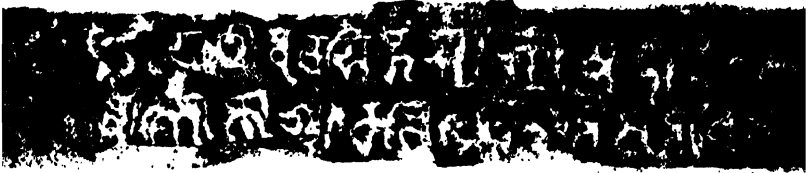
2. The last word shows an instance of careless use of 'anusvāra'—one of the many grammatical errors of this composition. Probably, the composer's literary attainments were not of a high order.

Translation :—"By Nakēyin, the son of Viṣṇudāśa, this auspicious image of Viṣṇu was installed—lasting till the Sun and the Moon, as also this white shrine".

B. In this epigraph, the medial 'u' in 'sutēna,' 'ca,' 'na' and 'ya' are more retrograde than in the Ghōsrāwā and in



Inscription No. E (a) 43 V. R. S., Rajshahi
345



Inscription No. E (a) 50 V. R. S., Rajshahi
2

the Bādāl Inscriptions. While 'ma', 'śa' and 'sa' are more advanced than in the Ghōsrāwā.

Therefore the epigraph may be safely put in the period between the last part of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century.¹

HARIDAS MITRA

Indian Literature Abroad

IN CHINA².

With the introduction of Buddhism in China. Indian literature found its way into that country. The traditional date for this first introduction is generally supposed to be 62 A. D. The chronicle tells us that the emperor Ming-Ti of the Later Han Dynasty, once dreamt that a Golden Man flew into his palace, whereupon he enquired of his courtiers the meaning of the Golden Man, who suggested that it was the figure of Fo-to or Buddha, an Indian God. Ming-Ti had been so much impressed by the dream that in 65 A. D. he sent an embassy to India to bring back Buddhist scriptures and priests. The envoy Tsai-Yin came back with one monk named Kāśyapa-Mātaṅga (Kia-yeh Mo-than), a brahmin by birth and an inhabitant of Central India. He was soon followed by Chu-fa-lan, an Indian Priest whose name having been lost, has been translated as Dharma-rakṣa by modern scholars and as Gobharaṇa or simply Bharāṇa by Tibetan historians. He came from Central India

Introduction of
Buddhism 65
A. D.

1 The Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi contains a magnificent collection of images and of inscriptions on stones and copper-plates, as also of mss. some of which are illustrated and very rare.

2 For Chinese studies in Europe, see H. Cordier's *Études chinoises* in T'oung Pao, also his *Bibliotheca Sinica*, dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatives à l'Empire Chinois, 4 vols., Paris, 1904-1908. For a popular history, see Prof. P. Bose's *Indian Teachers in China*, Ganesan, Madras, 1923.

and had some difficulty in leaving his country for this new country of adoption and evangelization. These two monks were installed at Pai-ma-shih or the 'White Horse Monastery' in Loyang, the then capital of the Hans¹.

According to the most authentic account Ming-Ti sent eighteen envoys towards India. But before they reached India they met two Indian monks coming over the mountain passes. They had a white horse laden with the *impedimenta* of their journey. The White Horse was laden with scriptures and Buddhist images. The names of these monks were Kāśyapa Mātāṅga and Dharmarakṣa².

It does not, however, follow from the above story that China was wholly ignorant of Buddhism before 62 A. D. Recent discoveries by Sir Aurel Stein in the ancient military posts on the western frontier of Kansu prove that China had communication with Central Asia, which must have been a Hindu colony with Buddhist inhabitants even in the 2nd century B. C.³ The Annals of the Western Hans relate that "a golden man" was captured from the Hsiung Nu, which is believed by some to be an image of the Buddha. There is another evidence supplied by Wei-lüeh or Wei-liu, a Taoist commentator who wrote between 239 and 265 A. D. He gives a brief account of the Buddha's birth and states that in the year 2 B. C. an ambassador sent

by the Emperor Ai to the court of the Yüeh-Chih was instructed in Buddhism by order of their king. Also the later Han annals intimate that the Prince of Chu was a Buddhist and that there were śramaṇas and upāsakas in his territory⁴.

"At this period the geographical knowledge of the Chinese rapidly increased. The name of India now occurs for the first time in their Annals. In the year 122 B. C. Chang K'ien, a Chinese ambassador, returned from the country of the Getae, and informed the Han Emperor Wu-ti of the kingdoms and customs existing in the west. Among other things he said, 'When I was in the country of the Dahae, (Ta-hia near the Caspian Sea) 12,000 Chinese miles distant to the south-

1 Maspero, *Le Songe et l'Ambassade de l'Empereur Ming : Étude critique des sources*. BEFEO., vol. x, 1910.

2 Lloyd from *Bukkyo Kakushu Kōyo*, vol. I, chap. I, p. 4.

3 Chavannes, *Les documents Chinois découverts, par Aurel Stein*, 1913, Introduction.

4 Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1905, pp. 519-571.

west, I saw bamboo staves from K'üung and cloth from Si-ch'uen. On asking whence they came, I was told that they were articles of traffic at Shindo ('Sciende', a country far to the south-east of the Dahae)³.

China might have had some vague knowledge of Buddhism, but it was to Ming-Ti, the second Emperor of the Later Han Dynasty that the credit of bringing Indian priests into China is due. Kāśyapa and Chu-fa-lan, who had been brought to China, learnt Chinese and at once began translating Buddhist books. The first book that was translated into Chinese or into any foreign tongue was called the 'Sūtra of Forty-two sections spoken by Buddha' or *Fo-shuo-ssu-shih-erh-cheng-ching*. Nanjio says of it, "It is stated in an old record that this sūtra consists of extracts from a longer work". The sūtra was a collection of moral and religious sayings of the Buddha, and is interesting to us at least for two reasons : (1) it throws some light on the development of Buddhism in India from the Parinirvāṇa of Buddha to the times of these two translators ; (2) it allows us to see what the first Buddhist propagandists thought best to introduce as the most essential doctrines of faith among the people who had hitherto been educated mostly by the Confucians and partly by the Laotsians. Some authorities think that the sūtra existed in Sanskrit in the present form ; but the most plausible conjecture is that the translators extracted these passages from different Buddhist canonical books which they brought along for their missionary purposes, and compiled them after the fashion of the Confucian Analects, beginning each chapter with 'the Buddha said' which corresponds to the Confucian "the Master said." This was the most natural thing for the first Buddhist workers from India to do in the land of Confucianism. This book has undergone many editions and revisions and has been translated into English many times, the last and best known translation is by T. Suzuki in "Sermons by a Buddhist Abbot."²

As it was just the time when Buddhism was first introduced into China and the people did not yet believe in it deeply, Mātanga 'concealed his good understanding' and did not translate many works ; but

Kāśyapa Mātanga's Sūtra of Forty-two sections.

1 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 88, 89.

2 Nanjio, *Catalogue*, p. 162 (No. 678).

3 See note by Suzuki, *Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot*, Chicago, 1908.

he simply selected this sūtra for teaching others (Nanjio, p. 162). Chu-fa-lan, whom we have already mentioned, helped Dharmarakṣa's works. Mātāṅga to translate the first book, which was according to some, a Pāli book and belonged to the Hīnayāna school. Four other, or according to some, five other books were translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa or Chu-fa-lan, but unfortunately these translations are lost. It has been suggested by Julien that the book mentioned as *Fo-p'an-hsin-ching* was a translation of the *Lalita-vistara* and Lloyd thinks that it might be the *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghōṣa. Of course both are mere conjectures. Other four books being *Daśabhūmi-kleśa-chedikā*, *Dharma-samudra-kośa-sūtra*, the *Jātakas* and a collection of 260 śīlas or precepts.

Of the first workers in the the field of Indian thought in China we have certain accounts from the Tibetan work *Dub-thah-selkyi-Ma'lon*, which is full of legendary absurdities. It says that the Emperor Mindhi i. e. Ming-Ti, erected temples, established three convents for the use of nuns, himself took the vows of an upāsaka and that more than a thousand men entered monkhood. (*JASB.*, 1881, p. 90). But that "the curiosity of Ming-Ti did not lead to any immediate triumph of Buddhism" is the view of Sir Charles Eliot who has made his observation from Chinese sources.

"In course of time Arhat Mātāṅga and Paṇḍit Bharāṇa died. Mindhi's successor invited several other Indian paṇḍits. Among the first batch Ārya-kāla, Sthavira Chilukākṣa, Śramaṇa Suvinaya and five other paṇḍits were well known" (*JASB.*, 1881, p. 90).

Kāśyapa Mātāṅga and Dharmarakṣa (Chu-fa-lan) left behind them four books of which only one now exists, 'the Sūtra of the forty two sections'. The next batch of missionaries came to China in A. D. 147. The interval of seventy years was wholly taken up with controversies and persecutions, during which the Buddhists claimed to be miraculously assisted by a superhuman power which supported them in all their trials and brought them out victorious (Lloyd, *Wheat Among the Tares*, p. 49).

The Lo-yang monastery remained the centre of Indian culture during the Han dynasty. But it is not until the 3rd century that Buddhism began to make itself felt in China. Altogether twelve translators are named as having worked during the Han supremacy (25-220 A. D.) and they translated about 359 books. All these monks were not Indians; about half came from India and the rest came from Central Asia with the exception of some probably of Indo-Tibetan extraction.

Of the first batch of workers after the demise of the pioneers, who worked in the monastery of Pai-ma-shih (White Horse monastery) at Loyang, Ch-leu-chia-chan or Sthavira Chilukākṣa was the first. He was a śramaṇa of the country of the Yüeh-chi, who came to China in A.D. 147 or 164, and worked at translations till 186 A.D. He is said to have translated 21 distinct books in 63 fasciculi or according to others 23 works in 67 fasciculi; but as early as 730 A. D. about half the works were lost and at present only 12 of his books exist.

The most celebrated of the translators of the Han Period was An-Shih-Kao, a prince of An-hsi or Parthia, whose real name was probably Ārya-kāla as it is found in Tibetan history. An-Shih-Kao's father having died, he gave up the kingdom to his uncle and became a śramaṇa. He came to China in A. D. 148 and worked at translations till 170 A. D. at Loyang. During twenty-two years this indefatigable worker translated 176 distinct Sanskrit books; but one of the earliest Chinese catalogues Khai-yuen-lu (730 A. D.) mentions the name of 95 books and says that only 54 were extant, but today 55 of his works are found in the Ming-Tripiṭaka. Of the twelve translators whose names are known in Chinese, although they are not identified, we have given detailed information of the important workers only.

Of the rest of the translators, we give brief notes, as they are given by Nanjio.

Chu-Fo-Soh was an Indian śramaṇa, who came to Loyang probably with the second batch and translated two sūtras in A. D. 172 and 183. But these were lost in 730 A. D.

An-Hsüen came from An-si country and seemed to have been of royal extraction, as his name An-heu (marquis) indicates. He probably occupied the post of Head Officer of Cavalry, or it might have been an honorific title given him by the reigning Han Emperor. He together with a Chinese śramaṇa called Yen-Fo-thiao translated two works at Loyang monastery in 181 A. D. One of his books *Ugra-Paripṛcchā* (Nanjio, 33) which he took to China for the first time, was subsequently twice translated into Chinese. His assistant Yen-Fo-thiao a Chinese well-versed in Sanskrit translated several works (7 or 5) while living in the monastery of Loyang in A. D. 188. But today only one Mahāyāna Sūtra is found under his name. Ch-Yao, a śramaṇa of the western region, probably a Yüeh-chi enriched the Chinese Buddhist literature by translating eleven distinct works of which five have come down to us. His principal works were parts

An-shih-Kao or
Arya-Kāla.

Minor writers
of the Han
period.

of *Madhyamāgama* and *Saṃyuktāgama*, which were re-translated at a later date. But his '*Pūrṇa-prabhāsa-samādhimati-sūtra*' (Nanjio, 381) was never translated and is put under the Mahāyāna Sūtras. *Kṣulla-Mārgabhūmi Sūtra* (Nanjio, 1338) is also a Mahāyāna sūtra. Khang-Chu and Khang Mang-Siang were śramaṇas of Tibetan descent, the former coming from Jambu, while the latter came to China from Central India. The former translated one sūtra in Loyang in A.D. 187, but it was long lost. The latter translated six works between A. D. 194 and 197, but most of them were lost. These books are (i) *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, (ii) *Catussatya-Sūtra*, (iii) *Kumāra-Nidāna-Śrīphala-Sūtra* which was a life of Buddha. His other books are (1) *Nidāna Kārya Sūtra* and (2) a part of the *Ekottarāgama Sūtra*. The *Nidāna Sūtra* is a collection of ten short sūtras. Each sūtra relates a Nidāna or event happening to Buddha, such as his headache, pain in his back, Devadatta's throwing a stone at him, a brahmana's abuse, his his eating the horse-barley, penance etc. (Nanjio. No. 733).

Mahābala (?) (Chu-tā-li) a śramaṇa of India helped the last writers to translate the sūtra called *Nidāna-Kārya-Sūtra* (Nanjio, 664). This *Life* of Buddha greatly helped the Buddhists to understand the religion and this early record of the master's life should be studied in Chinese, as it might contain valuable historical materials.

Dharmaphala (?) (Thān-Kuo), an Indian monk came to China and brought with him one Sanskrit text from Kapilāvastu and translated it with the help of Mang-Siang. It was *Madhyama-tyukta Sūtra* (Nanjio, 556) being an extract from the text of the *Dirghāgama*. This also is a life of Śākyamuṇi. Besides these 359 (95 existing), Nanjio says that according to Thu-ki there were 125 works whose writers' names are lost ; of these 125 are still extant.

It is noteworthy that a very great portion of this literature thus early translated into Chinese is Hīnayāna. Many of the Central Asian Provinces of the Kushan empire, Khotan, and portions of Bactria had been converted to Buddhism long before the commencement of the Mahāyāna movement. The dividing line between the two vehicles was hardly as yet sharply drawn. Still we find distinct signs of Mahāyāna in the ninety-six of the Chinese translations of the Han period and notably in the twelve books attributed to Lokarakṣa or Chilukākṣa.

(To be continued)

Hindu Politics in Italian

The present communication seeks to summarize and review almost all that has appeared in the Italian on the subject of Hindu political theories and institutions. The publications are being mentioned in the chronological order.

It was through the notes in the works of German scholars, Stein and Hillebrandt, that the Italian studies came to my notice. I am indebted to Professor Formichi as well as Drs. Pizzagalli, Vallauri, and Bottazzi for presenting me with copies of their publications. Cognetti's work arrested my attention by pure accident while investigating the modern and contemporary developments in Italy in economic theory and practice. Two of my own essays are here inserted in order to complete the bibliographical data.

Socialistic Ideals in Indian Tradition

1889. *Socialismo Antico*. Ancient Socialism. By Salvatore Cognetti de Martiis (Turin), pp. xxiv+632.

It is a huge work in the royal octavo forme dealing with the entire ancient world. India comes in at length not only in special chapters but is touched at various points here and there and everywhere.

The author is described in *Gli Ideali di un Economista* (Ideals of an Economist, Florence, 1921) by Professor Luigi Einaudi, a prominent authority on finance, as one of the inspirers of contemporary Italy in economic research and founder of *Laboratorio di Economica politica* in Turin. The present work of Cognetti's is to a certain extent a supplement to his *Le Forme primitive nella evoluzione economica* (Primitive Forms in Economic Evolution, Turin, 1881) inasmuch as the institutional developments described in this latter treatise are here sought to be placed in the perspective of *forme archaiche dell' utopia economica* (archaic forms of economic utopia).

The study of economic ideals as distinguished from that of economic realities is the subject-matter of *Socialismo Antico*. And India is exhibited from the standpoint of the ideas of social utopia which came to evolve in its literature and folk-tradition.

Cognetti's sociology is, like Loria's *La teoria economica della costituzione politica* (Economic Theory of Political Constitution, Turin, 1886), psychologically oriented to the interpretations in the *Communist Mani-*

festo of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels as well as Buckle's *History of Civilization*. According to this way of thinking, the struggle between the old and the new aristocracies is not a special phenomenon of the economic history of the Phoenicians but a universal fact of ancient civilization in the old and the new worlds. The state arose in Egypt, Greece and Rome as in India, China and Peru to co-ordinate the conflicting interests and to function as protector of the social organisation.

But this protective and tutorial function *lasciava fuori tutti la popolazione servile*, i.e., left all the servile population alone, and attended generally to the interests of the *classi dominanti* (dominant classes). As "compensation," so to say, to use a contemporary Freudian expression, for the absence of justice prevailing in that patriarchal feudal-militaristic society arose certain idealistic conceptions in literature and thought, which Cognetti considers to be the kernel of the *leggenda del socialismo* (legend of socialism). It is this socialistic ideal that served to "sublimate" the essential character of patriarchal polity, that "real" world of privilege and tyranny on the one side and misery and suffering on the other.

The conception of a "golden age" is the embodiment of that patriarchal idealism. It is as widely distributed as mankind and is invariably associated with the idea of an economic system that is opposed to rights of the individual in land. Everywhere it appears in the form of an "economic heresy," a protest against private property and a glorification of equality, fraternity, justice, peace and happiness.

The "legend" has been described by Cognetti geographically with reference to the various quarters of the globe. So far as India is concerned, the *Kṛta-Yuga* (=Latin age of Saturn=Greek age of Chronos) is explained on the texts of the *Mahābhārata* (L. V. 1123 etc.) and the *Manu-Saṃhitā* (I, 81-86). We are told that the Hindu exposition of the golden age is "more philosophic than plastic", for while there is a Saturn in Greece, a Chronos in Rome and a Yima in Iran there happens to appear "no personal figure round which the story is grouped in India". But Cognetti considers the Ṛg-Vedic Yama (IX, 113, 8; X, 14, 13; X, 58, 1; X, 17, 1) identical in essence with the Yima of Avesta. He is well up in the comparative philology, mythology and anthropology of his day and ransacks the entire *corpus* of researches up and down in order to discover the ideas in the *Ṛg-Veda* in regard to a "previous epoch of bliss". Works like Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben* and Bergaigne's *La Religion Védique* have furnished him with data and interpretations.

Cognetti traces in a special chapter the democratic ideas in Hindu life and thought. The Buddhist conception of equality and fraternity re-appears in the Vaiṣṇava sects of neo-Hinduism, says he, on the strength of Hunter's *Indian Empire* (1886). And although the *Viṣṇu Smṛiti* (II ; XVIII, 5 ; XIX, 1-4 etc.) does not legally ameliorate the condition of the Śūdras (the lower orders), their position in the *Kali-Yuga* (the iron age, the last of the world-epochs) as described in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is one of great importance. Wilson's English translation is used (London, 1840).

The democratic tradition of the Vaiṣṇavas is continued along different lines by the Rāmānandites. Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus* (1861-2) is C's authority. The democratic spirit associated with Rāmānandism is said to exercise a beneficial influence on the souls of popular classes leading to the "energetic manifestation of the consciousness of self-importance". "The popular psychology of the Indian plebeians has thus been remarkably transformed. To Rāmānandism India owes therefore a new poetry that is no mean successor and rival of the ancient Sanskrit".

The culmination of this trend of thought has been reached in the *Svargārohaṇa* (Ascent to Heaven) of Viṣṇu Dās Kavi. According to Garcin de Tassy in his *Tableau du Kali-Yuga ou del'age de fer par Wischnu das Kavi* (in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1852), the scope of *Svargārohaṇa* is religious but the poem is "socialistic in its maxims" and dwells at length on the merits of the oppressed classes to the exclusion of the upper ten thousands who are exhibited in the worst colour. It is a "revolutionary" work, proclaiming as it does, the message of "equalisation".

Cognetti devotes six pages to the translation of a long extract with special reference to the superiority of the Śūdra to the higher orders. This glorification of the humble and the lowly bears apt comparison in his estimation with the attitude of mediæval villains of Europe in their revolt against the landed aristocracy¹.

Evidently the word socialism as used by Cognetti in this his book on socialistic ideals in Greece, Rome, Persia, China and India

I In the present paper no attempt has been made to translate the Italian passages literally, even where the expressions have been placed within quotation marks. The arguments have been followed as strictly as possible, and the characteristic phrases rendered precisely. But throughout it has been sought to submit a condensed paraphrase.

is quite elastic and not to be understood in its contemporary, Marxian and post-Marxian sense. And although much of the work is diffuse and labyrinthine the instrument of interpretation adopted by him in regard to the literary and anthropological data of the ancient world is like that employed in Morgan's *Ancient Society* and Engel's *Die Entstehung der Familie, des Eigentums und des Staates* likely to be very fruitful in the elucidation of many obscure points in the political, economic and social structure of Hindu life.

Hindu Political Science

1899. *Gl' Indiani e la loro scienza politica. Parte Prima. Il Re i suoi Doveri* (Bologna)—"The Hindus and their Political Science. Part I. The King's Duties". By Carlo Formichi, pp. 118.

It is a concise and good summary of the ideas of Kāmandaka, so far as it goes. References to Manu are given occasionally as well as to the *Mahābhārata* for which Hopkins' study in the *J. A. O. S.* (1889) is laid under contribution.

An important source mentioned in the brochure is the *Yoga-yātrū* of Varāhamihira, the first nine chapters of which were edited by Kern for Weber's *Indische Studien* (vols. X, XIV, XV).

The *Yoga-yātrū*, dealing as it does with *Kriegszug* i. e. mobilization and expedition, is one of the data on which the *Nīti-mayūkha* is based.

This latter treatise constitutes the fifth of the twelve sections of which *Bhagavanta-bhāskara* is composed. The author Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa has been placed in the seventh century.

The second part of *Nīti-mayūkha* deals with the *saptāṅga*, the usual subject-matter of Hindu political treatises. The texts made use of in Professor Formichi's book are still in manuscript.

The *Artha-śāstra* is of course unknown. But Kauṭilya-Cāṇakya is dealt with as a character in the stories of the *Kathū-sarit-sāgara* as well as the *guru* of Kāmandaka.

The author begins his study with the following question: "Did the Hindus possess a political science?" While answering this question in the introduction F. remarks that not all Indian literature addresses itself to renunciation and mysticism, and that human energism as well as utilitarianism have had powerful exponents in Hindu philosophy.

Such being F's attitude it is possible for him to make the following comment in regard to a certain maxim of Kām. (II, 18, 9). "An economist of our own days could not speak otherwise."

To the statement of Varāhamihira's in *Yoga-yātrā* (II, 31) that a king without punitive justice is held in contempt as worthy of being spat upon, F. cites a parallel from Machiavelli's *Discourses* (II, ch. xxiii) which runs thus: "The king who does not punish the person that commits an offence in such a manner as to prevent him from the commission of further crimes is considered to be either ignorant or cowardly".

F. presents his thesis in a precise and clear-cut manner. Be it admitted at once that coming as they did from a European scholar and "so early" as 1899 his statements in regard to Hindu achievements in politics must be regarded as eminently exceptional¹ in the annals of *orientalisme* in general and of indology in particular.

The second part of Formichi's book is to deal with the ministry, allv, treasure, territory, fortress and army but is not yet ready.

The date of Kāmandaki

1899. *Alcuni Osservazioni sull'epoca del Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (Bologna).— 'Some observations on the epoch of Kāmandaki-nīti'. By Carlo Formichi. A lecture delivered at the twelfth Congress of Orientalists (Rome). Against Buehler who believed that Kā.n. belongs to the pre-Christian era, F. maintains that the work is posterior to *Nyāya-sūtra* (c. third or fourth century A. C.) and contemporaneous with Varāhamihira, perhaps slightly anterior (sixth century).

¹ Another exception in the same direction is furnished by Hillebrandt's *Altindische Politik* or Ancient Indian Politics (Jena, 1923). For in its general features this recent German work is likewise not chauvinistic enough to claim monopoly of all political wisdom, strategic sense and endeavours in materialism for the Western races but is on the contrary ever inclined to find analogues and parallels to Hindu ideas and ideals in the texts of orthodox European statesmanship and philosophy. The merits of the work deserve a separate treatment. Although small in size, pp. 162 (text)+50 (notes), it happens to be the only complete book on Hindu politics. The author has avoided all irrelevant archæological discussions and sought to furnish a general sketch of the ideas in Pañcatantra, Mahābhārata and Arthaśāstra. As introduction to Hindu political philosophy, Hillebrandt's manual should be rendered accessible in other languages.



This date has been accepted, it may be observed, by Jacobi in *Zur Fruehgeschichte der indischen Philosophie* (on the early history of Indian philosophy). The essay appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte der Koeniglichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Sciences), Berlin, 1911.

Materialism in Hindu Thought

1907. *Cārvāka, Nāstika e Lokāyatika : Contributo alla storia del materialismo nell' India antica* (Pisa). By Angelo Maria Pizzagalli. A contribution to the history of materialism in ancient India, pp. 86.

With T. A. Lange's *Geschichte des Materialismus* (History of Materialism), which is confined in its contents to the West, as guide, A. M. Pizzagalli has undertaken a survey of materialistic tendencies in Hindu thought. The story begins with Vedic literature and comes down epoch by epoch to Mādhavācārya's *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* (1331) and Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata* (1600).

Hindu materialism is exhibited in religion, logic, metaphysics and ethics. The brochure purports to be a parallel study to Deussen's work on the spiritual aspects of Indian philosophy. This seems to be the only complete and comprehensive study devoted to the materialistic currents of thought in India and cannot but be interesting to students of general culture.

In the present review the study has a place in so far as the author persistently maintains the standpoint that the *dharmaśāstra*, and specially the *nītiśāstra*, in other words, Hindu political literature represents the most systematic and perfect embodiment of materialism (pp. 22, 43). "The Nāstikas, like the Lokāyatikas and the Cārvākas, are not theoretical materialists. The real theoretical materialism of India is to be found in the *nīti*" (p. 65).

It was in politics, we are told, that the Hindus came to work "emancipated from all prejudices". In this field their "sole point of view was human which often led to the sacrifice of the moral" (p. 69).

The last four or five pages are given over to passages from the *Kāmandaki-nīti* in eulogy of force, energism, love of living or joy of life and so forth.

According to P., the "noble hedonism" of the *nītiśāstra* is of a superior order to the "vulgar hedonism" of the Cārvākas. But he wants the readers to remember the Indian tradition, recorded, for instance, by Mādhava, which says that the father of the Cārvākas is Bṛhaspati,

the same Brāhmaṇa *purohita* to the gods, who is also the promulgator of *nītiśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*.

Machiavelli, Hobbes and Kāmandaki

1908. *Salus Populi. Saggio di scienza politica* (Turin). "Welfare of the people: essay on political science". By Carlo Formichi, pp. 148.

The brochure consists in the main of two essays on Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Hobbes (1588-1679). The author analyzes the political ideas of these two European philosophers in order to demonstrate the points of contact with the theories of *Kāmandaki-nīti*. The treatise serves thus to liberalize Western lore on the one hand and on the other to expand the bounds of indology, thus enlarging the viewpoints of scholarship in social science.

The subject has been approached not from the standpoint of the antiquarian or philologist but from that of ideas in political philosophy. The theories of Machiavelli are exhibited not only from a study of the *Prince* but also of his *Discourses*, a work, by the bye, which is very often ignored by Anglo-American scholars and necessarily also by Indians.

The summary of Hobbes's ideas is brilliant and lucid. His *Human Nature*, *Philosophical Rudiments*, and *Leviathan* have been examined in detail. For English readers the treatment may not have much that is new, but the Italian essay is a substantial contribution to the study of the English theorist of the seventeenth century. Besides, since the Hobbesian doctrines have been re-arranged in the perspectives of the Italian and the Hindu theories, the reader finds much interesting light thrown on the methods as well as problems of political philosophy.

The comparative study of the three great masters has been undertaken, says F. in the introduction, in order to prove the thesis of Hobbes, namely, that politics is a *scienza esatta* ("exact science"). These three great geniuses, we are told, came to the same conclusion each in his own way and without knowing one another. "And the agreement between them is, marvellously enough, not less perfect than that between mathematicians".

The chapter on *Kāmandaki* constitutes about twenty per cent of the brochure and establishes the doctrinal identity between the Hindu, English and Italian theorists on the state. The common ground is discovered on the following four principles: (1) Mankind is governed more by passions than by reason. Hence the "state of nature" out

of which the world can be saved only by punishment. (2) No limits to sovereignty. It is by nature absolute and irresponsible. (3) The relations between different nations can be described as but those of a perpetual state of war. And it is the mission of the sovereign to extirpate all internal and external enemies by force, fraud and every other means. (4) The reasons of the state prevail over every religious sentiment or interest. A theocracy is out of the question.

While the three thinkers in three different parts of the world and in three different ages have said substantially the same thing in regard to human nature and political phenomena, a difference can be detected, says F., in regard to the method of treatment followed by each. Machiavelli records the facts as an historian, while Hobbes is a philosopher who has organized them into a system. The methodology of of the Indian author, on the other hand, is said to be that of the artist or poet because he is used to the logic of similies and metaphors. The imaginative style, the figures of speech and vivacity of expression distinguish the Sanskrit treatise from the Italian and the English.

The distinction has been cleverly made out. But it has to be understood and accepted within reasonable limits. For, in the first place, Kāmandaka is not unaware of the historical method. He is always ready to exploit the incidents of history in order to bring his message home to the readers. Only, his history is the story of the heroes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

To this extent his *nītiśāstra* must be admitted to be Machiavellian in methodology. The examples cited by Machiavelli in his treatise do not influence his readers in a way "pragmatically" different from that by which Kāmandaka's readers are influenced, although the former's storehouse is the lives of persons who can be demonstrated to be of actual flesh and blood while the latter's men and women are perhaps mythical personalities, whose historicity has up till now been defeating the onslaughts of positive archaeology.

In the second place, Kām. is no less philosophical in his treatment. His logic is quite rigorous and he knows how to rear his social thoughts on the solid foundations of human psychology. The *nītiśāstra* that he has left behind is not a patchwork of dozens of disconnected maxims and proverbs, as Willoughby mistakenly postulates about the entire Orient in *Political Theories of the Ancient World*, but a systematic treatise complete in its arguments so far as it goes.

But if this book does not look like the philosophical essays such as Hobbes has produced, it is because most of Indian philosophical literature is composed more or less in the condensed *sūtra* (aphoristic)

style and meant for elucidation and discussion in a symposium, *gosthi* or *pariṣat*, rather than finished products to be swallowed as such. The arguments pro and con, the syllogistic explanations are not always evident on the surface. A defect no doubt. It may be observed incidentally that by the rigid test of philosophical dissertations like, say, an *Essay on the Human Understanding*, none of Plato's *Dialogues* would be considered treatises of philosophy. And yet Plato certainly is a philosopher.

A small chapter is given over to the identities even in the matter of words and phrases. For instance, the spy as the "eye" of the state is an Hobbesian expression (*Leviathan*, II, 23) no less than an Indian (*Kām.*, XIII, 28, 30). The descriptions of the gardener's functions in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, act iii, sc. iv and Bhartṛhari (*Indische Sprueche* by Boehtlingk, I, 1171) indicate, again, the sameness of mentality. The Hindu "logic of the fish" is to be found in Shakespeare's *Pericles*, act. ii, sc. i thus,—“Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.” “Why, as men do a-land, the great ones eat up the little ones”.

F. comes to the conclusion that the products of the human spirit not only in politics but in myth, religion, philosophy, law and poetry as well are the same in spite of the differences in time and space. Nature is considered to be poor in creative power and does not produce always something new. But very often like an artist she copies herself and exhibits the self-same works with slight modifications in different ages and climes.

Philosophically, F. belongs to the school of Buckle and believes that however great may have been the progress achieved by mankind in the realm of intellect, so far as morals are concerned there is hardly any reason to believe in any advance since the days of Hobbes, or Machiavelli or Kāmandaki.

Perhaps the doctrine is too pessimistic to be subscribed to by every student of the "evolution of morals". One might remark with great justification that with the advance of intellect the very idea of morality may change and that what we superficially may describe as the self-same *mores* are in many instances really different entities of life. It may not, therefore, be true that mankind has not achieved any progress in morals.

F. has not forgotten to discuss the logical foundations of the identity between the three great masters.

The ideological identity, according to F., can be due to only one reason. In his judgment the political facts are substantially the same

at all times and in all places, provided the observers be all impartial or serene, and abstain themselves from behaving like the omniscient demagogue and medical quack who pose as experts in everything, the conclusions are bound to be the same.

The explanation seems to be too naïve although not without a strand of truth. The agreement is more accurately to be accounted for not so much by the postulate of the universality and identity of human nature as by the more or less sameness and identity of political *developments* which Hindu, Italian and English theorists sought to explain and rationalize. The historic *institutional* experiences happened to be similar in quality, if not always so in form and external appearances and conventions.

The English philosopher is younger than the Hindu by a thousand years. But during that millennium the world in its economic and social relations was pretty well uniform and maintained its fundamental uniformity from epoch to epoch. The worlds with which K., M., and H. had to deal were in fact identical. And since each one of them was prepared to call a spade a spade without taking refuge in the comouflage of idealism, a possible "higher good" and "highest good," the result is what we see. There can evolve but one political philosophy as long as the psychology is that of a *Realpolitiker* and the "conditions of temperature and pressure" in the social *milieu* remain the same.

Further, it is necessary to add by way of criticism that, should F. or any other person, who believes in the identity of the old and the new in the region of philosophy, be led to think that political and social theory continues to be where it was left by Hobbes, he would commit a serious blunder¹. The industrial revolution has created a new epoch in world-history and along with it have been born concepts and categories which were utterly unknown in the previous ages of human evolution.

In other words, Kāmandaki, Machiavelli, and Hobbes would have been quite at sea in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The "modern problems" such as are discussed, for instance, in Barker's *Political Thought in England from Spencer to the present day* (1914) or Gide and Rist's *History of Economic Doctrines* (1915), or Spann's *Der Wahre Staat* (The Real State, Leipzig, 1921) would have been much too beyond the power of the old giants.

1 On the general aspects of the fallacy in question, see my "Alleged Hindu Anticipations of Modern Philosophy" in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta, 1925).

With this general proviso, one need not hesitate to remark that *Salus Populi* is scientifically a very valuable work, in so far as the author did not fall a prey to the vicious dogma which has obstinately long segregated the Oriental facts and phenomena as *sui generis* and as constituting a world by themselves. The author has proceeded to the analysis of philosophical doctrines in a purely objective manner without preconceived notions of pseudo-climatology and imperialistic anthropology.

The treatise deserves to be better known among the students of political theory and might well be rendered available in Bengali, Hindi, Marathi and other Indian languages.

In order to substantiate his thesis from the Indian side, the author has undertaken to translate the entire *Kāmandaki*. The translation is noticed in the subsequent pages.

Thucydides and Kauṭilya

1914. *Precursori di Niccolò Machiavelli in India ed in Grecia Kauṭilya e Tucidide* (Pisa). "Precursors of N. M. in India and Greece K. and T." By G. B. Bottazzi, pp. 158.

Dr. Bottazzi, a pupil of Formichi's, seeks to establish the thesis that Kauṭilya and Thucydides did not know each other's writings but yet have expressed the self-same ideas and that of these ideas Machiavelli is but a late exponent.

He believes that many of the *vantate teorie ed invenzioni moderne* (famous theories and inventions of modern times) were "enunciated and practised" in India centuries before the Christian era. The word "modern" he does not define anywhere. Nor does his expression *secoli e secoli prima di Christo* appear to be anything but hyperbole.

The study exposes the errors of those who imagine that the *popolo indiano* was a community of ascetics, mystics and dreamers with no other thoughts except those of the other world. In B's judgment the currents of thought and life in India were multiform and rich in contrasts. The scientific thought of the Hindus *dispiego una vita alta, vigoroso, varia, feconda* (i. e. developed a high, vigorous, varied and fertile life).

Bottazzi begins his study with the following words of the *Mahābhārata* (Book XII) cited from *Leggende Buddhistiche del Mahābhārata*, "Buddhist Legends of the M." (Naples, 1900) by Kerbaker, one of the founders of Indic studies in Italy: "Superior to law, in my opinion, is force, and from force proceeds law; law has its sustenance in force just as the family of living beings in mother earth".

B's comment is as follows : "Many centuries have passed away since the old Bhiṣma, dying, delivered this grand message as a political testament to his royal nephew Yudhiṣṭhira. And yet still today it is being followed up by those who strive after life and success ; still today the argument furnishes the logic of the more powerful people ; and the 'superior' man possesses command over crowds of the 'inferior'. This doctrine of force is equally well represented in Greek and Latin literature, for instance, in Hesiod, Ennius, Horace, Seneca, and others".

Are then, he asks, the idealistic doctrines of equality, fraternity and liberty proclaimed by the French Revolution, or by Buddha who taught that hatred can be conquered only by love, or Aśvaghōṣa, the poet of Buddhism, with his message of love even for the enemies, mere words ? And he answers : "No, the conflict between the ideal and the real is eternal. The philosopher and the moralist deal with what ought to be, whereas the politician studies man as he is and can possibly be." "The statesman", as says Villari in *Niccolo Machiavelli e i suoi tempi* (Florence, 1895-97), "although wishing many times to speak the truth like an ordinary individual, finds it impossible to do so".

"One, therefore, is compelled to make a distinction between pure idealism and practical idealism. Christianity triumphed," we are told "not through the intransigent idealism of St. Peter but because of the practical adaptations of St. Paul. The reform of St. Francis could be introduced into the Catholic world through the appropriate actions of Brother Elia. And the unification of Italy was quickened not so much by the idealism of Mazzini as by the practical activities of Cavour and Garibaldi."

"For the practical life of India Kauṭilya is the spokesman, as for Greece Thucydides." Such is the philosophy pervading Bottazzi's comparative study of Hindu and Greek thought in the light of Italian.

There is a chapter dealing with the Kauṭilya question in the usual manner. The entire table of contents has been reproduced in Italian and Sanskrit. A special feature is to be noted. The Sanskrit preface to Shamastry's text has been rendered into Italian line by line.

According to B., Kauṭilya writing as he did in an epoch when the truth was not yet masked by the lies of convention appears in his somewhat infantile sincerity more cruel than Machiavelli in the cold analysis of political phenomena, more inhuman and inexorable in the counsels as to the means to be adopted for the realization of the ends of the state.

"Further, K. was more fortunate in practical life than the Florentine secretary. M. had a grand dream to which he, a little bit too

enthusiastic, fell a victim, as says Villari, whereas K. was more positive and more political and lived to see his ideas fulfilled." This latter statement is of course acceptable only on the hypothesis that the author of the *Arthasāstra* is the self-same person to whose energism and statesmanship Candragupta Maurya owed a great deal of his power.

B. considers the *Arthasāstra* quite modernist in legislation. The *emancipazione delle donne e la loro proprietà* (cf. Nārada, XIII, 8, and Manu, IX, 194) i. e. emancipation of women and their property, divorce (*moksamicchet*), etc. are among the items which indicate that Kauṭilya possessed the brain of modern legislators. "His work is useful to women as to men."

Thus considered K. may be cited as a feminist by those who wish to seek support from older authorities. In S's Sanskrit preface, some of these modernisms of K. are apparent in the list of topics on which the *Arthasāstra* (Book XIII) appeared disagreeable to the professors of the *Dharmaśāstras*.

B. did not consult S's translation while making his own and complains that S. is often too free in his renderings. The footnotes point out the differences and also indicate one or two attempts at improving the text.

The chapter on Thucydides that follows is a short essay on the age of Pericles with special reference to the Greek historian's individuality and genius. T., says B., personifies the ideal of Athenian political life during the period of its prosperity and triumph.

Wherein does the strength of T. lie? *Il voit la réalité telle quelle est sans illusions optimistes* (he sees the reality as it is without optimistic illusions), says Croiset in the introduction to his French edition of the Greek text entitled *Thucydide Histoire de la Guerre du Peloponèse* (Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War).

As historian T. does not indeed lose sight of the value of law but he is equally convinced that it is interest and force rather than absolute justice that governs the events.

This aspect of T's work has been noticed by Bury in his *Ancient Greek Historians* thus: "To maintain a state, said the Florentine thinker, a statesman is often compelled to act against faith, humanity, and religion. In T. reason of state appears as actually the sovran guide in the conduct of affairs." The "*virtu*" of which T. is the spokesman is "a Keyword of Machiavelli's system," says Bury, "a quality possessed by men like Francesco Sforza and Cesare Borgia."

That T. was a precursor of M. is therefore no news to the English-speaking world. Nay, Bury finds no ground for supposing that T. "would have a thought of censure, if he had lived in our own days, for

statesmen like Cavour and Bismarck and Disraeli, were guided exclusively by reason of state and are therefore blamed by moralists for having debased the moral currency in Europe."

In German thought likewise has T. obtained his due. Zeller in *Die Philosophie der Griechen* (Philosophy of the Greeks) considers T's *History* to be the evidence of a "realistic, unprejudiced, keen and morally sincere world-view."

A pupil of Anaxagoras the physicist, as T. was, he may be described as the Anaxagoras of history and the propounder of a theory which later was developed by Vico. T's *History* is a "pragmatic" treatise and is intended for those who seek to distinguish the "useful" from the "harmful."

The affinities with Kauṭilya are therefore evident. These are analysed by B. in the remaining chapters of the book, topic by topic. There is no chapter devoted exclusively to Machiavelli. Indeed M. appears only few and far between in the notes. The main purpose of the treatise consists in demonstrating the identity between the Greek historian and the Hindu philosopher in their psychological orientation to the problems of the state.

It may be added here that one might equally, if one had so desired, establish the identity of T. and K. with a seventeenth century thinker, Spinoza, not only in the matter of objective realistic approach to the problems of social philosophy but in regard to certain cardinal teachings as well.

The ideas on human nature come in for treatment as the first topic. Man is by nature evil, say the Hindu thinkers (Maṇu VII, 47-51; Kāmandaki, I. 54-55; XIII, 61; XIV, 6-7, *Mahābhārata*, XII, 19; Kauṭilya, I, 11-13, etc.). Thucydides' *History* bears the Hindu conception out. The two great motives in human work, according to T. (I, 123; I, 76, 2, etc.), are self-interest and fear. Men do not behave properly unless under the continual fear of punishment (II, 53, 1; III, 82, 2; III, 82, 7, etc.). One remembers at once Spinoza's *Ethics* (III, 1; IV, 4; IV, 58, etc.) as well as *Political Tract* (I, 2, 5; II, 14)¹.

On the question of the "useful", egoism or self-interest is exhibited to mark the common ground between T. and the Kauṭilyans. To T's idea that anybody who opposes you is your enemy and that to gain one's ends one should even praise one's enemy and go so far as to make alliance with him or that nothing is unreasonable if it is useful

1 The references to Spinoza are based on Stern's German translation, *Politischer Traktat* (Leipzig, 1906).

and that one has to behave as friend or foe according to circumstances (I, 43; I, 82, 1, III. 9, 1; VI, 16, 4, VI, 85, etc.) Kauṭilya and Kāmandaki can furnish a host of parallels. One may cite the Hindu doctrine of the *ṣaḍguṇa* (six expedients) for one.

In regard to the problem of fate vs. energism, B. does not find any difference between the Hindu and the Greek views of life. And on this question he has tried to correct the errors of European scholars in so many words.

"To what aberrations of judgment one can be led by the ignorance in regard to the Oriental world is demonstrated", says B., "by the following words of Chiapelli (*Caratteri Orientali dello Stoicismo*, Oriental Character of Stoicism, in the *Atti della Regale Accademia di Scienze morali e politici di Napoli*, Vol. 27), who having praised the Greeks writes thus : The Oriental on the country is used neither to science, nor to art nor to liberty. His nature disposes him to visions and ecstasies of exuberant fantasy and to indolence or to religious fanaticism".

According to Kauṭilya, as B. points out, the only things that mankind owes to fate are the calamities from fire, water, disease, famine and epidemic. "Everything else is the result of the actions of human beings. Everything that is produced tangibly is the fruit of human energy. This energy is known to be subject to the laws of thought".

Fate is indeed recognized by the Hindus as by the Greeks as a great force, but, says B., it does not possess, as Maine believed erroneously in *Ancient Law and Customs*, "an unavoidable character, nor does it dominate all human activity".

"Besides, whatever the form in which fate is recognized was common to the entire antiquity", as Masci remarks in *Le Idee Morali in Grecia prima d'Aristotele* (Moral Ideas in Greece before A, Lanciano, 1882), "the conception was as much Greco-Latin as Hebrew and Oriental".

Yājñavalkya (I, 351), *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (XXIII, 26), Kāmandaki (IX, 36; XIV, 10), *Hitopadeśa* (I, 32) and other Hindu authorities in eulogy of *Puruṣakūra* (energism) are cited. The ethics of overpowering the *daiva* (chance or luck) by *prudenza politica* is adumbrated in the *Kāmanlukīya* (XIV, 21). And here the Hindu are at one with Thucydides (VI, 18, 2; II, 40, 1; II, 87, 3; V, 103, 2; II, 64, 2).

The doctrine of *danḍa* (punishment) is as much Greek as Hindu. Thucydides (III, 40; III, 83, 1; VI, 103, 41) agrees with Manu (VII, 24), Kauṭilya, Kāmandaki and others. B. might likewise have cited here Spinoza's conception of the function of the state (*Political Tract*, ch. II, which summarises the author's ideas already published in *Theologico-political Tract*, ch. XVI, and *Ethics*, IV 37, 2; IV 67) as the instrument of

might to rescue mankind out of the state of nature which is a state of war.

B's chapter on the form of government is unusually interesting. He points out that T. was not a democrat but rather an advocate of "mixed government," a mixture of oligarchy and democracy. According to T. a pure democracy is incompetent to establish order and discipline, the things that counted most in his eyes. His lionizing of Pericles is a strong evidence in this regard, for under Pericles the state was democratic only in name but really a government by the one. Thucydides (II, 65, 9 ; I, 127, 3), we are told, pays homage to the "principle of authority embodied in one or more persons".

Once convinced that T. almost approaches monarchism in his appreciations it is not difficult to argue that Kauṭilya is semi-democratic in his philosophy. In Homeric as well as in ancient Indian tradition, argues B., the king is sacred as a "divine emanation". But in Kauṭilya the sacredness of the King is "due to the power conferred on him by the people who possess in him the one defence of their existence."

"The *Arthasāstra* makes the King elective. He is elected by the will of the people with a compromise, vow or promise which is similar to the famous social contract of Rousseau."

"Great is the power and the authority of the person that is invested as King by popular vote but greater is the duty that is incumbent on him for executing the mandate received from the subjects."

B. then translates in their entirety the passages bearing on the election of the first King Manu, son of Vivasvat, as the way out of the "logic of the fish." The reward for protection offered by him is also indicated, namely, the sixth part of grain, and tenth part of goods and gold, contributed by the people.

A critic will observe that T. was speaking on the necessity of one-man-rule, or rather of decision, strength, order and so forth such as are associated with a monarchistic government, in a book which deals with the actual history of state which was by all means non-monarchistic, indeed the most popular conceivable from the standpoint of constitutional form. One remembers Joseph-Barthelemy's attitude in regard to modern democracy vs. one-man-rule in *Le Problème de la compétence dans la démocratie* (Paris, 1918). K's statements, on the contrary, constitute but the theoretical speculation in regard to the popular or democratic origin of society and state and more particularly Kingship, in a treatise that is almost exclusively given over to the politics of a monarchical constitution.

(To be continued)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

MISCELLANY

The Andhras and the Telugus

Writing in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1913, Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar arrived at the conclusion that the Andhras of ancient times had no connection whatever with the Telugus, that "Nannayabhaṭṭa was the first person to call the Telugu language by the name of Andhra" and that "there is no shadow of evidence to assume that the original home of the Andhras was the east coast of South India". It is here submitted that from the arguments put forward by the learned writer his conclusion does not necessarily follow.

In literature and inscriptions there are several well-known references to the Andhras of early times. The earliest is in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii, 3, 18) which speaks of them as descendants of Viśvāmitra living on the outskirts of Aryan territory along with the Pulindas, the Śābaras and the Mutibas. The Śābaras appear to be the same as the Śavaras now occupying the agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam as neighbours of the Telugus. About 300 B.C. Megasthenes speaks of the Andhras in glowing terms and places them in the neighbourhood of Calingae (Kaliṅga), Modogalingae, the Modubae (Mutibas) and the Ubrae (Śābara). The reference in the 13th rock edict of Aśoka, in which they are, for administrative purposes, coupled with the Pulindas, makes them distinct from the Petenikas (the people of Paithan, the capital of the Sātavāhanas). The mention made of Andhapura (*Jātaka*, I, 3) on the Telavāha river (identified with the Tel on the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces) and of the Andhra country in the *Jātaka* may be referred to the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Though we cannot definitely prove when the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were reduced to their present form, it may be noted that the Andhras are mentioned in both of them (*Kiṣk.*, 41; *Sabhā*, 31) as a southern people. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Matsya, Vāyu and other Purāṇas mention the Andhra and the Andhrabhr̥tya dynasties which have been not quite legitimately identified with the Sātavāhana dynasty of our inscriptions and coins. The Mydavolu plates of Śivaskandavarman which belong to the 3rd century A.D. refer to Andhrapatha in which was situated Dhanakada (i. e. the

territory on the lower Kistna)¹. In the Bāṇa grant of 339 A.D.² is mentioned the Andhra-maṇḍalam in which lay Muḍiyanūr and Āvani now in the Kolar District of Mysore. The Udayendiram plates of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya II refer to the Andhra-patha³. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang mentions the Andhra as lying towards the south-west of Kaliṅga, as he went first to Kośala towards the north-west of Kaliṅga and then towards the South from Kośala to Andhra⁴. Daṇḍin who lived about the same time refers to Andhra-nagara presumably as being in the neighbourhood of Kaliṅga, the prince whose fortunes are narrated having ultimately become the joint ruler of Kaliṅga and Andhranagara⁵.

An analytical study of these references makes two points clear: (1) The Andhra country was in the south and in the neighbourhood of Kaliṅga. No reference supports the view that they lived originally on the western coast of the Deccan, and South India. (2) The Andhra country began from the banks of the Tel river and extended by about the 9th century A. D. right up to the Palar river in the south and the Kolar district towards the south-west. Though the Andhras are located in one place by the Jātaka, in another place by the Pallava inscription, and in a third place by Hiuen Tsang, this does not mean that the Andhras were wandering from one territory to another but that from the early days they steadily expanded from the south-eastern skirts of the Vindhya and the Tel river to as far as the Palar river in the South. It may be curious to note that the eastern Ghats which run across the Telugu country are referred to as Vindhya in early Telugu works and in some Sanskrit books composed in the Telugu country⁶. From literature and inscriptions as well as from the observations of foreigners it can be shown conclusively that the east coast of the Deccan and South India was the original home of the Andhras.

Doubts and controversies on this subject are the result of confusing the Sātavāhanas with the Andhras. The relations between these have been carefully examined by Dr. Sukthankar⁷ and they need not be

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 175.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 76. 4 Beal's *Buddhist Records etc.*, vol. II.

5 *Daśakumāracarita*, ucchvāsa vii.

6 Śrīnātha's *Bhūmakhaṇḍa*; *Venabhūpālacarita*.

7 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, vol. I.

referred to in detail here. It has been proved by him that the Sātavāhanas of historic fame had nothing to do with the Andhras. The Sātavāhana expansion might have been from the west towards the east but it does not follow that the Andhra migration was also in the same direction. On the contrary, they seem to have moved from the east towards the west up to Bellary—the Sātavāhana Rāṣṭra—which even now is not entirely a Telugu speaking district. Like all historians of India Prof. Iyengar assumed the identity of the Sātavāhanas and the Andhras and consequently arrived at the erroneous conclusion referred to above.

A word has now to be said as to whether the Telugus have always been the same as the Andhras or whether they acquired the name Andhra only in the 11th century as shown by Prof. Iyengar. It is true that Andhra and Telugu are not used as synonyms before the 11th century. Not even Nannaya whom Prof. Iyengar regards as the first author to use Andhra as a name for Telugu makes use of that word. In rendering into vernacular the Sanskrit Mahābhārata he says that the 'king directed him to translate the Mahābhārata into *Telugu*,' that he (the poet) 'resolves on rendering the Mahābhārata Saṃhitā into *Telugu*'. It is Pavuloor Mallanna a contemporary of Nannaya that first uses 'Andhra' as another name for Telugu². Since then the two have become synonyms for each other.

Are we however authorised from this in drawing the inference that before the 11th century Telugu was different from Andhra? Nāgavarman the Canarese grammarian writing in the 10th century refers to Andhra as one of the languages prevalent in the country³. If in the 11th Century 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' were used to denote the same language, can it be said that they were different a century earlier? If so what is the Andhra language which deserved a prominent mention in the classification of languages by a noted grammarian? The Vadukar is the name given to the Telugus by the Tamils from the earliest times. In inscriptions Vadugavali has been used in the sense of the Andhra-patha even before the 11th century⁴. This gives the equation Vadukar = Telugu = Andhra. That the Telugus and the Telugu languages were in existence for many centuries before Nannaya

1 *Andhra Mahābhārata*, Ādi-parva, I, 16, 25 (Ānanda Press Ed.)

2 Quoted in Virasaliṅgam's *Lives*, vol. I.

3 Nāgavarman's *Prosody* (ed. kettel)

4 S. I. *Inscriptions*, vol. III, pt. i, pp. 90, 91.

is proved by the Telugu inscription given in vol. II, p. 544 of Nellore Inscriptions and the Telugu Birudas of Pallava rulers of the 6th century¹. If Telugu attained such a sufficiently high literary status as to be used for purposes of inscriptions, how is it that we do not find mention of it in books or inscriptions before the 11th century? And why do we find mention only of the Andhra race and the Andhra country in books and inscriptions referring to this part of India? The answer seems to be that 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' have always been one, and where 'Andhra' was used there was no need for using 'Telugu'. If the Telugus had been late immigrants into the east coast of South India, into a country up till then called 'Andhra' and into the midst of the 'Andhras,' omission of all references to them before the 11th century may be explained. But this hypothesis is not correct in view of the Telugu inscriptions and the Telugu Birudas above referred to. That the Andhras spoke Prākṛt and not Telugu is an assumption due to the erroneous identification of the Andhras with the Sātavāhanas.

If 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' had not meant the same from the earliest times, how are we to explain the adoption of the name 'Andhra' for 'Telugu' from the 11th century? Are we to say that the Telugus wanted to get additional glory by connecting themselves with the Andhras? This contention may have some meaning if in earlier books the Andhras had been spoken of in any highly appreciative terms. But that is not the case. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to them as Dasyus who do not observe the Vedic rites and are therefore ex-communicated. Manu classes them practically with the Caṇḍālas and says that they must live outside the villages along with the Medas (the Medaras or basket-makers in the Telugu country at present?)². In the Mahābhārata they are spoken of as sinners, as wanting in truthfulness and as upholders of bad laws like the Śakas, the Pulindas and the Yavanas³. Similar references are found in some other Purāṇas and Smṛtis. Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasāstra notes that 'the women of the Andhra-deśa are by nature gentle and fond of sexual intercourse. They are vulgar in their tastes and impure in their habits'⁴.

Other references of a similar character may be quoted. If 'Telugu' and 'Andhra' had not been identical before, no motive could have prompted the Telugu poets and the Telugu people to assume the name 'Andhra' as it would not in the light of the above references

1 Dubreuil's *Pallavas*.

2 *Manu*, adhyāya 10.

3 *Aranya-parva*.

4 Bk. II, ch. v.

have added to their dignity or status. The conclusion is therefore reasonable that from the earliest times 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' meant one and the same.

Another opinion also may be hazarded. The word 'Telugu' is a pure Telugu word. It is not derived from Sanskrit. The attempt to connect it with Trilinga has not been quite successful. 'Trilinga' seems to be the Sanskritised form of 'Telugu', while 'Andhra' is a Sanskrit word. It may be that the peoples speaking Sanskritic languages always called the Telugus as Andhras. And as all books written before the 11th century were in Sanskrit and Prākṛt languages, the name 'Andhra' alone is found in literature. In the 11th century the habit of writing books in Telugu came into general vogue. It is a sign of the patriotism of the Telugu writers that instead of speaking of their language as 'Andhra' as was done all along by writers in Sanskritic languages, they brought into currency 'Tenugu' and 'Telugu'. They wanted that the world should know them by the name they had in their own language instead of by the name given to them by the Sanskritists. This explains the appearance of 'Telugu' and 'Tenugu' in books from the 11th century onwards.

M. VENKATARANGAYYA

Report of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad State

The latest report of the Archæological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions is for the year 1920-21 published in 1923. The most important work of conservation undertaken during the year was the preservation of the paintings at Ajanta with the help of the expert Italian *restorateur* Signor L. Cecconi and his assistant Count Prsini. These experts had to fix the frescoes which were gradually peeling off from the rock surface, then to protect the crumbling edges of the paintings with a suitable cement, to remove the varnish laid in the eighties of the last century with the double object of brightening up the details of the paintings and of protecting them against damp and to destroy the insects in the clay-plaster on which the paintings were done. The report describes the methods and the chemicals which the experts have used in conserving the paintings. Ajanta was visited during the year by M. Clemenceau and by Mr.

Percival Landon known on account of his writings on Tibet. A Canarese inscription of Munirabad relating to the reign of Vikramāditya VI was published during the year as Monograph No. 5 of the Hyderabad Archæological Series. A horde of 367 punch-marked Andhra coins was found in the Kaninnagar District. The Director surveyed the monuments of the Bir District, especially the Ashte taluqa which contains some Nizam Shahi monuments and the temples of the old town of Bir, the scene of both Hindu and Moslem military activities in olden days and frequently mentioned in the History of Ferishta. Muhammad bin Tughlaq while passing Bir in one of his expeditions lost a tooth which was buried with more than royal honours; and even now traditions point out a small tower about 8 miles from the town as the Tomb of royal Tooth.

A new inscription discovered during the year under report is a record carved on a square pillar at Bodhan which contains a large number of Jaina and Śaiva relics. Thirty new Muslim inscriptions have been brought to light; and two of these belonging to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq are "important as fixing landmarks in the history of his eventful reign."

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Śaṅkarācārya Caritam

In the course of my archæological work I had occasion to examine a small family collection of manuscripts at Iriujalakuda. There I came across a kāvya in Sanskrit entitled 'ŚAṆKARĀCĀRYA CARITAM'. Since any piece of information that may throw light on the life of the great spiritual leader is always to be welcomed, I lost no time in examining it. I found this work more or less embodied the Malayalee tradition. Since, however, this work does not appear to have been brought to the notice of Sanskritists, the following short account of it will not, it is hoped, be out of place.

The work is written throughout in Anuṣṭubh metre and is generally characterised by great simplicity. There is neither the frenzied flight of imagination nor the pompous exaggeration. It is a matter of fact narrative, and herein lies probably its greatest charm. The work divides itself into nine chapters, though unfortunately my copy

breaks off towards the middle of the last chapter. The contents of the chapters are in the words of the poet as follows :—

Nibandhanam idam puṇyam adhyāyanavakānvitam/
 Karomi Yativaryasya nideśaṃ samupāśritah//
 Kathāsaṃkṣepa evādyo dvitīyo' dhyāya udbhave/
 Tṛtīyo vyāsa-saṃlāpe turyaḥ prāk-śiṣyasambhave//
 Sureśvarasya śiṣyasya sannyāse pañcamaḥ smṛtaḥ/
 Saṣṭhas tu Hastāmalaka-Troḍakābhikhyasīśyayoh//
 Saptamo muktidāyinyāḥ Kāncyā mātmyakIrtane/
 Rāmeśvarakathākhyāne sarvapāpahare'ṣṭamaḥ//
 Sarvajñānanidhes tasya Śaṅkarācāryayoginah/
 Navamaḥ paramānandasāyujye vihitāvadhīḥ//

There is no clue available to solve the authorship of the work. There is, however, enough to show that it is the work of a Malayalee. Not only that; since the life is described by his disciple as desired by a 'Y a t i v a r y a,' the author may be presumed to have been an ascetic. Whether he could have been an immediate disciple of the venerable Guru, and if not, when he could have lived, are questions to be decided when fresh evidence may be forthcoming.

The following details regarding the early life and the last days of Śaṅkarācārya appear to be interesting as they are different from Mādhavācārya's account of the same.

The venerable Ācārya was born of a devout couple through the blessing of the Lord enshrined in the Temple at Trichur, whom they worshipped and pleased. He lost his father before he was five years old. He conducted the dīkṣā for a year as every Nambudiri does now and afterwards had his upanayana ceremony conducted. After this he devoted himself to the study of all sacred and secular literature till his sixteenth year. It is only after this that he left his native home and went to Benares to get himself ordained. Thus according to this work, the great scholar had his complete education in the land of his birth.

Again as this author will have it, the great spiritual leader came back to his own native land to lay down his mortal remains. After ascending the Sarvajñapīṭha at Kāñci and worshipping at the holy shrine at Rāmeśvaram, he turned to his native land and reached Trichur in company with his disciples. Here he knew his end was near and gladly prepared himself for the inevitable.

To quote the words of the poet :—

Tataḥ kṣetrāṇi puṇyāni tirthāni ca niṣevya saḥ,
 Krameṇa śiṣyasampyukto vṛṣācalam avāptavān.

Tatra Dakṣiṇakailāse nivasann ekadā guruḥ,
 Jñātvā nijaśarīrāntaṃ saha śiṣyaḥ prasannadhīḥ,
 Kāsāre paścime snātvā natvā tatratyāṃ īśvaram,
 Srīmūlasthānam āsādy cakre tasya pradakṣiṇam.
 Gopureṇāntar āviśya kṛṣṇaṃ natvā yatīśvaraḥ,
 Vāhanendraṃ purārāter gatvā Vṛṣabham ānamat.
 Keralāvanikartāraṃ hartāraṃ sarvabhūbhṛtām,
 So'namad Bhārgavaṃ Rāmaṃ nṛṇāṃ avanatatparam.
 Nṛttaṃ Bhagavataś Śambhor natvā naṭaphaṇīśvaram,
 Mūrtitrayaṃ ca Herambaṃ Pārvatīṃ api deśikāḥ.
 Yathāvad bahuśo natvā maṇḍapeṣu nanāma saḥ,
 Bahūni stotramukhyāni devatritaya-vandane.
 Cakre sa Śaṅkarācāryo bhṛṣaṃ bhaktisamanvitaḥ,
 Nārāyaṇa ! Murārāte ! Kṛṣṇa ! Govinda ! Mādhava !

Thus in the opinion of the author the great Śaṅkarācārya has his mortal remains interred in the sacred precincts of the Vaṭakkunnātha Kṣetram at Trichur and this tallies with the Malayalee version. This is probably the main reason why this temple is looked upon as the holiest and the most sacred in mid-Kerala.

One more point I wish to touch upon before I close this short note. In the mediæval ages after the downfall of the Perumals' suzerainty, the kingdom ruled over by the Perumpaṭappil Svarūpam i. e. the present Cochin Royal Family, extended from the Ponnani river in the north to central Travancore in the south. This would show that the venerable Śaṅkarācārya was a subject of the Maharaja of Cochin. For the great Guru was born in Cochin, had his education in Cochin, and laid down his 'mortal coil' in Cochin. This is indeed a matter for great pride and rejoicing to all Cochinites.

K. RAMA PISHAKOTI

A note on the word Kauṭalya

It is well-known that the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya has been recently published from Trivandrum by Dr. Ganapati Sastri with his own commentary 'Śrīmūla'. None will be so blind as not to see the superiority of this new edition of the Arthaśāstra over the others.

I chanced to read, in a recent number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, an ordinary review of the above publication, from which I have to differ in one respect. My difference in view lay in the matter of the spelling or rather the mis-spelling of the name of Kauṭalya.

In both the first two editions of the Arthaśāstra by Dr. Shamastry, and in the edition by Prof. Jolly which followed it, the name Kauṭalya is spelt as Kauṭilya with the vowel *i* in the middle. The mistake has been inadvertently followed by Dr. Ganapati Sastri also in the first 40 pages of his edition, but it has been corrected in the latter pages of this book as Kauṭalya with the vowel *a* in the middle of the word. Dr. Sastri has given a satisfactory explanation in his preface for his correction. The review in the Journal condemns this correction as out of place. Therefore we have to look into the etymology of the word and determine which is the correct spelling Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya.

In the Jayamaṅgalā commentary of the Kāmandaka Nitisāra, Śaṅkarārya the commentator says, *Kauṭalya iti gotranibandhanā Viṣṇuguptasya samjñā*. It is evident from this that Kauṭalya is the family-name of Viṣṇugupta. All family-names are derived from the name of the patron saint 'gotrapravartaka ṛṣi' by the addition of derivative suffix 'yaṅ'. Thus we have now only to consider whether the family-name in question is the derivative 'taddhita' of the patronymic Kuṭala or Kuṭila. This is the same as asking which is the patronymic, Kuṭala or Kuṭila. *Nānārthārṇavasamkṣepa* by Keśavasvāmin has taken both these words and given their meaning thus :—

Atha syāt Kuṭalo gotrakṛty ṛṣau puṁsi nap punaḥ,

Vidyād ābharaṇe' tha triḥ kuṭilaṁ kuñcite bhavet.

From the above it is clear that Kuṭala is the word that can possibly denote a patron saint and not kuṭila. Then, too, the derivative form of the patronymic Kuṭala brought about by the addition

of the suffix 'yañ' is Kauṭalya and cannot by any stretch of imagination become Kauṭilya. Therefore the only possible explanation for the correspondent's mistake in the Journal is, that a long standing mistake has been taken to be correct by force of practice. Moreover, every model manuscript copy of the Arthaśāstra to be found in Southern India has spelt the word as Kauṭalya with the vowel *a* in the middle¹.

With the spelling of the word thus corrected we can find for Professors Keith and Winternitz sufficient solace to their fear and regret that Cāṇakya, Prime-minister of Candragupta, should be called Kauṭilya, a name exciting contempt. It is to be noted, however, that the fears of the above Professors are futile since they forgot to examine the names of such ancient Ācāryas as, Kautsa, Vātavyādhi, Kauṇapadanta, Śunaḥśēpa and others, a comparison of which would make the name Kauṭilya a heaven in hell.

It is surprising that the correspondent has entered his criticism in spite of the clarity and logic which Dr. Ganapati Sastri has demonstrated in support of his correction. However, I hope his criticism will be considered in the light of this note by the respectable readers of your famous journal. Also I dare say that those who are partial to respectable-looking names will not be disappointed by this note.

V. VANKATARAM SHARMA

Hindu Imperial Systems and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

In Ch. XXXVII of the *Hindu Polity* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal distinguishes three types of Empire in ancient India—Ādhipatyā, Sārva-bhauma, and Sāmrajyā,—which he interprets respectively as 'Suzerainty' (or 'Over-protection'), 'pan-country Sovereignty' (or 'One-king Empire') and 'Federal Imperialism'. These interpretations are sought to be based partly on the etymology of the terms in question and partly on the evidence of a text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii. 15)

1 The *Anargharāghavatippaṇa*, an unpublished work by Pūrṇa-sarasvatī gives the meaning of the word 'vinayādhikārikā' as follows :—
Vinayādhikārikam Kauṭalyasya prathamam adhikaraṇam.

and are sought to be justified by means of recorded instances in history and legend. Now the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, in course of its exposition of the Great Consecration ceremony (Mahābhiṣeka) of the king of gods, and its copy, the Great Consecration of the king of men, mentions a 'stock list' of the various positions which fall to the lot of one anointed under this ceremony. This comprises (Ibid. VII. 12-14 ; 17-19), besides a long list of descriptive epithets, the terms Sāmraja, Bhauja, Svāraja, Vairaja, Rāja, Pārameṣṭhya, Mahāraja, Ādhipatya, Svāvaśya, and Ātiṣṭha. These terms, it may be added, are associated in Ait. Br. VIII. 14 with different parts of the country. Thus we have

Sāmraja	...	...	Eastern peoples
Bhauja	...	...	Satvants in the south
Svāraja	...	...	Nicyas and Apācyas
Vairaja	...	...	Uttarakurus and Uttaramadras beyond the Himālayas.
Raja	...	...	Kuru-Pāñcālas with the Vāsas and Uśīnaras in the middle,

while Pārameṣṭhya, Mahāraja, Ādhipatya, Svāvaśya and Ātiṣṭha are connected more fancifully with the upward quarter¹. It is evident that the terms just mentioned have to be understood more or less as technical designations. All the other expressions used in the above contexts should preferably be taken to be descriptive of royal (or imperial) authority. Such is the case with the term Sārvabhauma in the passage (Art. Br. VIII. 15) referred to by J. which may be here cited at length :—

Sa ya icched evaṃvit kṣatriyam ayam sarvā jitr jayeta ayaṃ sarvān lokān vindeta ayaṃ sarveṣāṃ rājñāṃ śraiṣṭhyam atiṣṭhāṃ paramatāṃ gaccheta sāmrajaṃ bhaujaṃ svārajaṃ vairajaṃ pārameṣṭhyam rājaṃ mahārajaṃ ādhipatyaṃ ayaṃ samantaparyāyī syāt sārvabhaumaḥ sāvāyaśaḥ āntād āparārdhāt pṛthivyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāṭ...sa ya icched evaṃvit kṣatriyo'ham sarvā jitr jayeyam ahaṃ sarvān lokān vindeyam ahaṃ sarveṣāṃ rājñāṃ śraiṣṭhyam atiṣṭhāṃ paramatāṃ gaccheyam sāmrajaṃ bhaujaṃ svārajaṃ vairajaṃ

1 In the corresponding passage (Ibid. VIII. 19) relating to the Mahābhiṣeka of kings the same collocation is maintained except that Mahāraja and the following terms are connected with the middle.

pārameṣṭhyam rājyaṃ māhārājyaṃ ādhipatyam ahaṃ samantaparyāyī syāṃ sārvaḥṣaumaḥ sārvaṃyūṣa āntād āparārdhāt pṛthivyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāṭ.

'Sārvaḥṣauma' then in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa implies not so much a specific kind of empire as a rather vague description of imperial authority. J. indeed finds in the above-quoted text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa an explanation of this term. He writes (Pt. II, p. 196): "The wish to be a Sārvaḥṣauma is expressed [in Ait. Br. VIII. 18] to become (sic) the (sole) monarch of the land up to its (natural) frontiers, up to the sea, over all human beings". But a glance at the context shows that the phrase 'sārvaṃyūṣa āntād āparārdhāt pṛthivyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāṭ' cannot be taken to be an explanation of the term 'sārvaḥṣauma', but should rather be regarded as forming along with the latter a part of the long-drawn description of royal and imperial authority.

At a later period 'Sārvaḥṣauma' must have come to be recognised as a technical designation. In Āpastamba Śrautasūtra (XX. 1. 1) a sārvaḥṣauma is declared to be qualified for performance of the horse-sacrifice. The term 'cakravartin', which is a synonym for sārvaḥṣauma (Amara III. 2) is already known to Kauṭilya (IX. 1), and it occurs in a highly magnified and imaginative form in the Buddhist conception of the 'Great King of Glory' Mahāsudassana. It undoubtedly implied, as J. thinks, the idea of territorial sovereignty extending up to the natural frontiers. In the Mahāsudassanasutta (I. 11) e. g. the Cakravartin is said to have conquered the earth up to the frontier of the sea (samuddapariyantaṃ paṭhavim abhivijñitvā). But J's view of the identity of 'sārvaḥṣauma' and 'ekarāṭ' does not seem to be above criticism. We have already seen how the expression sarvaṃyūṣa āntād āparārdhāt, etc. cannot properly be taken to be synonymous with sārvaḥṣauma. Again, it is significant that the picture of Mahāsudassana contemplates the whole body of rival kings (paṭirājāno) paying their homage to the Great King of Glory in the following words—

"Ehi kho, Mahārāja, sāgataṃ, Mahārāja, sakaṃ te Mahārāja, anusāsa, Mahārāja ("Come, O mighty king, welcome, O mighty king. All is thine, O mighty king. Do thou, O mighty king, be a teacher to us" (Rhys Davids' tr., S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 253).

In connexion with the present subject J. throws out the suggestion (Pt. II, p. 196) that the ideal of Sārvaḥṣauma "probably arose in Magadha whence the field for conquest lay open up to the Bay of Bengal; its non-Aryan population, unlike the Aryan *jānas* or nations

of the Doab, was no moral barrier to the Hindu imperialist." But all the traditions of empire in the East attach themselves, as J's own citations (Pt. II, p. 197) from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and from the story of Jarāsandha in the Mahābhārata show, to the conception of sāmrajya, not that of sārva-bhauṃsa. Nor, again, is it possible, in view of the results of modern research, to subscribe to the contention that the population of Magadha and the eastern regions bordering on it was non-Aryan in character. J. is further of opinion that the Sārva-bhauṃsa system was extended "even up to the Aryan India (sic) by the kings of Magadha, which (sic) shocked the principle of Jānarāja". But the Purāṇic evidence on which J. relies shows that the "Hindu historians" were "shocked" not at the establishment of 'ekarāja' and 'ekacchatra' by Mahāpadma but because he belonged to the despised Śūdra caste and exterminated the Kṣatriyas. Let us quote the passage in full.

Mt., Vā., Br.

Bh., Vs.

Mahānandi-sutaś cāpi śūdrāyāṃ Ka-
likāṃśajāḥ / utpatsyate Mahā-
padmaḥ sarva-kṣatrāntako nṛ-
paḥ / tataḥ prabhṛti rājāno bha-
viṣyāḥ śūdra-yonayaḥ/ ekarāṭ sa
Mahāpadma eka-cchatro bhavi-
ṣyati/ aṣṭāṣṭi tu varṣāṇi pṛthi-
vyāṃ ca bhaviṣyati / sarvakṣa-
tram athoddhṛtya bhāvinārthena
coditaḥ.

Mahānandi-suto rājan śūdrā-
garbhodbhavo bali/ Mahāpadma-
patiḥ kaścin Nandaḥ kṣatra-vi-
nāśakṛt/ tato nṛpī bhaviṣyanti
śūdra-prāyās tv-adhārmikāḥ/ sa
eka-cchatrāṃ pṛthivīm anullaū-
ghita-śāsanāḥ/ śāsiṣyati Mahā-
padmo dvitiya iva Bhārgavaḥ.

(Pargiter, Purāṇa Text, p. 25)

In truth, the application of the 'one-king idea of Empire' 'to Aryan India' could not have been a great innovation in the time of Mahāpadma. Already had Kośala shown the way by its annexation of the 'Aryan' kingdom of Kāśi. As J. himself observes in another context (Pt. II, p. 198), "Competition [for Sārva-bhauṃsa] follows between the three [viz. Kosala, Avanti, and Magadha] and Magadha finally wins under Nanda-vardhana".

Let us next turn to the term ādhipatya. J. explains it (Pt. II, p. 195) as "an overlordship embracing protected states" and more fully, as "an imperial system in which suzerainty or 'over-protection' (ādhipatya) on (sic) states outside its frontier was exercised by the dominant state". This explanation is based on the idea that the phrase 'ayaṃ

samantaparyāyī syat' occurring in the above quoted text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 15) immediately after 'ādhipatyam' is synonymous with the latter. But here again, as in the parallel case of the 'sārva-bhauma', it seems more natural to take the succeeding phrase in the Brāhmaṇa text as part of the general description of royal and imperial authority. Another and a more fundamental objection—that may be urged against J.'s view is that the term 'adhipati' in so far as it is used in a special sense—for there can be no doubt that it likewise bears the generic sense of a ruler or sovereign—means a ruler below the rank of an Emperor. Amara (II. 2) defines 'adhiśvara', which is doubtless a synonym for 'adhipati', as 'a king with numerous neighbouring or feudatory chiefs dependent upon him (rājā tu prāṇatāśeṣasāmantaḥ syād adhiśvaraḥ)'. A text of the Āśvamedhika section of the Mahābhārata quoted in Chanḍeśvara's Rājanītiratnākara¹ describes all the kings subject to a Samrāt as adhiśvaras (tasyādhinās tu vijñeyā rājānaś ca adhiśvaraḥ). Chanḍeśvara also quotes in the same context a text of Nārada (evidently an Arthaśāstra work) to the effect that kings are of three classes, namely the Samrāt, the tributary king and the non-tributary king. The first levies tributes from all other kings, the second pays tribute every month or every year, while the third who is also called adhiśvara pays tribute of his own accord under the pretext of sending a message. This definition of adhiśvara, as we learn from a further quotation in the Rājanītiratnākara², was reproduced by Gopāla in his Rājanītikāmadhenu. We are thus in a position to show that the technical sense of 'adhiśvara' (and therefore of its equivalent 'adhipati') at least from the epoch of the Mahābhārata is a subordinate king, and not an Emperor.

The last point that remains to be considered is the signification of the term 'Sāmrajya.' Here there can be no doubt that some kind of Empire or at least over-lordship is meant³. J., however, translates the term "in modern phraseology" into "a Federal Imperial system (sic)" (Pt. II, p. 197). This is one of those instances of bold and reckless identifications of ancient Indian with European political institutions which abound in the *Hindu Polity*. For, to confine ourselves to the present example, what does a Federal State, Imperial or Republican, imply? It involves two sets of administrations, the Federal and the

1 K. P. Jayaswal's edition, p. 4.

2 p. 5.

3 Cf. e.g. the well-known passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V.1. 1. 13) declaring the samrāt to be superior to the 'rājan'.

State, the former being charged with the direction of external relations and internal affairs of common interest, the latter with the management of local affairs of state. The late German Empire, which in our time has been the only example of a Federal Empire, thus possessed a Federal Executive and Legislature (consisting of the Emperor with his ministers and the two houses of the Bundesrath and Reichstag) besides the State Executive and Legislatures. Now, can the possession of the above features be predicated of any single Empire in Ancient, or, for the matter of that, Mediæval or Modern India? Indeed a perusal of J's remarks on the present subject leave us in grave doubt as to whether the learned author has been able to grasp the meaning of Federalism. He defines 'Sāmrajya' (p. 197) as a collection of States under one acknowledged super-state (on p. 4 he defines it more loosely as 'a collection of monarchies') and he immediately proceeds to identify the same with a "Federal Imperial System, or 'Federal Imperialism'. But in such a case the true equivalent of Sāmrajya would be 'paramount sovereignty'. J. sees in the federal character of the Sāmrajya its difference from the sārva-bhauma ('one-king') system. But as his interpretations of both the terms have been shown to be open to serious doubt, the basis of the comparison falls to the ground¹.

Besides characterising the Sāmrajya as Federal Imperialism, J. has tried to discover the original character of this institution. Relying on the evidence of the Sabhā-parvan (Ch. XIX) he says that Jarāsandha is there described as "President or Samrāt of the Federal organisation, and Śiśupāla, the Cedi king, as the "common generalissimo". "In this detail" he continues, "we detect an inter-State basis of originally free nature" (p. 197). Now the meaning of the Mahābhārata account will best appear from the passage (Sabhā-parvan XIV, 7 ff.) wherein Kṛṣṇa recounts to Yudhiṣṭhira the story of Jarāsandha's mighty deeds. It may be quoted here in substance. Idānīm eva vai rājan Jarāsandho mahīpatiḥ/ abhibhūya śriyaṃ teṣāṃ kulānāṃ abhiṣecitaḥ / sthito mūrdhni nareन्द्रāṇāṃ ojasākramya sarvaśaḥ// so'vanīm madhyamām bhuktvā mitho bhedam amamyata// prabhur yas tu paro rājā yasminn ekavaśe jagat//sa sāmrajyaṃ mahārājā

1 A description of different grades of rulers including the Samrāt and the Sārva-bhauma actually occurs in the late mediæval work the Śukranītisāra (I. 183-187). There the difference is made to depend entirely upon the extent of the ruler's powers as shown in the amount of tribute raised from the subjects.

prāpto bhavati yogataḥ// taṃ sa rājā Jarāsandhaṃ saṃśritya kila sarvaśaḥ/ rājan senāpatir jātaḥ Śiśupālaḥ pratāpavān/ tam eva ca mahārāja śiśyavat samupasthitaḥ// [Then follows a list of kings who took refuge (saṃśrita) with Jarāsandha, or were devoted (bhakta) to him]. The plain meaning of the above passage is that Jarāsandha, after overcoming the prosperity of the royal houses referred to in the preceding lines (viz. the Ikṣvākus, Ailas and Bhojas), was consecrated by them and that he placed himself at the top of all kings after attacking them. King Śiśupāla took refuge with him and became his general. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the term saṃśraya used in the present passage with reference to Śiśupāla and other kings is a well-known variety of the six forms of policy, and is recommended by the Arthaśāstra and Nīti authors in the case of weak kings¹. Moreover, the notable phrase applied above to Śiśupāla (śiśyavat samupasthitaḥ) has its exact counterpart in Kāmandaka's admonition to a saṃśrita king (vinītavat tatra kālaṃ gamayitvā guror iva etc. Ibid. XVI. 29). It thus appears that what amounts merely to acceptance of protection from a powerful king is magnified by J. into the election of President of a Federal organisation, and, what is more, the appointment of a subordinate prince as commander-in-chief, as e. g. in Mughal India of Rāja Man Singh by Akbar, is transformed into the election of a generalissimo of the Federation.

But it is said (Pt. II, p. 197) that the Mahābhārata actually contains an instance of "free election of an Emperor by a collection of kings and his consecration to that position". This is the statement in Ādi-parvan (Ch. C. 7) that Śāntanu was consecrated king of kings by other kings (taṃ mahīpā mahīpālaṃ rājarājye'bhyaṣechayan). We are tempted to ask whether the mere fact of joining in the Abhiṣeka amounts to participation in the act of election. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Lāṅkākāṇḍa, CXXVIII, 62) it is said of Rāma's consecration after his return to Ayodhyā at the end of his term of exile "ṛtvigbhir brāhmaṇaiḥ pūrvaṃ kanyābhir mantribhis tathā / pauraś caivābhyāṣiṇcaṃs te samprahrṣtaiḥ sanaigamaiḥ (The ṛtviks, the Brāhmaṇas, the women, the ministers, the citizens and the merchants together consecrated him). Are we to understand from this that all these classes, the women not excepted, met together in an Assembly (or, shall we say, Diet or Parliament) for the free election of Rāma? If this were so, female suffrage would have to be added to the list of discoveries that J. has

1 Cf. Kauṣ. VII. 1 : śaktihīnaḥ saṃśrayeta.

made in his attempt to recover the lost track of the Pūrvasūris. Again, Brahmapurāṇam, giving the rules for consecration of the king, mentions that Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, the chief Śūdras, women devoted to their husbands and having sons, should join in the ceremony¹. Similarly the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam, gives the direction that the leading Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and the chiefs of mixed castes should join in consecrating the king². Are these general directions to be taken as a charter of popular suffrage for the election of kings?

G.

Hindu Theories of the Origin of Kingship and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal—A Supplement

In my article bearing the above title, which appeared in the last number of the Indian Historical Quarterly, I had occasion to quote, while criticising J's view of the exclusively human and elective origin of the king in the Vedic theory, the text of *Taitt. Br.* II. 1. 10-12. There it is declared how Indra, the king of the gods, was invested with the royal authority by the act of Prajāpati, the chief god of the Brāhmaṇa period. I am now in a position to quote a text, almost certainly taken from a *Brāhmaṇa*, which expresses in the clearest terms the divine creation of the human king. It is cited from an unknown *āmnāya* by Viśvarūpa, the author of the earliest extant commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*. The text in part is as follows:—

Saha vā idam abhavat, devās ca manuṣyās ca, te yadopakārair na śekur manuṣyān ātmikartum atha devās tirobbabhūvuh, tām Prajāpatir abravīt kaḥ prajāḥ pālayitā bhuvi sarve 'ntarhitāḥ stha, asaṃrakṣyamāṇāḥ prajā adharmārditās tyakṣyantītaḥ pradānam upajivanam asmākam iti, te devāḥ Prajāpatim abruvan, puruṣamūrtim rājānaṃ karavāma Somād rūpam ādāya Ādityāt tejo vikramam atha Indrād Viṣṇor vijayaṃ Vaiśravaṇāt tyāgam Yamāt saṃyamanam. (The gods and men failed to bring the people under their control through benevolence. Then the gods

1 Nṛpatis tvabhiśektavyo daivajñavacanān naraiḥ / brāhmaṇaiḥ kṣatriyaiḥ vaiśyaiḥ śūdrāmukhyaiḥ tathaiva ca/ pativratābhir nārībhiḥ putrībhiḥ ca putravat// Quoted in Mitra Miśra's *Viramitrodaya*, Rājānītiprakāśa, p. 45.

2 Tato brāhmaṇamukhyāś ca kṣatriyāś ca viśas tathā/ śūdrāś cāvaramukhyāś ca nānātīrtha-samudbhavaiḥ// etc. Quoting this in p. 53, Mitra Miśra explains 'āvaramukhyāḥ' as 'mūrdhāvasiktādayaḥ.'

disappeared. When Prajāpati enquired as to who should protect the peoples the gods replied that they would create a king in the form of a man by taking different qualities from the different deities). Ibid. Comy. on *Yājñ.* I. 350.

G.

The Punjab Sanskrit Series

At the third session of the Oriental Conference at Madras Dr. Ganga Nath Jha in his presidential address referred to the importance of the search for Mss. and their preservation, and lauded the activities of the Societies engaged in the publication of critical editions of Mss. He also suggested that there should be a 'Book-bulletin' published annually, registering the names of all oriental works that see the light from year to year (see *IHQ.*, I, 181). There is no knowing when the valuable suggestion will be put into execution. For the present we can, in our humble way, render a service by publishing from time to time accounts of works published in the various Oriental Series in India or elsewhere. Such accounts will serve not only to focus information as to the nature and contents of the works in the Series but also enable the publishers of the Series to avoid loss of time and labour by avoiding unnecessary duplication of work. It is gratifying that the number of centres for the publication of series of Oriental books is gradually increasing, and situated as they are in different parts of the world, there should be facilities for knowing what is being done at each centre. An idea of the vastness of the work before them can be obtained when we take into consideration the fact that Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* contains names of about 30,000 Mss., many of which are important from various standpoints. According to Mm. H. P. Sastri there are so many as 200,000 Mss. in the Puri District alone (*JBORS.*, III, 15). By the present opportunity I propose to deal with the work done by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot under the management of its enterprising proprietors Messrs. Motilal Banarsi Das. The Punjab Sanskrit Series was initiated by them in 1921 and has been carried on without any external aid from any State or Oriental Society.

Of the two works on Hindu Polity in the Series the more important is the edition of the *Kautilīya Arthasāstra* in two volumes. The 1st volume containing the text has been edited by the distinguished scholar Jolly of the Würzburg University and Schmidt of

the Münster University, based on the manuscripts of the treatise found in the Government Library at Munich. It contains an historical introduction by Jolly discussing the date of the *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra*. The second volume containing *Nayacandrikā*, the old Sanskrit commentary of Mādhava Jayvan has been edited by Pandit Udayavīra Śāstrin.

The other work on Hindu Polity is the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* (Bṛhaspati Sūtra) originally edited by F. W. Thomas of the India office in Roman character with an English translation and a learned Introduction and published in the *le Muséon* 1916. The present edition is in Devanāgarī character and published under the supervision of Paṇḍit Bhagavad Datta with his notes on the place of the Sūtra among the ancient Sanskrit treatises on polity. The importance of the work lies in this that it is in Sūtra form and points to the inference that there was very likely a Sūtra period of polity literature in ancient India just as there was a sūtra period of the metrical law-codes in Sanskrit.

The *Jaiminīya Gṛhyasūtra* (Domestic Ceremonies according to the school of Jaimini) has been edited by W. Caland of the University of Utrecht with profuse extracts from its commentary *Subodhinī*. The remarks made by the editor in his Introduction regarding the literature of the Sāmaveda are illuminating, containing as they do, references to the fragments of texts relating to the Sāmaveda and criticisms thereon published in India and Europe. He names here the extant Mss. belonging to the three surviving śākhās of the Sāmaveda, viz., the Kauthumas (Guzerat), the Jaiminīyas (Carnatic), and the Rāṇyānīyas (Mahārāṣṭra). In this connection he also deals with the relation of this Gṛhya Sūtra to the other Gṛhya Sūtras of the Sāmaveda and a few texts outside the Sāmaveda.

The *Āryavidyāsudhākara* of Yajñeśvara Chimana Bhaṭṭa is a compendium of Hindu philosophy and rituals, and deals *inter alia* with the culture of the Vedic people, the doctrines of various schools of Hindu philosophy and also those of the later schools of Buddhism.

The *Nilamatapurāṇa* is a work on the ancient history of Kashmir and has been quoted by Kalhaṇa several times in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. About the importance of this work Bühler remarks as follows: 'Its great value lies therein that it is a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends which are required in order to explain the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and that it shows how Kalhaṇa used his sources'.

The booklet on astronomy *Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa* has been so named

by the editor on account of its connection with the Atharvaveda, its original name being *Ātma-jyotiṣa*. It is a book of recent composition.

The *Dāthūvaṃsa* has been edited and translated by B. C. Law well-known in the field of Buddhistic studies. The work throws light on the history of Ceylon though as its title indicates, its immediate object is to give an account of the tooth-relic of Buddha at Dantapura.

The name *Jaina Jātakas* is rather misleading, as the name of the whole book of which this is a portion is *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa carita*. The work is an English translation of Book I, Canto I of the bigger book. The work contains a learned introduction by Banarsi Das.

Of the works that have been undertaken to be published next, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the Kāṇva Śākhā is very important. It is being edited by Caland. There is an edition of the Mādhyandina recension of the work by Prof. Weber who could not utilize a complete and correct copy of the Kāṇva śākhā, as only fragments of the Ms. had been discovered.

The following other works are in preparation :—

1. *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Champa, and Cambodia.*
2. *The Cradle of Indian History.*
3. *The Principles of Indian Śilpa-sāstra* with the text of *Maya-sāstra*.
4. The drama *Kalyāṇasaugandhikam* with commentary.
5. English translation of *Saundarānandakūya*.
6. *Tribes of Ancient India.*
7. *Thupavaṃsa.*
8. *Sūtrakṛtūṅga.*
9. English translation of *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacarita*.
10. *Rājaprañīya.*

D. BHATTACHARYYA

REVIEWS

NIRVĀṆA—Par Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Gabriel Beauchesne, Éditeur A Paris, Rue de Rennes, 117. 1925. 8vo. pp. i-xxiii, 1-194.

This work is the fifth publication of the series *Études sur l' Histoire des Religions*, and is assuredly a very useful production. M. de la Vallée Poussin is fully justified in bringing out "un nouveau mémoire" of Nirvāṇa in spite of the learned contributions of Barthélemy, Saint Hilaire, Childers, Rhys Davids, Pischel, Oldenberg and a host of modern Buddhist scholars. Much has been said about Nirvāṇa, and the more it has been spoken upon, the more confounded we have been. For, we have never had to our satisfaction that clear and comprehensive analysis of Nirvāṇa which could facilitate the understanding of some at least of the relations existing between earlier and later Buddhism. M. de la Vallée Poussin has not only assimilated the labours of his predecessors, but has outshone them in one particular respect, viz., the possibility his researches have opened up of supplying a historical basis of Nirvāṇa as it is understood by the "Nihilists" and the "Positivists". That the *Śūnyavāda* of the Mādhyamikas has its *raison d'être* on the negative interpretation of Nirvāṇa is more easily said than understood. The reason is that it is difficult to establish a direct connection between the developed doctrine of the Mahāyāna and the crude taciturnity of the Pāli canon ; in other words, we have yet to learn the history of an intermediate stage of development, through which "Nirvāṇa" had to run before it came by its latest overgrowth. This desideratum has been foreshadowed in M. de la Vallée Poussin's work which is a handsome attempt to define Nirvāṇa in all its aspects and all its relations ; he goes back to the Upaniṣads for the origin of the theories about it and has trodden over, though hurriedly, the field of sacred literature for materials for an account of the progressive idea of Nirvāṇa. We would, however, have been happier if the Pāli works were largely utilized. Nevertheless, the value of the work is great and it will, we hope, be a source of information to students and teachers of Buddhism for some time to come.

S. M.

HEAVEN AND HELL IN BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE.

By Dr. Bimala Charan Law, M. A., B. L., Ph. D., with a foreword by the Earl of Ronaldshay, P. C. Thesis approved by the Calcutta University for the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal for 1924. 128+xxxv pp. Thacker, Spink and Co. 1925.

Dr. Bimala Charan Law has added another obligation to those which students of India owe him by this careful account of Buddhist ideas of heaven and hell. As in his earlier works, his chief aim has been to present us with a solid mass of definite facts drawn primarily from the original sources, and supplemented by citations of the views of modern scholarship. By limiting the subject-matter treated in each of his works, he is able to give full details from the originals, thus adding at once to the interest of the book and providing the scholar with the background which is almost indispensable for the profitable study of religious belief.

The students of religion will find here abundant illustration of ideas of reward in heaven, and retribution in hell which in India as in the west represents the basic views of the people; monkish ingenuity loses itself in depicting the details of either state and in fashioning precise correspondences of good and evil deeds and their results; but the essential fact remains that for the average Buddhists, as for the average Brahmin, action was dominated by the expectation of bliss and the fear of pain; Nirvāṇa and the absolute were abstractions for the philosophically minded alone to care for. Moreover, it was for the latter alone that "the iron law of karma", to which Lord Ronaldshay in his justly appreciative foreword refers, had absolute validity. In the more human world of popular belief, there is room for the intervention of the Buddha, who conscious of the impending doom of a young student, whose greedy teacher has sent him to bring him a reward of a thousand Kahāpaṇas appears to him and converts him to the faith (p. 72); or again Mahāmoggallāna foreseeing the imminent death of a cowherd presents himself to him in order that he may, by giving to him his own meal of gruel, secure admission to the Tāvātimsa heaven (p. 80). Sin may be counteracted by penitence and meritorious deed, and, most important of all, the prayers and actions of others may avail to save their friends from the consequences of their own actions. The latter doctrine is most familiar perhaps from texts other than Pāli as in the Chinese story cited by Dr. Law (p. 104), but the conception is essentially involved in the Petavatthu.

An interesting supplement to Buddhist views is afforded by

citations from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa which display how much parallelism of idea there is, suggesting a complex process of mutual indebtedness between Buddhist and Brahmin; it might be noted that in numbers of hells the Buddhists have a distinctive penchant for eight and its multiples. Dr. Law here (p. 119) follows Mr. Pargiter in turning those who eat, while others around them remain unfed, into Sūcimukha birds, but these interesting animals are clearly not in place; the meaning of the text is that for their gluttony they become creatures with mountain-like bodies (gīrvaṣmāṇaḥ) whose needs are miserably supplied by needle-sized mouths.

An appendix by Dr. B. M. Barua speculates on the origin of the Petavatthu and the Vimānavatthu and their relation to the Jātaka book.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

THE INDO-SUMERIAN SEALS DECIPHERED. By L. A. Waddell, LL. D., C. B., C. I. E. Luzac & Co., London. 1925. pp. xxiv+146.

Such is the alluring and astounding title of the latest work of the veteran Tibetan scholar Dr. L. A. Waddell, who has given quite a surprise to the learned world by his recent attempts to identify the Phœnicians with Cymri or the ancient Britons. His latest work is based entirely on preconceived notions similar to those which the author has tried to propound in the *Phœnician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons*. In the present work Dr. Waddell has tried to convince his readers that he has really discovered the correct method of deciphering the inscriptions in unknown characters on the seals discovered by Messrs. Dayaram Sahni and R. D. Banerjee at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. The method adopted by Dr. Waddell is illustrated by him very clearly in nineteen different cases, and in all these cases his imagination has carried away the author of *Buddhism in Tibet* from the basis of solidity. In the majority of cases his mistake begins from that of transcribing the original seals from the illustrations published in Sir John Marshall's articles in the *Illustrated London News* of the 20th September, 1924. In the majority of the seals of the Indo-Sumerian type there is a bull with a standard in front of it. The head of this bull, either in combination with the standard or without it, has been taken by him to indicate different symbols. On page



31 the head of the bull in combination with the standard is taken to mean "Edin". The head of the bull alone is taken to represent the same sound in the case of seal No. 3 on page 49. On page 51 the head of the bull in combination with the standard is taken to mean "Ga". Again on page 57 the head of the bull is taken to mean "Gu, Ga, Tu". On the same page two different parts of the standard are taken to mean "Sa, Ag" and "Du". The same valuation is repeated in the case of the head of the bull and two different parts of the standard on page 65 in the case of seal No. VI and on page 69 in the case of seal No. 7. In the case of seal No. 8 we are told that the head of the bull means "Ti, Tu, Tax, Ga", the standard is omitted. In the case of seal No. 9, the standard combined is taken to mean "Si, Du". On the same page in the case of seal No. 10 the head of the bull and the two different parts of the standard are taken to mean "Gu, Ga, Si and Du". On page 75 the head and the seal differently are taken to mean "Edin". This value is repeated in the case of seal No. 13 on page 81; but on page 95 in the case of seal No. 16 the complete figure of the bull plus the standard are taken to mean "Sa, Ag" and "Ki, Du". In the case of seals Nos. 17 & 18 Dr. Waddell has taken the head of the bull plus the standard to mean "Edin". This variation in the phonetic symbols has led him to wildest conclusions. In the second place his ideas of the values of the Indian Pictograms in the pictogramatic or the linear script of the ancient Sumerian inscriptions are quite imaginary. Thus the third sign on seal No. 1 appears to be the same as the second sign in seal No. II to Dr. Waddell, but he has failed to notice that there is a combination in the case of the former and therefore his equation of the same value for both these symbols is palpably wrong. The Sumerian equivalent for the bull's head on page 31 is quite different from that given on page 51, though in both cases it is combined with the standard. The same Sumerian equivalent is given for the bull's head alone on page 57. These discrepancies prove that the author has allowed his imagination to play havoc with his scientific work. The Sumerian equivalent which he has proposed for sign No. 2 of seal No. 8 has no resemblance to the original. Moreover, the transformation which he proposes in this case is quite unscientific. He says, "This sign of the Egg and Chicken (or goose) is written in Sumerian with egg outside chicken, see Col. 2 from T. D., 36; B. W., 88. It has the meaning of "bear children, family, or kin" (B., 2276-7); and *Damu* is Sumerian for "child, son, and daughter". It is thus

probable that this sign had *Damu* value also in Sumerian. In any case the Sanskrit, I find, frequently adopts the Akkad value of Sumerian words (*WPOB.*, 324 etc.); and this *Damu* value brings it into relation with the Dax patronym of the seal".

Really speaking there is no resemblance between the Sumerian sign and the Indian sign and their equation serves to prove that Dr. L. A. Waddell's methods and conclusions are so very faulty and unreliable that the publication of his book has not caused any advance in our knowledge of the inscriptions in unknown character of the seals discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. His startling identifications of the supposed names deciphered by him are therefore totally groundless.

P.

ASOKA. By Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., PH. D. (Carmichael Lectures, 1925). Published by the University of Calcutta, 1925 pp. i-xiii, 1-346.

In this book Dr. Bhandarkar has recorded an interesting account of Asoka. He has divided the book into 8 chapters dealing with the following topics :—(1) Asoka and his early life (2) Asoka's empire and administration (3) Asoka as a Buddhist (4) Asoka's Dhamma (5) Asoka as a missionary (6) Social and religious life from Asokan monuments (7) Asoka's place in history (8) Asoka's inscriptions.

The learned author gives us a vivid picture of Asoka's early life as can be gleaned from his inscriptions. Undoubtedly a fairly accurate idea of the extent of Asoka's dominions can be gathered from chapter II. Dr. Bhandarkar is right in saying that Asoka's empire must have been split up into a number of viceroyalties corresponding to the subahs of the Moghul period. Asoka's inscriptions show that the system of provincial government existed under his rule. The provincial governors appear to have been of two classes in his time as in the later Imperial Gupta period. The provinces which were of political importance and which therefore required tactful administration were assigned to the princes of the royal blood known as the Kumāras. The edicts speak of the four Kumāras who were stationed in four places. Dr. Bhandarkar then discusses the position of the three classes of officials, Prādesikas, Rājūkas and Yuktas. Here he acknowledges help received from Dr. Thomas who is long engaged in this field of research. He has ably presented an account of Asoka as a ruler. Then comes an important chapter dealing with Asoka as a Buddhist. The Bhabra edict solves

the doubt that Asoka was a Buddhist and he had faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha. It is quite true that the late Dr. Fleet was the first who considered the question as to when Asoka became a follower of Buddhism. But it must be admitted that Dr. Bhandarkar's treatment of the subject is admirable. Chapter IV dealing with Asoka's Dhamma is well-written and manifests the author's thorough mastery of the subject. In discussing this topic Dr. Bhandarkar has not failed to go into the original Pāli books. The learned doctor has ably shown the means adopted by Asoka for the propagation of Dhamma which includes three necessary qualities without which the blessings of the law could not be won by the formal acceptance of the creed. I quite agree with Dr. Bhandarkar when he says that Asoka developed Dhamma in himself by visiting and making gifts to the recluses and mendicants of both the Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa sects. The word 'Pāsaṇḍa' has been well interpreted by Dr. Bhandarkar and his interpretation should be considered by scholars working in this field of research.

No doubt the late Mr. V. A. Smith discussed at length the subject of Maurya architecture but Dr. Bhandarkar's treatment is far better. A few pages at the end deal with the Asokan inscriptions with the necessary notes. These will prove very useful to students and scholars alike.

It must be admitted that of all the books available on the subject Dr. Bhandarkar's is the best. Dr. Macphail's work is very brief. Mr. V. A. Smith's book is not as complete as that of Dr. Bhandarkar. Rhys Davids, Copleston and others have treated the subject as concisely as possible. The book under review is no doubt a valuable production and it surely repays perusal. A serviceable index at the end greatly enhances the value of the book.

BIMALA CHARAN LAW

BHAGAVĀNA MAHĀVĪRA AUR UNKĀ UPADEŚA. By Kamta Prasad Jain, pp. i-xiv, 1-49. Published by Śrīvīra Kāryālaya, Bijnor.

Mr. Kamta Prasad Jain is a scholar of established reputation in the domain of Jain literature. The booklet under review is interesting to students of history and religion. It is written in Hindi in a lucid and simple style. The author has attempted to present an interesting, though brief, account of the life and career of Mahāvīra, the last Tirthaṅkara of the Jains. Divergent views of both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras about Mahāvīra, (e. g. marriage

of Mahāvira) have been clearly presented and an attempt has been made to reconcile the two. Mention has been made of the disciples of Mahāvira, e. g., Śatānika, Abhaya Jivandhara, Śalibhadra, Bimbisāra, kings of the Vatsas and Koliyas. The teachings of Mahāvira although briefly stated could have been elaborately discussed to the satisfaction of curious readers. The author's explanations regarding the world being full of six things, eternal insight, eternal knowledge, eternal energy, eternal happiness, jīva (living principle), ajīva (non-living principle), āśrava (sin), bandha (fetter), saṃvara (restraint), etc., are satisfactory.

Bimala Charan LAW

THE AHAD NAMEH. Published by the Iran League, Bombay, 1925.

The *Ahad Nameh* is a booklet forming No. 1 of the "Marker Literary Series". It contains three charters granted by Muhammad and his son-in-law to the Zoroastrians, evincing in a marked degree, the spirit of tolerance of early Islam towards that community. It is the current impression that the Arabs actuated by their religious zeal did nothing but persecute the Zoroastrians. These charters, however, serve to show that the Moslems have not always been merciless to that community as is generally supposed and the sufferings of the Zoroastrians were not wholly due to the Moslems but to a combination of causes in which the dominance of the Zoroastrian priests was not certainly a negligible one. The translation of the charters will serve a useful purpose by showing the brighter features of the treatment meted out by the Moslems to the Zoroastrians.

L.

DRAVIDIAN INDIA. By T. R. Sessa Iyengar, M.A. Madras. 1925. 254 pp.

This little book is inspired by an almost apostolic zeal to indicate the contributions of the Dravidian peoples to the common stock of Indian culture. In the first chapter the author describes the conditions in South India as portrayed in the two great Sanskrit epics. He begins very properly by considering the chronologies of the Epics. But instead of discussing the various views cited by him (it is odd to find the late Mr. R. C. Dutt and the anonymous author of *Transformed Hinduism* figuring in the list of his authorities) he contents himself with accepting the date pro-

posed by Prof. Macdonell. In the second chapter the author deals with the difficult question of Dravidian origins. Here again he quotes a long list of authorities, not forgetting the evidence disclosed by the excavation of pre-historic sites in South India and the various theories suggested by the recent discovery of Neolithic culture in the Indus valley. These references do credit to the author's industry, but we look in vain for a proper discussion of their relative value, and the author ends by giving his support to the theory of the indigenous origin of Dravidian civilization. The third chapter which runs up to close upon one hundred pages has for its title 'Dravidian Glories', and it describes the achievements of southern races in the fields of literature, music, religion, architecture, agriculture, industry, and commerce. This portion of the book is valuable and suggestive, though one may not agree with the author as regards the relatively high antiquity that he claims for the Tamil classics and the Dravidian origin of the gods Varuṇa, Śiva, Skanda and others. One also notices with regret a certain want of discrimination in judging the relative value of different authorities. The last chapter which bears the title of 'Ancient South Indian Polity' is not fully justified by its contents. Its earlier and longer portion describes the social conditions of the people during three successive periods distinguished by the author as pre-historic, semi-historic and historical. The later portion, however, gives an interesting account of the political institutions and ideas of the people as reflected in the Kural and other Tamil classical works.

On the whole the book may be recommended as a useful summary of the different aspects of the ancient and indigenous civilization of the Dravidians. The style is readable and the get-up and print are fairly good.

U. N. Ghoshal

BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY. By Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M. A., with 283 illustrations. (Oxford University Press, London).

This work by Mr. Bhattacharyya has served to show that there are still ample untapped materials in Sanskrit which can be utilized to explain the later phases of Buddhism. He has made in his book a substantial contribution to the history of Buddhism of the 8th century and later, and has thus earned the gratitude of the students of Indian religions. Mr. Bhattacharyya has been fortunate in securing the manuscripts upon which his book is based, and his

training in Iconography under Mr. Foucher has stood him in good stead in his inferences and interpretations. His attempt at classification of the Buddhist gods under the five Dhyānī Buddhas is praiseworthy. In chapter I, he has dealt with the features of the images of the Dhyānī as well as the Mortal Buddhas with their respective Śaktis and Bodhisattvas, laying stress on Maitreya Bodhisattva worshipped by both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists. He has exhaustively shown in chapters II and III the various forms in which Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara were conceived by these devotees. Chapters IV—XI contain his treatment of the gods supposed to be the emanations of the five Dhyānī Buddhas severally or collectively. On account of Foucher's treatment of the various Tārās in his book the 'Étude sur le bibliographie', he has been brief in his treatment of the subject in ch. XI, but I think, a chapter on Tārās with fuller details is still a desideratum. He has surveyed in chapter XII the deities who cannot be affiliated to one or other of the Dhyānī Buddhas and has done well by separating them as independent deities, leaving the question of their affiliation to be decided in the light of later researches. The value of the book as a whole is great from three standpoints: first, it will solve many a puzzling problem regarding the identification of the images discovered in the course of archæological excavations: secondly, it will help to throw light on the intricate question of the mutual borrowing of gods between Hinduism and Buddhism: and thirdly, it will supply materials for writing a history of Buddhism of the 8th century and later, specially in its Tāntric phase which originated in Bengal and was transplanted to Nepal. Mr. Bhattacharyya has written very judiciously in the last chapter 'Conclusion' where he has explained the Vajrayāna conception of *Śūnya*, and its concrete representations in stones and metals. His occasional remarks in the various chapters on Tāntric Buddhism and its condition in Bengal and Nepal are interesting. His account of the origin and development of Buddhism up to the emergence of Vajrayāna in the first two sections of his 'Introduction' should be made free from its present blemishes. The account ought to be made more up to date by a reference to the writings of authors like Poussin, Keith, Stcherbatski and Yamakami Sogen. He has stated (p. ix), for instance, that the seven teachers were kṣattriyas while as a matter of fact at least two of them viz. *Forāṇa* Kassapa and Kakuda Kātyāyana were brāhmaṇas (see Dr. Barua's *Pre-Buddhistic etc.*, pp. 277, 282). He has also stated (p. x) that "the

Mahāsaṅghikas made a headway at the time of Kaniṣka. In the Council held in his time, the Theravādins were very feebly represented and the Vibhajyavādins were not existent. The Mahāsaṅghikas made a commentary on the sayings of Buddha called Vibhāṣā etc.", but it was the Sarvāstivādins who made the headway at the time, and it was they and not the Mahāsaṅghikas, who made the Vibhāṣā, and that the Vibhajyavādins whom he distinguishes from the Theravādins were really identical with the latter. This does not however detract from the merit of the work which garners the results of much labour and patience. We are anxiously waiting for the publication of the *Sūddhanamālā* on which his work is based. The two appendices, and the glossary will be very useful to the readers. We hope the book will soon pass through its second edition and be made cheap in order that it may be accessible to a larger circle of readers.

KACCĀYANA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol vi, pt. ii

STEN KONOW.—Indo-European Religious Ideas in Ancient India.

According to Dr. Sten Konow a belief in independent power and energies was the leading feature of the religion in the Indo-European period. At that time, an eternal reality was thought to underlie everything. In course of time, the divine forces were viewed in the likeness of the powerful ones on earth, thus contributing to the formation of the idea of the devas in India. Even in higher religious philosophy, Indian mentality only spiritualized those forces and raised them to a higher plane. And in Europe, traces of the primeval belief in self-existing forces are found preserved in popular customs and ceremonies.

P. D. KULAKARNI.—Were Jñāneśvara and Nāmadeva Contemporaries ?

The conclusion arrived at in this paper is that the two great Mārāṭhi poets were brought into close contact and were friends.

JIVANJI JAMSHEJI MODI.—King Akbar and the Persian Translations of Sanskrit Books. This is an account as to how Akbar got some important Sanskrit books translated into Persian.

Asia Major, vol. ii, pt. i

J. MASUDA.—Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools, an English translation of the Hsüan Chwang version of Vasumitra's treatise with annotations. Mr. Masuda favours the view that this Vasumitra belonged to the second century A. D. Vasumitra's work throws a flood of light on the history of schools. "It deals first with the origin of the Buddhist schools, giving the cause and approximate dates of the schisms, and then it narrates the doctrinal propositions of the schools as held in common at the time of the divisions, and also the so-called differentiated views among the later sectarians".

S. K. BELVALKAR.—The application of a few canons of textual and higher criticism to Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā. Prof. Belvalkar suggests that the mere 'application of the generally recognised principles of criticism' (viz. metrical, orthographical, philological, grammatical etc.) adopted by Pischel and others, is not sufficient for making the settled text the nearest approximation to the Sanskrit original

as written by Kālidāsa. He, by way of illustration, cites a few typical passages and shows that "it is possible to rise above the (various) recensions and construct a text of the play that would satisfy all the tests of lower and higher criticism'.

- E. HULTZSCH.—Māgha's Śiśupālavadhā nach den Commentaren des Vallabhadeva und des Mallināthasūri. The writer tries to ascertain the date of Śiśupālavadhā from the commentary of Vallabhadeva the Ms. of which he discovered in Kashmir in 1885.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol iii, pt. iv

- A. BERRIEDALE KEITH—The Nyāyāsāstra of Medhātithi. By identifying Medhātithi with Gautama, the well-known author of the Nyāya-sūtras, Prof. Keith disposes of the argument put forth by Dr. Barnett regarding the late date of the Pratiṃā-nāṭaka of Bhāsa inferred from its mention of Medhātithi's *Nyāyāsāstra*.
- T. GANAPATI SASTRI.—The works of Bhāsa. In reply to some criticisms by Messrs. Kṛṣṇa Pishāroḍi and Rāma Pishāroḍi, the writer maintains his old position that Bhāsa is the author of the group of dramas published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
- K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—Svapnavāsavadatta and the Bhāvaprakāśa. The writer is of opinion that the genuine *Svapnavāsavadatta* mentioned in the Bhāvaprakāśa, an unpublished work of Śāradātanaya, is yet to be discovered and that the printed *Svapnavāsavadatta* is only a stage-adaptation of the original.
- M. KASANIN (translator).—Oriental Studies in Petrograd between 1918 and 1922. Learned Institutions and Societies, Schools, Libraries, Museums, Exhibitions, Anniversaries, Monuments and Public Buildings, List of Petrograd Orientalists, List of Petrograd Orientalists residing elsewhere, List of deceased Orientalists are the sub-headings in this paper.
- L. D. BARNETT.—The Inscription of Sthiratattva at Khajuri. The Inscription edited here has been found at the village of Khajuri in Rajputana. It records consecration of temples by Sthiratattva a yojin in the Vikrama Saṃvat 1553.

Indian Antiquary, August, 1925

- REV. E. P. JANVIER.—The Tattvaparakāśa (of Śrī Bhojadeva). The text of the Tattvaparakāśa has already been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series; this is its English translation. This

work, referred to in the Sarvadarśana-Saṃgraha of Mādhava, deals with the Śaiva philosophy.

Jaina Gazette, June, 1925

- A. CHAKRAVARTI.—The Vrātyas. The writer makes a survey of the opinions of the various well-known scholars who have hitherto dealt with the Vrātyas. He disagrees with them and adduces reasons to prove that it is highly probable that the ancestors of Mahāvira who had been the followers of Pārśva, who revived the Ahimsā Vrata enjoined by Vṛṣabha the Ādi Jina, were known as the Vrātyas among non-Jaina writers, thereby meaning the observers of the Vrata as opposed to the performers of sacrifices. He concludes by saying that "the term Vrātya first denoting respect and spiritual purity was applied to the religious protestants among the Aryans who were opposed to the ritualism of Indra cult and afterwards was extended to the lower orders among the new faith".

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, xx, 4

- H. NELSON WRIGHT & H. R. NEVILL.—Some Observations on the Metrology of the early 25 Sultans of Delhi (with two plates).

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1925

- A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—Kalidāsa in a Kashmir Ms. This is a note on an hitherto unpublished poem credited to Kālidāsa. The text is printed from a Ms. from Kashmir containing a collection of *stavas* from different works and authors.
- H. BRUCE HANNAH.—Recent Discoveries and the Sumerian. The writer suggests a possibility that the Harappa and the Mohenjodaro finds are vestiges of a civilization of the Dasyus, or Dahyus of Airyo-Turan, or Central Asia who called themselves the Tokhs and disbelieves the suggestions that North-western India was the cradle of Sumerian life.
- K. P. JAYASWAL and A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (II, 10). The publication is continuing.

Journal Asiatique, January-May, 1925

SYLVAIN LEVI.—Indian Notes (in French).

I On the Viṃśatikā of Vasubandhu.

The Viṃśatikā or Viṃśikā is a treatise of twenty stanzas written by Vasubandhu, the great doctor of the Buddhist Church. It is

well-known in translations in Tibet, China and Japan. The Sanskrit text of this book was discovered by Lévi in Nepal. In the present article two passages from this text are shown to have been derived from the Sanskrit Saṃyukta Āgama (corresponding to the Saṃyukta Nikāya in Pāli) and Upāli Sūtra (a fragment of which was discovered by the writer in the Durbar Library at Khatmandu, and is compared with parallel text of the Upāli Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya).

II On the Manuscript of the Dharmasamuccya.

The Dharmasamuccya is an anthology composed by the Bhikṣu Avalokita Siṃha and has been extracted from the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra. It was translated into Chinese in 539 by a brahmin of Benares called Gautama Prajñāruci. In the present paper the author deals with a Sanskrit manuscript of this work which he discovered in Nepal.

III Ancient Geography of India.

(1) Paloura—A town mentioned by Ptolemy as lying on the East Coast of India at the entrance into the Gangetic gulf. It is here identified with Dantapura in Kaliṅga which heads a versified list of six towns occurring as well in the Dīgha Nikāya XIX, 36 as in the Dīrghāgama of the Chinese version. The etymology of the word is given as Tamil palludanta & ur i. e. town, correcting Caldwell's derivation from pāl-ūr i. e. the town of milk.

(2) Pihunda—A town mentioned in the Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra (xxi ; 1-4). Here it is connected with the town of Pithuḍa mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, following Lüders' correction of Bhagavanlal's reading. The amended reading and interpretation by Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerjee are proved to be forced and unnatural. Finally Pithuḍa is identified with Pitundra which is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of Maisoloi, or Maisolia and is placed midway between the deltas of the Godāvāri and the Mahānadi.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Man in India, March-June, 1925

G. RAMADASA.—The Aboriginal Tribes in the Rāmāyaṇa. The author elucidates the habits and customs of the several tribes mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa and tries to identify them with the tribes found in India to-day.

Obituary Notice

The Late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar

Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar calmly passed away at Poona on the 24th August last, after completing his eighty-ninth year. He made himself famous by his life, and has made himself still more famous by his death. While he lived, he lived in the fullness of life, vigour, energy, power and strength. When he died, he did not disappear unexpectedly like a Lord Kitchener, but died a most natural and peaceful death like a General Roberts in the field of action. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad records the example of an ideal scholar, Mahidāsa Aitareya, who lived a vigorous life of 120 years in study and investigation. The regularity of habit which most of us lack enabled the ancient Indian scholar and his modern representative to attain such longevity and maturity. In him Bombay has lost a great patriarch of oriental scholars and historians. India has lost a link of three generations of educated men, and the world has lost an eminent Sanskritist and a savant. He was a scholar, an educationist, and a social and religious reformer, consistently to the end of his life. His long and glorious career and steady rise into fame and eminence without a fear of fall convey a hopeful message to those who cherish the ambition of climbing up a mountain from its foot to its highest peak.

He was born at Malvan in the Ratnagiri District, of a Saraswat Brahmin family which was far from being rich. His grandfather and later on his father held an humble post in the Revenue Department. After he had completed his elementary course in an English school at Malvan he was sent to Ratnagiri for further study. After completing his course in the Ratnagiri High School, where Dada-bhai Naoroji was one of his teachers, he entered the service of the Elphinstone College as a petty clerk. Following the advice of Mr. Howard, the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, he began to study Sanskrit by private efforts. He had completed his educational course long before his *alma mater*, the University of Bombay, came into being, and when this University was founded in 1857 he was required to sit for all the examinations. He passed the B. A. examination in 1862, and the M. A. examination in English and Sanskrit

in 1863. He entered his educational career as Headmaster in the Ratnagiri High School. While he held this post, he compiled his well-known Sanskrit text-books. In competing for the Sanskrit Professorship he found in Dr. Peterson a stronger rival, stronger because he happened to be an Indian. But after reverting once to the Headmastership from the Sanskrit Professorship which he held temporarily he secured this Professorship in the Deccan College, Poona. As the senior Professor of Oriental Languages he put forth all his energies in study with the strong determination to prove to the world that if Indian scholars were given opportunities, they, too, were capable of sound research and scholarship in the domain of oriental learning. He became a member of the German and American Oriental Societies. He became a member of the Asiatic Society of Italy as well as of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. He visited Europe in 1886, in which year he attended the Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, making his presence felt among the European delegates as a representative of Indian learning. In the same year he received the Ph. D. degree from the University of Göttingen. As a powerful member of the Senate and Syndicate he rendered distinct service for about 10 years, taking a keen interest and prominent part in all important discussions and deliberations. The Professor of rising fame and deep erudition retired from Government service in 1893 only to devote himself more to study and research. Later on, in 1903, he as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, was nominated a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, where he ably acquitted himself in representing the future interest of Indian Universities and higher education in the midst of those momentous deliberations that led to the passing of Lord Curzon's University Bill. In recognition of his merit as a scholar and educationist, the Calcutta University conferred on him the Honorary Ph. D. degree in 1908. His monograph on Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, an unsurpassed classic on the subject, was published in 1913 in the *Gründriss* series of *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*, edited by so eminent Sanskritists and Epigraphists as Bühler, Kielhorn, Lüders and Wackernagel. In the same year he was honoured with the coveted title of K. C. I. E. His eightieth birth-day was fittingly celebrated by his pupils, followers and many admirers in 1917, the year which saw the publication of the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume with brilliant contributions from the scholars in all parts of the world, and the establishment of the Bhandarkar Institute in Poona which is fully alive and active to perpetuate the great orientalist's memory. Ramkrishna

Gopal Bhandarkar lived long enough to occupy the Presidential chair of the first All-India Oriental Conference, held in Bombay in 1921, and find himself in the midst of a galaxy of Indian representatives, and exponents of Indology. He lived indeed longer still to know that he was succeeded in this chair by Professor Sylvain Lévi and Dr. Ganganath Jha; and those who have read Dr. Ganganath Jha's presidential address can say how feelingly the Indian orientalists adored Ramkrishna Gopal and appreciated his scholarship.

The quiet vicinage of his hallowed residence, the Sangamashram, remains to remind the visitors of the saintly life the scholar lived. He leaves his youngest son Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and his grand-children to mourn his loss, continue his line and keep alive his tradition and renown. He leaves behind him his Sanskrit text-books, monograph on Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, paper on Nasik Inscriptions, numerous contributions to the Indian Antiquary and the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, six volumes of Reports on the Search for Sanskrit manuscripts, and above all his Early History of the Deccan as an inexhaustible store-house of information and a perennial source of inspiration to the future researchers. He leaves a large number of his pupils and followers to continue his work, and a large circle of his friends and admirers in all parts of the world to remember him.

He was a patriot without party politics. If Indian scholars are given opportunities, they, too, are capable of critical study and research in their own subjects. This he sought to prove to the world, and pursued his aim with undaunted zeal. To do him justice, we must say that he is the one Indian Sanskritist whom the European orientalists have not only quoted but quoted with deep respect. He was a Puritan without being a Cynic. He developed a rigid type without any narrowness of outlook. He was a sectary without sectarianism. He had his dogmatism without the imposition. He attained age without a sneer for the rising youth. He fought the battle without an acrimony for the opponent. He studiously avoided narrow politics, and yet was a man whom the political parties in Bombay approached for settling their differences. He differed in his political views from the Lokamānya Tilak, and yet this had not stood in the way of their friendly meetings and discussions on subjects of antiquarian interest. He knew the Lokamānya Tilak to be his friend Gangadhar Śāstri's son and worthy of his affection as his own son. He has written six volumes of Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts without any

impatience. He has produced a stupendous volume of the Early History of the Deccan without a grandiloquent phrase. He has surveyed the entire field of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious systems without a jeer or a cheer. He was a theologian without any theological bias. He said what he thought fit to say. He did what he thought fit to do. He was a reformer without intending to be a revolutionary. He read philosophy but he never allowed the philosopher to undo or outdo the work of the historian. He was an historian, never forgetting that he was a linguist. Like a true scholar, he was a universal man. His friendship with Dr. Hofrath Bühler served as an eternal bond and alliance between India and Austria. In their writings we find so much of kinship in nature and style that we feel that his works might be as well written by Dr. Bühler as Dr. Bühler's works might be written by him.

B. M. BARUA

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Hindu Kingdoms in Indochina

India has laid her mark on all the great Far Eastern countries : some of them received from her a substantial part of their religious and artistic culture, and others are indebted to her for their very existence as civilized states. Among the latter, Indochina comes foremost. If it is true to say that the Indochinese Peninsula, in her present state, partakes, as her name shows, of the two civilizations of Eastern Asia, this fact is comparatively recent, and ancient Indochina (Tonking, then a Chinese province, being excepted) was, truly, as far as religious and political institutions are concerned, a daughter of India. This daughter, cut off at an early date from her home, has been in the course of centuries forgotten by her mother ; time has come to bring to light again the bonds which unite them. Lately a new interest has awakened in the most distinguished minds of Hindu society towards this glorious chapter of the history of their country, viz., the expansion of India through the Far East. But this movement, still incipient, has its difficulties. Of the two great Indian colonies in this part of the world, Insulindia and Indochina, one has been studied chiefly by Dutch scholars, the other by French, both in languages little known in India where English is the almost only channel for intercourse on scientific subjects. As a consequence, the works written in India, dealing with the history of the trans-Gangetic India, are very few and, besides,

generally out of date in their information. It is not therefore superfluous to bring before the Indian readers, in a language familiar to them, the main results reached by the foreign specialists. This paper is a modest contribution towards that aim. We intend to lay down the main lines of the present historical and archæological researches concerning the ancient Hindu kingdoms in Indochina¹, leaving aside Burma, well-known through the English writers.

I *Ethnical basis of Indian colonization in Indochina*

[*Bibliography*.—On the general question of races and languages in Indochina, cf. W. SCHMIDT, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker*, Braunschweig, 1906. Translated into French in BEFEO., VII, 231 and VIII, 1; G FERRAND, *Le Kouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les mers du Sud*, JA., 1919.

On the origin of the population of the Archipelago, see H. KERN, *Taalkundige gegevens ter bepaling van het stamland der Maleisch-Polynesische Talen* (Verspreide Geschriften, VI, p. 105)].

The Indochinese Peninsula seems to have been first inhabited by a Negrito race that left a few traces, but has been swept over by several waves of foreign invasions.

The first wave was that of the Austronesians, the second that of the Mon-Khmers.

The Austronesians, probably under the pressure of newcomers, crossed the sea and peopled the islands of the Archipelago, leaving, however, on the eastern shore of the continent a rear-guard which succeeded in staying there but not without

The following abbreviations will be used for a number of periodicals from which quotations recur frequently; viz., BEFEO. = *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi; B. C. A. I. = *Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indochine*, Paris; NE. = *Notes d'épigraphie*, par L. FINOT, Hanoi, 1916 (a special reprint of papers edited in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*); JA. = *Journal Asiatique*; ISCC. = *Inscriptions sanscrites de Champa et du Cambodge*, par A. BERGAIGNE et A. BARTH, Paris, 1885-1893, in 4° (Notices et extraits des manuscrits, t. XXVII).

undergoing some modifications. This rear-guard is now represented by the Chams, Jarai, Radé and other tribes speaking a language evidently akin to the Malay-Polynesian idioms, though containing a large proportion of Mon-Khmer elements.

The Mon-Khmers, so-called from the two main nations of that family—the Mon of Pegu and the Khmers of Cambodia—afterwards covered the whole of the peninsula (the edge of the shores probably excepted, where the Austro-nesian population remained).

These immigrants were still in the neolithic stage and used the typical "shouldered celt."

Where did they come from? To solve this question, we must bear in mind the fact that Mon-Khmer tongues represent in the east the foremost link of a chain of languages called Austro-Asiatic, whose other extremity consists of the group of Munda languages of Chutia Nagpur in Behar. Between the two, run intermediate links: Palaung, Wa, Riang (Salween region) and Khasi (Assam) languages. We may surmise that these are the steps taken by great migration which set out from the North-Indian plains, perhaps under the pressure of the Aryans, and swept down to the shores of the Chinese sea.

The recent researches of Prof. Sylvain Lévi concerning the historical toponomy of Hindu land, and of Prof. J. Przyluski about a number of Sanskrit words with a foreign appearance, lead us to the same conclusion¹.

To finish up the ethnographical sketch of Indochina, we must mention two other races which occupy there a great place: the *Annamites*, who, being driven away from the Che-kiang, settled themselves in the beginning of the third century B. C. in the Tongking; and the *Thai*, who probably

1 SYLVAIN LEVI, *Pré-aryen et pré-dravidien dans l'Inde*, JA., July-September, 1923; J. PRZYLUSKI, *De quelques noms anaryens en indo-aryen* (Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique, vol. XXII, p. 205). Id., *Emprunts anaryens en indo-aryen* (Bull. de la Soc. de Linguistique, vol. XXIV, p. 255 et XXV, p. 66).

came from the Sse Ch'uan, spread over Yunnan (Pa-yi), Tongking (Tay), Burma (Shans), and the countries watered by the Mekong and the Menam (Laotian and Siamese). The date of this last migration has not been ascertained so far. All we know is that it took place at the expense of the Mon and resulted, at the end of the thirteenth century, in the political hegemony of the Thai over the greatest part of western Indochina.

These are the main characteristics of the ethnical compound on which Indian culture was about to work its influence.

II *Pāṇḍuraṅga and Champa*

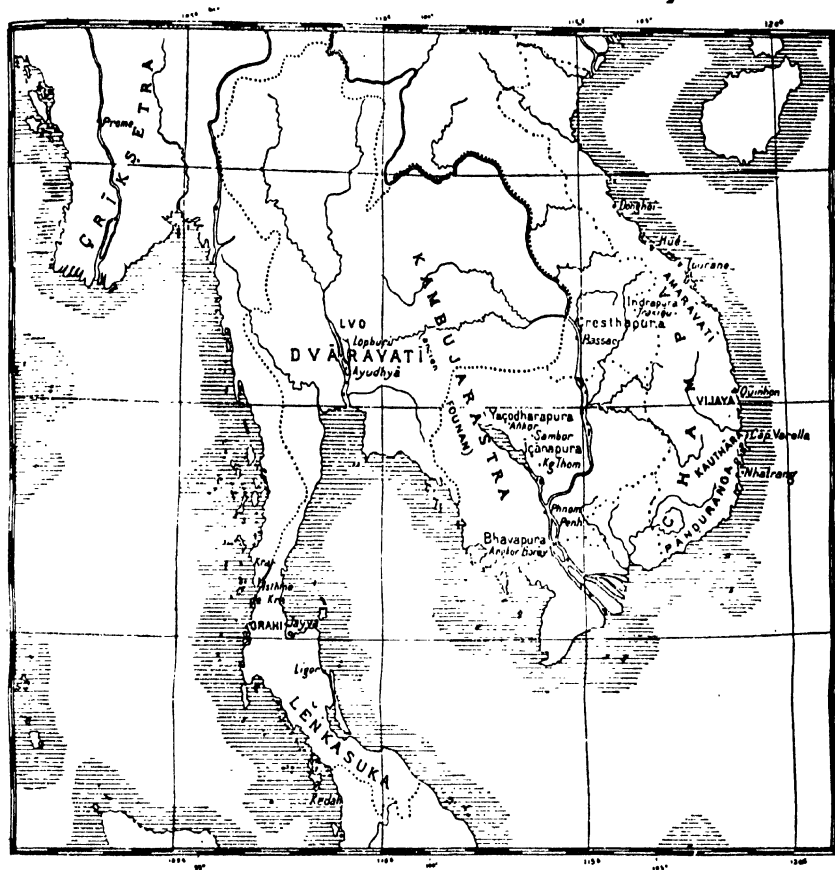
[*Bibliography.*—The history of Champa has its main basis in the Chinese texts and the inscriptions left by that State in the land of present Annam. These latter are dealt with in the paper of A. BERGAIGNE, *L'ancien royaume de Champa d'après les inscriptions*, Paris, 1888 (Extract from the *Journal Asiatique*). Both sources have been drawn from by G. MASPERO in his book *Le royaume de Champa* (Leide, 1914, *Extrait du T'oung Pao*) which must be completed with the review of L. AUROUSSEAU, BEFEO., XIV, ix, pp. 8-43. See also L. AUROUSSEAU, *La première conquête chinoise des pays annamites*, BEFEO., XXIII, 223-224. The first inscriptions were collected in 1888 by E. AYMONIER, who studied the inscriptions in vernacular (*Première étude sur les inscriptions chames*, JA., Jan.-Feb., 1891) while A. BERGAIGNE edited the inscriptions in Sanskrit, 16 in number, ISCC., Nos. XX-XXXV, Paris, 1893. Since that time many new inscriptions have been discovered; we know to-day 170 epigraphic records partly published in my *Notes d'épigraphie*, or in *Études indochinoises* by ED. HUBER, BEFEO., XI.

On the history of Pāṇḍuraṅga, see my paper *Pāṇḍuraṅga* in NE., pp. 37ff.

On the language, see AYMONIER, *Grammaire de la langue chame*, Saigon, 1889. Id. and A. CABATON, *Dictionnaire cham-français*. Paris, 1906 (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, VII).

On the religion, archaeology and art, see E. AYMONIER, *Les Tchames et leurs religions*, Paris, 1891. H. PARMENTIER, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments chams de l'Annam*. Paris, 1909-1918, 2 vols. (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, XI-XII). Id.,

Indo-China about the VIIth Century A.D.



Echelle au 1:7500000

Modern names in Italics:	<i>Nhatrang</i>
Ancient " " Roman:	Bhavadura
Provinces & Minor States:	VIJAYA
Kingdoms:	CHAMPA

Sculptures chames du Musée de Tourane (Ars asiatica, IV). Jeanne LEUBA, *Les chams et leur art*, Paris, 1923.

On the traditions of modern Chams: A. CABATON, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Chams*, Paris, 1901 (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, II)].

One of the ports of Southern Annam, Nhatrang, is towered above by a brick shrine dedicated to Bhagavati and known today under the name of Po Nagar (in the inscriptions "Yāṇ pu nagara," i. e. "nagara-svāmi" or "°svāmini"). That goddess took the place, as an idol in that shrine, of a mukha-līṅga, which, according to a tradition prevalent as early as the 8th century, had been erected in the dark ages by a fabulous king called Vicitrāsagara¹.

Not far from that antique temple has been discovered a block of granite on which is engraved the oldest Indochinese record, at the same time one of the oldest Sanskrit inscribed texts to be found even in India².

"Comparable, indeed, in many respects, to the famous inscription of Rudradaman at Girnar, dating from the year 72 of an era which seems to be the śaka era, or to the contemporary inscriptions of Śātakarṇi Vāsīṣṭhīputra at Kanheri, the writing of this monument represents, in the development of the Southern Indian alphabets, a stage which cannot possibly date later than the 3rd century A. D. But the writing seems to have fairly closely followed, on the eastern shore of Indochina, the development and even the temporary fashions of the writing in Southern India. It is therefore nearly certain that this text is older than the 4th century and it may even date back

1 An inscription of 706 śaka puts it down to the year 5911 of the Dvāpara era (ISCC., p. 76); another of 1061 śaka puts it to a still earlier date, in fact, as far back as Tretā era (BERGAIGNE, *Le royaume de Champa*, p. 81).

2 It bears the name of "Vo-can stone" from the name of the village near which it stood. It was first published by A. BERGAIGNE in ISCC., p. 191 and following. I gave a second edition of it with a few new readings in NE., p. 229.

to the 2nd century of our era. We may then consider the 3rd century as its most probable date¹".

That document, unfortunately in a bad state of preservation, is the statement of a religious gift, perhaps a Buddhist one, made by a king who mentions himself in this way :

Śrīmārarājakulava[ṃśavibhūṣaṇe|na

Śrīmāralo[ka]n[rpateḥ] kulanandanena.

This descendant of Śrīmāra, who reigned in the 3rd century, belonged to a dynasty who had settled on that shore no doubt a long time ago. We may therefore safely admit that, as early as the first two centuries of the Christian era, there existed a Hindu kingdom in Southern Annam. We know from later documents that this region was called Kautḥāra (the Axe).

In the south of Kautḥāra lay the country of Pāṇḍuraṅga, in vernacular Panrāṅ, whose name has now become Phanrang. That town, together with Phanri, which lies further south, is one of the last centres where a few traces of the Cham people and remains of their religion are still to be found. The fairly numerous inscriptions (about twenty) found in that valley date from the 8th to the 13th century (roughly 800-1300 A. D.). They show us Pāṇḍuraṅga as a tributary state of the kingdom of Champa, but an unmanageable one, jealous of its freedom, and often revolted, to which the master-state usually conceded, to soothe its feelings, that it should be governed by the heir of the crown (*yuvarāja*).

Chinese texts inform us further that Pāṇḍuraṅga sent its own ambassadors to the Imperial Court. This shows that it enjoyed formerly complete independence a part of which it had preserved.

There is no natural frontier between the Phanrang plain and the Nhatrang one ; it is only in the north of the latter that Cape Varella forms a difficult barrier. We are therefore justified in holding that Pāṇḍuraṅga included the whole of Southern Annam between Oochinchina and Cape Varella.

The immemorial antiquity of the Po Nagar shrine and the most ancient date of the Vo-can stone lead us to believe that this tract of land corresponds to the oldest Hindu state called Pāṇḍuraṅga.

The kingdom of Champa came next. It was founded at the end of the second century, at the expense of the Chinese territory of Je-nan, and in the most southern district of that territory, viz., Siang-lin. As early as 100 A. D., Chinese annals record a riot of the "Siang-lin barbarians", who cannot be others than Chams'. We may infer from it that this nation extended, in the beginning of our era, as far in the north as Tourane. The unsuccessful attempt of 100 A. D. was renewed in 192. A man called K'iu-lien killed the district officer, captured Siang-lin and laid there the seat of an independent kingdom, which the natives called Champa and the Chinese Lin-yi i. e. capital (*yi*) of [Siang] *lin*. That capital probably lay where the ruins of Trakieu are found now in Quang-nam. Inscriptions call it Indrapura. As for the great military arsenal of Champa, which the Chinese call K'iu-sou, it is located at Hué².

Champa, it seems, achieved a quick conquest of Pāṇḍuraṅga, which formed the southern province of the kingdom. In the north of Pāṇḍuraṅga lay the provinces of Vijaya (Binh-dinh) and Amarāvati (Quang-nam).

This province of Amarāvati was always till the Annamese conquest, the core of Cham land. It did not only contain the capital, but also the great shrine of the kingdom, i. e. the temple of Bhadrēśvara, which stood on the present ground of the village Mi-son³ 33 kilom. s.s.e. of Tourane.

There, in a solitary place, king Bhadravarman I (towards A. D. 400) set up a liṅga and built a temple, probably of wood,

1 AUROUSSEAU, BEFEO., XXIII, p. 223.

2 Cf. G. MASPERO, *Le royaume de Champa*, p. 67; AUROUSSEAU, BEFEO., XIV, ix, pp. 29ff.

3 See L. FINOT and H. PARMENTIER, *Le cirque de Mi-son*, BEFEO., IV, 805-977.

which caught fire a little later. According to the tradition the *linga* Bhadreśvara had been shaped by Śiva himself and handed over by him to the ṛṣi Bhṛgu, who gave it over to Uroja, the founder of the royal dynasty of Champa¹.

It may be that a son of Bhadravarman, who under the name of Gaṅgārāja, was looked upon as the founder of a new dynasty the Gaṅgārājavamśa².

He received that name after a pilgrimage to the Ganges. This fact, besides being worked by the Chinese authors, is mentioned in an inscription of Mi-son³ :

āsīt.....

*Gaṅgārāja iti śruto nṛpaḡaṇapṛakhyātavṛyaśrutik
rājyaṃ dustyajam.....*

Gaṅgādarśanaḡaṃ sukhāṃ mahad iti prāyād ato

Jāhnavīm.

"There was [a king] called Gaṅgārāja, whose learning and heroism were celebrated as royal qualities. [Leaving] the throne, which is hard to leave... 'it is a great joy, which arises from the sight of the Ganges' said he, and he departed from here to the Ganges."⁴

The dynasty of Gaṅgārāja counted a great many kings, among whom we must mention Śambhuvarman (about 590-630 A. D.), who rebuilt the burnt shrine of Bhadreśvara and gave the god the new name of Śambhubhadreśvara. The dynasty came to an end about 750 A. D.

The next dynasty (cir. 750-860 A. D.) had its seat in Pāṇḍuraṅga with Vīrapura as its capital.

It suffered under the second king (Satyavarman, cir. 774-784 A. D.) from incursions of Malay pirates, who looted and set on fire the old temple of Bhagavatī at Kauṭhāra ; king Satyavarman rebuilt it in 784. A new incursion took place

1 NE., 72.

2 According to Chinese sources, King Ti-chen, who abdicated in order to go to India, was a son of Fan Hu-Ta, who, according to M. G. Maspero, should be the same as Bhadravarman I (*Royaume de Champa*, pp. 85-87).

3 NE., p. 134.

4 NE., p. 130.

in 787. The first king of the next dynasty, who was chosen by the lords of the kingdom, removed his capital northwards to Indrapura, in the province of Amarāvati. This king (cir. 875-890), who, before his ascending the throne, bore the name of Lakṣmīndra Bhūmīśvara Grāmasvāmin, received at his coronation the name of Indravarman [II] and after his death that of Paramabuddhaloka. He was an enthusiastic Buddhist. While still worshipping Bhadreśvara, the national god of Champa, he built, about two miles from this shrine, a big and magnificent Buddhist monastery dedicated to Lokeśvara under the name of Lakṣmīndra-Lokeśvara. The ruins of this great building are still to be seen in the village of Dong-duong (Quang-nam).

After the Annamites were freed from the Chinese yoke (980 A.D.), there began between them and their southern neighbours a long series of wars which ended in the destruction of Champa.

In 1000 A.D., king Simhavarman had to remove his capital further south to Vijaya (Binh-dinh). In 1069, Rudravarman III gave up by a treaty to Annam the Northern Provinces of his kingdom.

Another enemy soon arose from the west : the Cambodians invaded Champa and occupied the whole of it except Pāṇḍuraṅga (1145). They did not leave the country before 1220. That conquest therefore was a temporary one ; but the Annamites showed more strength of purpose.

In 1307 the second dismemberment of Champa took place. It was agreed to by Jaya Simhavarman III, in order to bring about his marriage with an Annamese princess. It resulted in the bringing back of the Northern boundary to a line cutting by halves the province of Amarāvati, which was the very heart of the kingdom.

In 1402 again, the whole of Amarāvati was given up. Annam thus reached the threshold of the capital Vijaya. This was captured for the first time in 1446 ; it was destroyed and occupied in 1471. Henceforward Annam

allowed a kind of dummy king, a mere vassal, whose lands were cut down to Pānduraṅga, and who finally disappeared in 1822.

There still remains today in South Annam a group of Cham population of about 30,000 souls, among whom are 10,000 Moslems and 20,000 Hindus. But the creed of these latter has very much deteriorated and they do not even recognize the images of gods. For instance in Phanrang, priests still worship the Mukhalinga of the shrine founded by Jaya Simhavarman III about 1300 A. D. But that stone is for them the image of the Cham King Po Klong Garai. During the ceremonies they recite prayers in a much altered form, but in which it is yet easy to recognize corrupt Sanskrit such as :

*om paramēśura paramēśurānya nomo paramēśuraṁmuk-
khai nomo śivānyanomo.* (i. e. Om paramēśvara, paramēśvarāya
namaḥ paramēśvaramukhāya namaḥ śivāya namaḥ).

om om śivome tuk śida śibāya nomoh svāhā (i. e. Om om
śivome...śivāya namaḥ svāhā).¹

That is the last echo of an Indian culture which, if we give credit to monuments and inscriptions, reached a very high standard. Annam is covered with those temples tower-shaped, built of strong bricks, patiently and most artistically carved, and whose inner recess contains wonderful sculptures, either Brahmanic (Śiva, Viṣṇu, Umā, Lakṣmī, Skanda, Gaṇeśa, Nandin, etc.), or Buddhist (Buddha, Lokeśvara); some of these are perfectly beautiful.

Besides, a long series of inscriptions dating from the 5th to the 14th century witnesses the fact that the knowledge of Sanskrit and of the brahmanic śāstras outlived the wars and riots which disturbed Champa. It is only after the 13th century that we notice there a marked decay.

Here is some evidence of the brahmanic culture. In an

¹ CABATON, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Chams*, Paris, 1901 (Publication de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, p. 130).

inscription of the 12th June, 918 A. D., king Indravarman III praises his father Bhadravarman III thus :

*mīmāṃsā-ṣaṭtarka-jinenāra-sūrmis
sa-kāśikā-vyākaraṇodakaughah,
ākhyāna-śaivottarakalpa-mīnaḥ
patiṣṭha eteṣv iti saktarvīnām.*

“Like a fish in the waves of Jinendra and of the six systems [to begin with] Mīmāṃsā, in the ocean of Grammar accompanied with the Kāśikā, in the Ākhyānas and the Uttarakulpa of the Śaivas, he was in these several books the cleverest of sages.”¹

Several inscriptions of the 12th century show us that the old teachings still obtained, at least as an ideal, in education. A *praśasti* in vernacular, dated 1167 A. D., praises a king in this fashion :

“He is well versed in all the śāstras : vyākaraṇa-śāstra, horā-śāstra, etc.; he has the knowledge of all systems : mahāyāna, etc.” (NE., p. 183).

An inscription of 1157 A. D. acquaints us with the interesting fact that there existed at the time, under the title of *Purāṇārtha*, a chronicle in Sanskrit ślokas brought down to the most recent events. It even quotes from it a chapter in which we see that the annalist used successfully the language of the Purāṇas (NE., p. 169).

Many other evidences could be given, but the aforesaid instances are conclusive in showing that Champa was fostered by Hindu thought till invasions played havoc with its shrines, libraries, art-workshops and stripped that unhappy country of all its traditional culture.

1 The six *tarkas* are the six *darśanas* and that of Jinendra is of course Buddhism. The Vyākaraṇa is the Grammar of Pāṇini and the Kāśikā its well-known commentary, which it is interesting to find in use as early as the beginning of the 10th century on the shores of Indochina. The *Uttarakalpa* is mentioned in AUFRECHT, *Cat. Bibl. Bodleianae*, pt. VIII, p. 103 b. (ISCC., pp. 67, 79).

III *Funan and Cambodia*

[*Bibliography*.—The Chinese texts concerning Funan and the neighbouring countries have been collected, translated and discussed in two papers by Prof. Paul PELLIOU: *Fu-nan*, in BEFEO., III (1903), pp. 248-303; and *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle*, Ibid., IV (1904), pp. 131-413.

The history of Cambodia chiefly rests on inscriptions. About 580 of them are known to the present day. They are both in Sanskrit and in Khmer. Sanskrit inscriptions have been edited by BARTH and BERGAIGNE, ISCC., pp. 1-180 and 293-408. Inscriptions in vernacular have been studied by AYMONIER, *Quelques notions sur les inscriptions en vieux khmer* (JA., April-May and Aug.-Sept., 1883) and *Le Cambodge*, Paris, 1900-1904, 3 vols. A number of other inscriptions have been published by G. COEDÈS, BEFEO., vols. IV, V, VI, XI, XIII; JA., 1908, 1909; BCAI., 1911, 1913, and by me in my *Notes d'épigraphie*.

The history of Cambodia has been written by G. MASPERO, *L'Empire khmer*, Phnom-penh, 1904].

Funan

In the west of Champa was founded, about the beginning of the Christian era, another great Hindu state, which was to give place to Cambodia after some 500 years. It is known to us only through Chinese writings and hence we cannot but give it the name it bears in these texts, viz., Funan¹.

All the Chinese sources agree about this point that the capital of Funan lay 500 li from the sea on a great river running from the west, which cannot be other than the Mekong; the capital must therefore have been between Chaudoc and Phnom-penh (see the annexed map). It was 3000 li away from that of Lin-yi (Champa), which, if we follow the line of the shore and the Mekong upwards, is nearly correct. The

¹ This name is very likely a transcription of the Khmer word *Vnam* "mountain," written to-day *Bhnam*. Yi-tsing says that in his time "Fu-nan" had become "Pa-nan." This change may perhaps correspond to the hardening of the labio-dental *v* into the labial *b* or *ph*

kingdom was 3000 li across ; so it spread very far to the west, possibly as far as Tenasserim. In the north it held in thralldom the Khmers then settled on the Mekong about the 15th degree latitude. In the south, it had as dependencies the small kingdoms which composed the Tuen-siun (Malay Peninsula). We may therefore say that Funan roughly corresponded to Cochinchina, Cambodia (where the seat of its power lay), Lower Laos, Siam and Malay Peninsula. So it was a great empire, with a powerful fleet, keeping diplomatic relations with China.

According to their legendary pedigree borrowed from the Pallavas of Southern India, the kings of Funan were descended from a brahmin called Kaundinya, who landed on that shore and married a *nāgī* called Somā. As matriarchate was prevalent among those peoples, Somā, was considered as the *vaṃśakartā*, the founder of Somavaṃśa¹.

King Fan Chan (Candravarman ?), who reigned during the first half of the 3rd century of our era, established direct intercourse with India. What brought it about was the visit of an Indian trader called Kia-sang-li, who gave him a sketch of his country :

‘He told Chan the customs of India, the spreading of the Law, the gathering of riches, the fertility of the land. [He told him] that every desirable thing was to be found there and that great kingdoms had for generations respected that one. Chan asked him : “How far is it ? How long does it take to go there ?” Li answered : “India must be more than 30,000 li from here ; the journey there and back takes a good three years, it may be four. It is the centre of Heaven and Earth”².

1 Cf. L. FINOT, *Sur quelques traditions indochinoises*, B.C.A.I., 1911, p. 32 ; G. COEDÈS, *La Légende de la Nāgī*, in *Études cambodgiennes*, BEFEO., XI, 391 ; V. GOLUBEV, *Les légendes de la Nāgī et de l'Apsaras* in *Mélanges sur le Cambodge ancien*, BEFEO., XXIV, 501.

2 *Fu-nan chuan* de *K'ang T'ai* in PELLLOT, *Le Fu-nan*, BEFEO., III, 277.

This conversation led Fan Chan to send an embassy to India making one of his relative, Suwu, its head (about 240-245 A. D.). Suwu sailed from Kiu-li in Malay Peninsula : "Due north-west he sailed into many a bay and along many a kingdom. After more than a year he reached the mouth of the river of India. After sailing up that river for 7,000 li, he finally arrived. The king of India was surprised and said : 'So, on the farthest shores of the ocean there are such men still !' Then he gave an order that they should be shown about the kingdom. Besides he deputed two men, of whom Ch'en Song was one, to thank Fan Chan and present him with four horses from the country of Yue-tche ; and he sent back Suwu and others. At the end of four years, they came back. [The emperor] Wu had just then sent K'ang T'ai as an ambassador to Funan¹. He saw Ch'en Song and others, and asked them for information regarding the circumstances and customs of India".

Besides other things, he learned from them that the name of the king of India was Mu-lun (Murunda)².

About the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th, Chinese texts place the coming of a second Kaundinya, who reformed the morals according to the Indian standard. He may be only a Hindu adventurer who, in order to obtain a better welcome, had usurped the name of the great civilizer of Funan.

"Kaundinya was at first a brahmin of India. A supernatural voice told him, 'You must go and reign in Funan'. Kaundinya rejoiced in his heart. In the south he reached P'an-p'an. The people of Funan heard of it. The whole kingdom arose with enthusiasm, came to meet him and chose him as their king. He changed all the rules according to the customs of India" (*Leang Shu*).

1 That embassy was sent between 244 and 252.

2 S. LÉVI, *Deux peuples méconnus* (Mélanges Charles de Harlez, Leyde, 1896, pp. 176-187).

In 484 A. D., the king of Funan, Kaundinya Jayavarman, sent to the court of China the Indian bhikṣu Śākya Nāgasena. This latter offered as presents a chiselled gold image of the king of dragons in sitting posture, an elephant carved in white sandal, two stūpas of ivory, etc. He said that the god Maheśvara was worshipped in Funan and that he appeared on a sacred mountain, Mount Motan, where grass and trees were ever green.

We may infer from all this that, in the 5th century, Śivaism and Buddhism were simultaneously prevalent in Funan. The *Leang Shu* says: "They worship the genii of Heaven (the devas). They make bronze images of those genii: those with two faces have four arms, and those with four faces eight arms. Each hand holds something, sometimes a child, sometimes a bird or a beast, or the Sun or the Moon". This is evidently the description of a brahmanic statue.

As for Buddhism, several facts show the important part it played in the state. Chinese sources mention several holy men who went from this country to China. Two of them were employed in translating the holy books. Saṅghapāla (born 460, died 524) worked at it for 16 years from 506 to 522; and Mandrasena arrived in 503 to help the former, but they could not master the Chinese language. In 539, an embassy of Funan declared that there was in their country a hair of Buddha 12 feet long. A priest was commissioned by the emperor to go and fetch it.

Cambodia

The dynasty that reigned in Funan in the middle of the 7th century was ousted without much difficulty, it seems, by a less powerful one, that governed Cambodia, called in Chinese Chen-la. We find a short notice of that event in Chinese texts.

"Chen-la lies on the south-west of Lin-yi. It was in the beginning a state subordinate to Funan...Citrasena conquered Funan and brought it fully within control" (*Suei Shu*).

"In the period Ta-t'oung of the Leang dynasty (535-545 A. D.), [Chen-la] vanquished for the first time the king of Funan and occupied his territory¹."

[The king of Funan] had his capital in the town of To-mou. Suddenly his town was captured by Tchen-la and he had to move southward to the town of Na-fou-na' (*Sin Tang shu*).

The rebel vassal, who had usurped the throne of his lord, was the king of Kbmers or Kambujas, whose kingdom exists to the present day under the name of Cambodia. As the kings of Funan claimed to be descendants of the brahmin Kaundinya and the Nāgī Somā, so the first kings of Cambodia claimed as their ancestors Mahārṣi Kambu and the Apsaras Merā, hence they were called the *Kambujas* i. e. born of Kambu².

The pedigree of the kings of Cambodia begins with Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman. The capital of the latter, Śreṣṭhapura, lay near Bassac in Laos, on the 15th degree North latitude³.

It seems that not long before the invasion of Cambodians in the south, when the kingdom of the Kambujas was ruled by a woman, the queen Kambujarājalakṣmī, Bhavavarman I, son of Viravarman, who belonged to the race of Kaundinya and Somā, that is, to the royal family of Funan, was put on the throne by a revolution. This event probably made easy the conquest of the country by his younger brother, Citrasena, who bore later on the regnal name of Mahendravarman

1 *T'ang hui yao* in PELLIOU, *Deux itinéraires*, p. 278.

2 Possibly the name of Khmer is related to Merā. It is, on the other hand, very likely that those two personages have been invented to explain ethnical names. About the name of Kambuja, cf. S. LEVI, *Pré-aryen et pré-dravidien dans l'Inde*, JA., July-Sept., 1923, p. 53.

3 G. COEDÈS, *Le site primitif du Tchen-la*, BEFEO., XVIII, n°9, pp. 1-13.

(BEFEO., III, 442). An inscription incised on the stone of Thma Kṛe, on the bank of the Mekong, about 20°30' Latitude North (i. e. in the central portion of Cambodia) in the name of Citrasena (*sthāpitaṃ Citrasenena līgaṃ jayati sām-bhavam*) shows that the campaign was led by him in the name of his brother Bhavavarman. This explains why the capital of new Cambodia took then the name of Bhavapura. It is also found in an inscription of Champa dated 657 A. D. (*puram yad Bhavasāhvayam*, NE., p. 131, v, xv). This tradition is recorded in an inscription of the 12th century (Inscription of Ta Prohm, 1186 A. D., st. 9 : *bharttā bhuvo Bhavapure Bhavavarmmadevo* (BEFEO., VI, 50).

Mahendravarman had as successor his son Īśānavarman whose capital was Īśānapura¹. Īśānavarman sent the first embassy to the court of China in 616 or 617 A. D.

In the beginning of the 8th century, Cambodia was divided into two states : 'Water-Cambodia' and 'Land-Cambodia'. The former probably corresponded to present Cambodia between the sea and mount Dangrek, and the latter lay northward as far as the region of Vieng Chan (18° Lat. North) and possibly further up².

The two states were united by Jayavarman II, who ascended the throne in 802 A. D. As he hailed from Javā (Malay Peninsula), he introduced into Cambodia the sandstone architecture, built several strongholds and began the construction of the great capital which bore later on the name of Yaśodharapura, modern Angkor Thom. Most of his pious foundations were dedicated to Lokeśvara ; this leads us to

1 *Suei Shu* : "His son I-shō-na-sien (Īśānasena) succeeded to him. He lived in the town of I-shō-na (Īśānapura) (BEFEO., II, 124). It is possible that Īśānapura may correspond to the important ruins of Sambor Prei Kuk, in the north of Kompong Thom, where inscriptions of Īśānavarman have been found (BCAI., 1912, pp. 184-189).

2 H. MASPERO, *The Frontier of Annam and Cambodia from the 8th to the 14th century*, BEFEO., XVIII, iii, p. 36.

suppose that he was a Buddhist, at least in the beginning of his reign. Later on he probably adopted Śivaism as the state religion and instituted the worship of the liṅga called Devarāja, a national god, whose temple was situated in the centre of the capital and with whom the reigning king was never to part.

With Jayavarman II begins the line of builder kings, who covered Cambodia with magnificent monuments. Amidst them, the following deserve mention : Indravarman I (877-889), Yaśovarman (889-ca.910)¹, Rājendravarman (944-961), and Sūryavarman II (1112-ca.1152 A.D.), who erected the magnificent shrine of Viṣṇu now called Angkor Vat.

The last great sovereign of Cambodia was Jayavarman VII (1181-1201 A. D.). He was a fervent Buddhist, as his posthumous name of Paramasaugata shows. Besides he founded in all the parts of his empire many hospitals, which are all dedicated to Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru, for the benefit of all patients without any distinction of castes. The same rescript, with a few variations, was used for every new foundation ; about ten of them have been found up till now in the different parts of the empire. The text contains a circumstantial regulation concerning the persons living in each establishment, and the provisions to be supplied by the villages. The praśasti, which opens it, is inspired with the high ideal of Buddhist compassion and is full of noble thoughts such as the following :

*dehināṃ deharogo yan-mano-rogo rujattarām,
rāśṭraduḥkham hi bhartṛnāṃ duḥkham duḥkham tu
nātmanaḥ.*

"The bodily pain of men became in him a pain of the soul and the more smarting, for it is the suffering of the state which makes the suffering of the kings and not their own"².

¹ This king is believed to have built the capital which bears his name the Yaśodharapura (Angkor Thom); but the founder of it might well be Jayavarman II (802-869).

² NE., pp. 9-24.

In another inscription the same sovereign gives a kind of statistics of the religious and medical establishments then existing in his kingdom. Here are some figures¹ :

Districts hospitals (<i>ārogyaśālā viṣaye viṣaye</i>)	102
Shrines (<i>devatās</i>)	798
Contributing villages	838
Men and women in service	81,640
Yearly contribution of rice (in <i>kharikās</i>) ...	117,200

The regulations and figures indicate the existence of a well organised power.

In 1296, there came to the capital a Chinese mission, a member of which, Chou Ta-kuan has let us a neat and picturesque description of the court and town at the end of the 13th century².

The king was Śrīndravarman (1296-1307 A. D.) who had just succeeded his father-in-Law Jayavarman VIII. It was during his reign that a shrine, one of the most finished examples of Khmer art, viz. the shrine of Tribhuvana-maheśvara at Išvarapura, known to-day as Banteai Srei, was built, 25 kilometers N. E. of Angkor.

The inscriptions of that temple recently deciphered prove that Cambodian architecture and sculpture were still flourishing at the beginning of the 14th century. Nevertheless the kingdom was already in great danger of Siamese invasions. At a date which cannot as yet be ascertained, probably during the 15th century, Khmer kings left Angkor and retired within the country, to lead there a precarious life which henceforward was somewhat void of interest.

1 G. COEDÈS, BEFEO., 1906.

2 *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge*, translated by P. PELLIOU, (BEFEO., II, p. 123). Chou Ta-kuan does not mention the name of the capital. Chao Ju-kua (1225) says it was called Lu-wu. Pelliot has proved that *Lu-wu* is *Nokor* (T'oung Pao, 1912, p. 466). The present name *Angkor* (= *Nokor*), i. e. the Nagara or Royal Town, was therefore already used at that time.

IV Siam

[*Bibliography*: PELLLOT, *Deux itinéraires*, pp. 225 and following. Mission PAVIE, *Recherches sur l'histoire*, Paris, 1898 (Transcription and translation of the inscriptions by F. J. Schmidt). L. FOURNEREAU, *Le Siam ancien*, Paris, 1905-1908, 2 vols. 4°. L. de LAJONQUIÈRE, *Le Domaine archéologique du Siam* (BCAI., 1902, p. 188). Id, *Essai d'inventaire archéologique du Siam* (Ibid., 1912, p. 19). G. COEDÈS, *Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya*, BEFEO., XVII. Id, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I. *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, Bangkok, 1924].

We are not so well informed concerning the Western countries as the Eastern or Southern ones. As we saw above, they were more or less dependants of Funan, but probably, at the same time, had a large share of autonomy.

The kingdom which Chinese call Chi-t'u (Red Land) located in Lower Menam, became first known to a Chinese mission visiting it in 607 A. D. Information supplied by the mission relates to the 6th century.

We feel safer when locating in the same region, in the 7th century, the kingdom of Dvāravatī. We know indeed from the *Kiou T'ang Shu* that it lay in the west, along 'Water-Cambodia'.

On the other hand, Hiuen Tsang, in a list of countries which follows the geographical order, places it between Srikṣetra (Prome) and Isānapura (Cambodia). Dvāravatī is mentioned among the official names of Ayudhyā, but this last capital, having been founded only in 1350 A.D., has simply picked up the tradition of a more ancient capital, Lvo or Lavo, at present Lopburi about 45 km. north of Ayudhyā.

In the 12th century, the valley of the Menam was divided into two states: in the south, the country of Lvo = Lopburi; in the north, the country of Syām (Sukhodaya). Both were subordinate to Cambodia, as is shown in a well known basso-relievo of Angkor Vat, where is represented amidst the armies of king Paramaviṣṇuloka (Sūryavarman II) a body of men from Lvo and another from *Syām Kut* (BCAI., 1911, p. 103).

In the middle of the 13th century, a Thai lord captured Sukhodaya and proclaimed himself king under the name of Śrī Indrāditya. He was the first independent king of Sukhodaya. The Siamese call him Phra Ruang. His son Rāma Khamheng (1283-1298 ?) has left us a long record, the first Thai inscription, in which he tells of his youth and gives a circumstantial account of his principles of government, his religious activities and even the topography of his capital. The religion then followed by the people of Sukhodaya was Sinhalese Buddhism, whilst that in the whole state of Cambodia was Hinduism and Mahāyāna.

Rāma Khamheng was a fortunate conqueror. According to his record, the boundaries of his kingdom extended to the east as far as the Mekong, to the south as far as Ligor in the Malay Peninsula ; he had therefore swallowed up the southern kingdom. But this latter did not take a long time in throwing off the yoke of subjection. The foundation of Ayudhyā in 1350 A. D. marked the beginning of the decay of the Northern kingdom, whose leaders in course of time fell down to the rank of provincial governors. They had the only bit of comfort to lend their racial name to the united kingdom of Siam.

V Śrīvijaya

[*Bibliography*,—G. COEDES, *Le royaume de Śrīvijaya*, BEFEO., XVIII, 1918, n°6. J. PH. VOGEL, *Het koninkrijk Śrīvijaya* (Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, Deel 75, 1919). N. J. KROM, *De Sumatraansche Periode der javaansche Geschiedenis*, Leiden, 1919. G. FERRAND, *L'empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya* (JA., 1922).]

The kingdom of Śrīvijaya is known since only a few years by Asiatic scholars. Formerly it was known only by the name of Śrīboja, a wrong transcription of Chinese Shih-li-foshih. The credit of having found out the real name and the main facts of the history of that state is due to a French scholar, G. Coedes.

As early as the 7th century, it had its centre in the region of Palembang (Sumatra) and was governed by the royal family of Śailendras. The middle and south of Sumatra and the neighbouring islands were under its control. (inscription of Kola Kapur, isle of Bangka).

In the 8th century, we find it in possession of the centre of Java and the Malay Peninsula (it is on account of the last conquest that we mention it here). In Java, near Jogjakarta, in 771 A. D., a king of Śrīvijaya of Śailendra family, built the shrine now known as Candī Kalassan, and dedicated it to the Buddhist goddess Tārā. It is probably the same king whom the Kloerak inscription points out as building in 782 A. D. a statue of Mañjuśrī (Vogel, p. 634). In the Malay Peninsula, at Viengsa, south of Bandon Bay, a Śailendra king of Śrīvijaya—perhaps the same as the one of Kalassan and Kloerak—raised brick stūpas in honour of Buddha, Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi, in 775 A. D. So, in the second half of the 8th century, the Śailendras were masters of Sumatra, central Java and a part at least of the Malay Peninsula. They were zealous followers of the Mahāyāna and they raised in all the parts of their empire monuments of their faith. We should credit them with the building of the great Buddhist monuments of Java, the Borobudur and the Mendut.

Even beyond their own states were noticed the manifestations of their religious zeal, as the "Chart of Leide" shows. It is the record of a gift, engraved on 21 copper plates which are now kept in the library of the University of Leide. Its author is one of the Coḷa kings of the Coromandel shore, Rājārāja I (985-1012 A. D.) and it is dated from the 21st year of his reign (1006 A. D.) i. e. more than two centuries after the two records mentioned above. In this rescript king Rājārāja I presents a village to the Buddha of the shrine built at Nāgīpattana (Negapatam) by Māravijayottuṅgavarman, king of Kaṭāha and of Śrīvijaya, of the Śailendra line, son of king Cūḍāmaṇivarman. Śrīvijaya is of course another name of Śrīvijaya; should any doubt still remain, it would

disappear in view of the following facts: the History of the Song gives as kings of San-fo-tsi (Palembang) in 1003-1008 A. D., Sse-li-cu-lo-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiao-hua (Śrī Cudāmanivar-madeva) and Sse-li-ma-lo-pi (Śrī Māravijayottuṅgavarman).

Friendly intercourse between the Sailendras and the Coḷas did not last long. The successor of Rājārāja I, Rājendracoḷa I (1012-1042) waged war against the Sailendra king Saṅgrāma-vijayottuṅgavarman and conquered a part of his territories, of which he gives us a long list. In 1068, Coḷa Virarājendra boasts of having achieved the conquest of Kidālam, and of having afterwards been kind enough to restore the conquered land to the vanquished king.

It would be interesting to find out what relation existed between Funan and Śrīvijaya; unfortunately we miss such documents and can only surmise the facts.

We have seen above that about 450 A. D. the king of Funan, beaten by his vassal the king of Kambujas, had been forced to retire to the south. That was the time when Śrīvijaya entered on the period of conquests which were to make the kingdom one of the most powerful states of the southern seas. It is quite likely that Funan, weakened and dismembered, may have tempted the ambition of the king of Śrīvijaya and in course of time became its vassal. Anyhow we see in 775 A. D. Śrīvijaya holding under its sway the former sovereignty of Funan. When, twenty five years later, Jayavarman II "came from Javā and reigned in the city of Indrapura" and established a new cult "so that Kambujadeśa should not be dependent any more on Javā", everything leads us to believe that "Javā" mentioned here is no

I Abū Zayd Hasan (about 916 A. D.) mentions a tradition according to which the Mahārājā of Śrīvijaya "in former times" made a victorious raid on the Khmer kingdom, to avenge an insult of the king of that country. If that is an historical fact, it may have happened about the 8th century. Cf. FERRAND, *L'empire sumatranais de śrīvijaya*, pp. 59 et 163.

other than Śrīvijaya, which then was the master of central Javā together with the Malay Peninsula.

At the time of Chao Ju-kua (1225 A. D.) the kingdom of Palembang (San-fo-tsi) held power over 15 states, the greater number of which lay in the Malay Peninsula. Among those states is Kia-lo-hi, lying alongside the southern border of Cambodia and which Coedes has identified with the country of Grahi in the region of Jaiya. Shortly afterwards, the Thai captured the northern part of the Peninsula and as early as 1195, according to the inscription of Rāma Khamheng, the region of Ligor acknowledged the authority of the king of Sukhodaya. The Siamese advanced even as far as the Straits, for in 1403 Malaka paid a tribute to Siam¹.

Such are the outlines of the geography and chronology of Indian civilization in Indochina. It is possible to trace its evolution and show how the ideas and social institutions of India were transformed at the touch of foreign races of quite a different turn of mind. Such work would be of a great historical interest, and Indian scholars are particularly qualified to take a leading part in it.

LOUIS FINOT

Ministers in Ancient India

II

Let us now proceed to discuss the question of ascertaining the type of persons who should be employed to hold such high ministerial posts in the monarchy as state-colleagues of the king. As to the appointment of the Yuvarāja, of course, he should usually have blood-relation with the sovereign, for we read in the *Sukranīti* that an heir-apparent may be chosen by the king from amongst brothers, uncles, nephews (elder brothers' sons), own sons, adopted sons, daughters' sons or others of his own liking. But like other ministers of state he was treated by the king as a state-colleague. Then with regard to the seventeen other high ministers, Kauṭilya refers to the different opinions held on this question by political thinkers who flourished before his own time, and he then sums them up with his own, after briefly showing how they criticised each other on the point. It is very difficult to check one's temptation to explain a little elaborately this most interesting discussion which goes to prove that in ancient India, politics was studied as a living science and that there were several schools of political philosophers holding different views on different political topics. First of all, Kauṭilya sets forth the opinion of Bhāradvāja (= Droṇācāryya) according to whom a sovereign should appoint his class-mates (*sahādhyaīns*) as ministers. Why? Because, he thought that the king could fully trust such persons, as he had occasion to be aware, during his early days, of their honesty of character and capacity for work. "No, no, this should not be so", says Viśālākṣa, another pre-Cāṇakyan politician, "for, such class-mates may offer discomfiture to their employer, the king, as their obedience towards him could not be expected to be of a high order". Hence his view was that a king

should appoint those men as ministers whose secrets or points of moral weakness were known to him, just as his own were to them (*guhyaśadharmā*). Fear of betrayal of their secret will not make it possible for them to do the king any harm. This view, weak as it is, was repudiated by another philosopher, Parāśara by name, who held that, that kind of fear of betrayal was common to both the king himself and his ministers and that therefore the former may have to ditto the actions, good, bad or indifferent, of the latter to the detriment of the state. Hence he thought that such persons only should be employed as the king's ministers as should possess devoted loyalty to the throne and should be prepared to risk or lay down their own lives for the good of the state. As loyalty alone should not be made the test for elevation of persons to the ministry, this view, again, could not meet with the approval of another politician named Piśuna (=Nārada), who criticises that devoted loyalty to the throne is only a quality of the heart and what is greatly needed in ministers was the most important quality of the head *viz.*, intellectual power. So the king should have as ministers able financiers with high power to levy taxes, try new sources of revenue and manage public money skilfully for the good of the state. This view is found fault with by another thinker, Kaunapadanta (=Bhīṣma), who says that expert knowledge of state-finance cannot be the only virtue for regarding a person qualified for ministership unless he be endowed with all other requisite qualifications for that high office. He, however, offers his own opinion by saying that ministers should be selected from that family, the ancestral members of which also served previously as ministers under the same dynasty of rulers. The king, in such cases, could be sure that even if he turns out to be an oppressive and repressive ruler, he would not be deserted by these ministers who had hereditary connection with the reigning house. During different periods of Indian history we have many instances

Selection of
persons for
appointment
to *amātya-*
ship.

of hereditary line of ministers. For example, we know that Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty during his campaign of conquests towards Malava and Gujarat had in his company his Minister of Peace and War, Virasena¹, (known by the second name Śāba), a brāhmaṇa of the Kautsa gotra, a very highly learned man, an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra, who is described as *anvaya-prāpta-sācivya* (i.e. one who obtained ministership by right of birth). He had many other personal merits to make him qualified for the post of the Foreign Minister. We will just see that advantages of birth or fortune were not the only qualifications that were considered in appointing ministers by early Indian kings. In the now famous Karamdāṇḍa inscription² of Kumāragupta I we read of hereditary ministership of a brāhmaṇa family. We are told there that brāhmaṇa Pṛthivīsenā, who was at first a Kumārāmātya and later raised to the position of a *Mahābalādhikṛta* (Chief army-officer), became *Mantrin* (Prime-minister or counsellor) to *Mahārājādhirāja* Kumāragupta I; and we are also informed that this minister's father, Kumārāmātya Śikharasvāmin, was also the *Mantrin* of Candragupta II. Coming nearer home, I may point out the famous record of the doings of a hereditary line of highly qualified brāhmaṇa ministers under the second, third, fourth and the fifth kings of the Pāla dynasty of Gauda and Magadha, viz. Dharmapāla, Devapāla, Śūrapāla, (Vigrahapāla I) and Nārāyaṇapāla, who were Buddhist by religion (?). I mean the 9th-10th century A. D. record, incised on the Garuḍa pillar discovered in the district of Dinajpur, more usually known as the Bādal pillar inscription³. From that record we find that Garga, Dharmapāla's minister, helped his master, who was originally only a king of the eastern quarters, to extend his empire to all other quarters as well. It is through the

1 Udayagiri Cave Inscription, No. 6—Fleet.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, pp. 70ff.

3 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 70ff.

guidance of his minister's son, Darbhapāṇi, and the latter's grandson the famous Kedāra Miśra that king Devapāla was successful in making fresh conquests and enjoying a long reign by suppressing the Utkalas, the Hūṇas, the Draviḍas, and the Gurjjaras. The extraordinary regard shown by the king to this premier, Darbhapāṇi, was so high that it is stated in that inscription that the sovereign did not hesitate to wait upon his minister at the latter's door and to offer first a seat to him and then to occupy his own with a feeling of awe on his throne in the court-room. Though a Buddhist, Śūrapāla used to approach in person his minister Kedāra Miśra to respectfully receive on his head the sacred waters of sacrifices from the latter's hand. Bhaṭṭa Gurava Miśra, son of Kedāra, was Nārāyaṇapāla's prime-minister and he is described both as a valiant warrior and a reputed scholar, looked upon by his contemporaries as *Kalikāla-Vālmiki*. In incidentally proving that difference in religion of kings and ministers did not in any way stand in the way of efficient government at any time of Indian history, I have come very far from the theme under discussion to which I now return. It is not a very correct view of things to appoint hereditary ministers in the opinion of another pre-Kauṭilyan politician, Vātavyādhi (= Uddhava) by name, who thought that such ministers are likely to exert domineering influence on the sovereign himself and would regard themselves as the real masters. Hence he says that the king should have such new and unfamiliar persons in the ministry as would be proficient in the science of state-craft, for, they would surely regard the king as the chastiser (*daṇḍadhara*), who would feel no hesitation in meting out punishment in case they swerve even a little from their own duties. Even such an opinion is not endorsed by Bāhudantiputra (= Indra) who holds that men with only a theoretical knowledge of politics cannot be successful as ministers unless they are also experienced in the application of political principles in the practical field. Un-

practical hands must never be tried by kings in making selection of his ministers of state. Hence, in his opinion, the king, in filling up the posts of high ministers, should keep a close eye on the possession by the selected candidates of all or most of these virtues, *viz.*, high-birth, strong political wisdom, freedom from corruption, personal energy and enthusiasm, and loyalty to the throne. However, according to Kauṭilya, who declares that a man's ability can only be inferred from his capacity for work, the above-mentioned qualifications considered in respect of time and place make persons eligible for the office of *amātyaship* only and not *mantriship* for which other more serious considerations are also to be made.

Many really are the considerations that a sovereign should make before selecting his *amātyas*. In the opinion of Kauṭilya whose view was later endorsed in a varied degree by Kāmandaka and Śukra, an *amātya* should be expected to be endowed with the following twenty-five personal qualifications and attainments :

(1) He should be a *jānapada i. e.*, a native of the king's own kingdom. He should never be a foreigner. Being a native of the territory he is expected to be in intimate acquaintance with the people and therefore is in a better position to look to their interests. A non-provincial minister sometimes does not even understand the language of the people.

(2) He should be an *abhijāta i. e.* born in a high family. Pedigree is a very great factor in a man's character. Highly connected persons should be holders of high offices of state, for it is these people that are not likely to fall a victim to baits and allurements.

(3) He should be a *svavagraha i. e.* he must be competent to warn his subordinates against doing a wrong action and keep them under restraint or put them aright. A second meaning that may be attached to this epithet is that he must himself be easily controllable and manageable. There

are *amātyas* who are obstinately independent and are therefore sometimes ill-manageable, and hence cannot be checked by the king.

(4) He should be a *kṛta-silpa* i. e. versed in all arts. *Amātyas* must possess a good knowledge of various practical arts, e. g., horsemanship, elephant-driving, chariot-riding and use of different weapons of offence and defence, etc.

(5) He must be *cakṣuṣmān* i. e. possessed of "eye" or foresight. Ancient Indian political writers regard *Arthaśāstra*, the science of state-craft, as the "eye" of kings with the help of which they are instructed to see things and political problems in their proper perspective. Hence ministers and councillors, like their employers, the kings, must be conversant with the teachings of this branch of knowledge. Such ministers have no or little chance of falling into political pits or deeps. Knowledge of practical politics serves as their pathfinder. Social order remains untransgressed under the vision of such ministers.

(6) He must be *prājña* i. e. naturally gifted with a sharp, strong and sound intellect or wisdom. This power is the primary virtue which ministers in every country should possess. Cāṇakya, Rākṣasa, Yaugandharāyaṇa, Śukanāsa, Sumantra, and other premiers of Indian states, as described in Sanskrit *kāvyas* and actually flourishing under historical kings were all intellectual giants. Viśakhadatta, the author of the Sanskrit political drama, the *Mudrārākṣasa*, (flourishing not later than the 4th century A. D.) describes Cāṇakya extolling his own powerful intellect in very high terms¹. He did not care if he were to be deserted by all his allies and admirers, but he should never suffer his own intellect to leave his brain-centres, for he was sure that "in accomplishing an object, his intellect was to him more effective than the work of hundreds of armies and that he has proved the greatness of its

1 Cf. Verse 25, Act I of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

power by the extirpation of the Nandas" and the establishment of the rule of the Mauryas. His great rival, Rākṣasa, the ex-minister of the Nandas, was also confident of the potency of his own intellect and we find¹ in the same drama this minister exclaiming that as his own late master, Nanda, who was so fond of Maurya Candragupta, was killed by the machinations of the latter's advisers, he should only see that he succeeds "in piercing with the dart of his intellect the vital parts of that very person (Candragupta), if only invisible Fate will not serve the latter as an armour." He thinks, therefore, that only providential power can keep his intellect in check.

Qualifica-
tions and
attainments
of *amātyas*.

(7) He must be a *dhārayiṣṇu* i. e. capable of remembering things. He should possess a retentive memory. Such men can never forget past events which might be referred to, in course of discussions, with advantage to the state. But diplomacy sometimes makes great ministers appear to forget conveniently many of their past statements, promises and pledges.

(8) He must be *lakṣa* i. e. quick in action. He must not be dull and dilatory in taking proper and necessary steps in all state affairs, and thereby give opportunity to his opponents to get the upper hand.

(9) He should be *vāgmin*, i.e. should possess a power of debate. Without a forceful eloquence a minister cannot succeed to convince the opponents of his own attitude. In the world of diplomacy the power of persuasiveness is a virtue absolutely necessary for ministers to be successful in keeping the king and the people pleased.

(10) He should be *pragalbha* i.e. bold. A minister should have to be bold, assertive and outspoken. Timidity in them is a great weakness which they must avoid by all means.

1 Cf. Verse 8, Act II of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

(11) He must be *pratipattimān* i.e. have power of arresting the attention of others ; (i) he should have intellectual grip ; (ii) the word may also mean that he should be a man of precise decision. In times of dangers and difficulties ministers should be able instantly to arrive at a definite conclusion as to what should be done ; (iii) it may also be explained to mean that he should be competent to meet arguments by counter-arguments, and acts by counter-acts.

(12-13) He must be *utsāha-prabhāva-yukta* i.e. possessed of energy and influence. Lack of personal energy and of lordly influence to be exercised over subordinates and dependants is the greatest drawback in ministers.

(14) He must be *klesasaha* i.e. capable of endurance. The office of a minister knows no rest. He should not yield to fatigue. There is no knowing when he might be summoned to attend urgent calls. Untiringly he should have to work for the good of the state.

(15) He must be *śuci* i.e. pure or honest in character. Integrity must be, above all other virtues, tested in ministers. They should be proof against the four kinds of allurements (to be dealt with hereinafter) called *upadhās*. The distribution of the different portfolios depends on the results of these tests for ministers.

(16) He must be *maitra* i. e. of kindly disposition. Ministers are required to be sympathetic and courteous.

(17) He must be *dr̥ḡhabhakti* i.e. of devout loyalty to the throne. Ministers may differ from the sovereign in holding particular views on particular matters, but they should never divest themselves of the sentiment of loyalty to the king. In justifying his political activities in the absence of his own masters, the Nandas, who were dead, the ex-premier Rākṣasa says that though the re-instatement of Nanda rule was now impossible, he was in active political service of Malayaketu, a new ally, against the Maurya king, Candragupta, out of a deep sense of grateful loyalty to their late

Majesties and he thus exclaims—"It is not because I have forgotten my loyalty (to my late master), not because my heart is engrossed in the enjoyment of the objects of senses, nor because I am afraid of the loss of my life, nor because I am desirous of self-glorification, that I have closely and carefully devoted my attention to politics, but because his Majesty (i. e. the late Nanda), though gone to heaven, may be propitiated by the destruction of his enemies by my help even now". What a fine illustration of loyalty of state-officers we have in the above picture !

(18-21) He must be *śīla-bal ārogya-sattva-saṃyukta* i. e. he should be a man of good conduct, should have a strong physique, should be free from diseases, hereditary or acquired, and should possess patience or fortitude. In short ministers should enjoy the blessings of health, both of body and mind.

(22-23) He should be *stambha-cāpalya-varjjita* i. e. free from arrogance and fickleness. Submission towards superiors and steadiness in all actions are virtues which must be the two prominent features in a minister's character.

(24) He must be *sampriya* i. e. of beloved looks. Affectionate appearance begets confidence or reliance in the minds of people. And lastly

(25) A minister should be *vairāṇāṃ akarttā* i. e. one having no harmful or inimical propensities. Ministers should never allow feuds to be created in different political parties or groups, but should always try to solve all kinds of dissensions amongst them.

A combination of all these qualities in high officers makes them pass as first-class *amātyas*, that of about three-fourths of them as second-class, and that of half of them as third-class ministers. These qualifications are to be known by the king directly from personal experience, indirectly from the report of reliable friends or co-workers and also inferentially from the course of conduct adopted by the likely nominees. According to Kāmandaka IV, 24 both the

counselling *sacivas* (*buddhi-sacivas*) and executing *sacivas* (*karma sacivas*) should possess the following six virtues in common,—(1) high birth or connection, (2) purity or honesty, (3) prowess or valour, (4) learning, (5) loyalty, and (6) training in practical politics. But the *mantrins* i. e. the *buddhi-sacivas* who are the more important officers than the *karma-sacivas* should particularly be in possession of the following six¹ additional virtues,—(1) a retentive memory (2) proneness towards or application of mind to works undertaken, (3) capacity for a thorough discussion, (4) power to arrive at a proper decision, (5) steadiness in work, and (6) preservation of state-secrets.

All writers on Hindu political philosophy have observed that a king after having, in consultation with the Premier and the Royal Priest, decided as to who, on account of the possession of the above-mentioned qualifications, should be selected for the *amātyaships*, should apply the four-fold test of honesty known in the *Arthasāstras* and *Nitisāstras* as *upadhā*, a Sanskrit word, which means test or device planned for understanding the mental attitude of selected candidates for ministerships and counsellorships. They are, as it were, secret tricks applied to these persons by the king through various agencies, spies and others, for testing

Four-fold
test of their
honesty.

their honesty. The term *upadhā* is thus defined by Kāmandaka,—“That art or device is called

upadhā which is placed before, or imposed

upon, a person by going near him. It is only a means by which *amātyas* are to be tested” by a king. They are four-fold, *viz.* (1) *dharmopadhā* or ethical allurement, (2) *arthopadhā* or pecuniary allurement, (3) *kāmopadhā* or carnal allurement and (4) *bhayopadhā* or frightful or dreadful allurement. Before making the final choice of particular ministers for permanent charge of the different portfolios in the light of the results of these tests, the king is enjoined

1 Cf. *Kāmandaka*, IV, 30.

by political thinkers to keep the nominees on probation, in lower posts in the various departments of the state. Those among the probationary *amātyas* who pass the *dharmopadhā*-test should be given charge of the departments of Law and Order (*Dharmasthīya Kuṣṭakaśodhana* department); those who pass the *arthopadhā*-test should be placed in charge of the departments of the Collector-general of revenues and and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; those who pass the *kāmopadhā*-test should be given office in the Harem or the Ladies' department of the Palace; and those who pass the *bhayopadhā*-test should be appointed to the high posts of the sovereign's personal staff, e. g. the Chamberlain's Department. A king should never appoint any persons as *mantrins* unless they have been ascertained to be *upadhā*-proof in respect of all these four kinds of allurements. To cite one example from actual history of such a minister I would like to refer to an inscription¹ belonging to the reign of Skandagupta dated in the Gupta era 138 (= 457-58 A. D.), from which we learn that the Gupta sovereign, after having wholly defeated his foreign enemies and regained the provinces lost to the empire during his father's reign, set himself to appointing provincial governors in the different parts of his vast kingdom, especially in the western regions which had been previously occupied and disturbed by foreign foes like the Hūṇas. In his great anxiety to appoint an eminently qualified governor for the proper protection of the land of the Surāṣṭras (modern Kāthiawar) the Gupta monarch had to search with careful scrutiny the whole of his ministerial staff for finding out a competent person whom he could appoint to that high office. The sovereign felt a sense of relief and comfort when he found out that among the high ministers, Parnadatta was the only person who, with all other virtues in him, was proof against all the aforesaid *upadhās* (*sarvopadhābhī ca viśuddha-budhīḥ*) and the emperor, therefore,

1 Fleet—*C. I. I.*, vol III, Gupta Inscriptions, No. 14.

had no hesitation in appointing him to that office, although Parnadatta, it appears, declined at first to accept his Majesty's kind and fit offer of the governorship of Surāṣṭra. So not in the present times alone, but in ancient days also, as

early as the fifth century A.D., we have such high offices filled up by worthy and accomplished State-*amātyas*. Another most notable example of a premier being rewarded by his sovereign with a provincial governorship can be gathered from

Worthy
ministers re-
warded with
governor-
ship.

the history of Bengal. King Kumārapāla of Gauḍa and Magadha, son of the renowned Rāmapāla, was fortunate in having at his disposal the valued services of a hereditary but profoundly wise prime-minister, Vaidyadeva by name, who is described in the Kamauli copper-plate grant¹ as his king's friend, dearer to the latter even than his own life, for, he was always anxious to keep his master's suzerainty (*saptāṅga-kṣitipādhipatva*) intact with respect to all its seven constituent elements. On hearing of the rebellion of his feudatory, Tiṃgyadeva, probably king of Kāmarūpa (described in the record as ruling in the east), Kumārapāla² directed his able premier, Vaidyadeva, to depose that rebellious king and himself take his place. The valiant minister approached the king with his army and after having defeated him in battle became himself the ruler of that province.

It has been hinted before that a Hindu king of early days had two Cabinets to help him in administrative works, one deliberative and another executive. As regards the number of members of the inner Cabinet of *mantrins*, different political thinkers held different views. It ranged from one to many advisers to the sovereign. The greatest objection to having a large number of such councillors was due to the fact that state-secrets always ran the chance of being disclosed. Hence Kauṭilya would have only three or four *mantrins*

1 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 130, v. 12.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 131, v. 13.

in the deliberative Cabinet. He is of opinion that in difficult and complicated state-affairs no definite conclusion may possibly be reached if there be only *one mantrin*, who may sometimes proceed unrestrained and whimsically. In the case of the king having *two mantrins*, they both may combine to outvote the sovereign or may differ and thus bring about a deadlock or even ruin to the state. But if advised by *three or four councillors* the king may not have to come to any serious grief and may succeed in arriving at a definite conclusion on state-matters. Indecision in deliberation and divulgence of state secrets are the two great dangers that a king may fear from his advisers, if they number more than four. According to the exigencies of time and place and the nature of the state business, the king could exercise his option of consulting one or two only of these members of the Inner Cabinet together, or even not to consult them at all, if the business was a small one or of minor importance. But it should not be forgotten that the executive assembly of ministers (*karma-sacivas* in our opinion) called *mantri-pariṣad* may consist of as many high executive *amātyas* or state-officers as may be required for conducting the business of administration of a particular state. The Mānava, Br̥haspati and Uśanas schools fixed the number of members composing this *pariṣad* to be 12, 16 and 20 ministers respectively. We call this body for convenience's sake the Outer Cabinet.

What is then the meaning of the term *mantra* for which ministers and councillors are called *mantrins*? The word means counsel or deliberation on any scheme or measure or any act which is proposed to be legalised or carried into effect. Formation of policy in matters of state-business is the chief function of the inner cabinet of counsellors. Hindu politicians define *mantra* as *pañcāṅga* (or a five-limbed object). The first limb or part of *mantra* consists in deciding the means of commencement of a *karma* or work, be it in the king's own kingdom, such as any constructive scheme or plan e.g. the

building of any fort, dam, etc., or be it a *karma* or work in his enemy's dominion, e.g. any militant action or any arrangement of plan, etc. The second part consists in discussing the question of collecting men and materials required for the purpose of the act. With regard to the third part, the king and the counsellors are to ascertain the question of time and place of the same. The fourth part in deliberation is to take into consideration the remedial measures to be adopted in case any danger or impediment, either providential or human, threatens the work with immediate stoppage or incompleteness. The fifth or last part of deliberation consists in realising beforehand the possible results of the *karma* affecting the state *viz.*, amelioration, stagnation or deterioration. These are the five points of view from which the king's counsellors are to deliberate on state-business. The functions of the members of the *mantri-pariṣad* or the Assembly of Ministers ('Outer Cabinet' as we have proposed to call it) lay in executing the work proposed and discussed in the Inner Cabinet or initiated by the king or any of his *amātyas*. According to Manu (VII, 56-57), the sovereign should take counsel with his *sacivas* on the following state-matters, *viz.* peace and war, efficiency of the army, increase of revenue, protection and security of people, and application of national money to beneficial works. Śukra is clearer on this point and in his opinion, consecration of the rightful heir to the throne is also one of the duties imposed on ministers and counsellors. Other functions which they had to discharge according to him were that they should keep the monarch fully informed of all military equipments, commissariat and contingencies. The constitutional powers of the *amātyas* can be best summed up in the words of Bhāradvāja as quoted by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*¹ where he discusses the question as to how the degeneration of

Mantra, its meaning and its five limbs or parts, for which it is defined as *pañcāṅga*.

Subjects of discussion.

ministers is more dangerous to the state than that of the sovereign himself. He says,—(1) deliberation on the policy of state (*mantra*), (2) realisation of the result of that policy, (3) execution of business, (4) the business concerning income and expenditure, (5) army, (6) its leading, (7) provision against enemy and wild tribes (*aṭavi*), (8) maintenance of government, (9) provision against (national) degeneration, (10) protection of the princes and their consecration to offices are vested in the ministers¹.

Early Indian kings sometimes exercised their royal power at their own personal will, but it is the ministers who were generally held responsible for the king's act and for that they were accountable to the judgment of the people. For the unpopular acts of the sovereign, the penalty fell on the Councils of counsellors and ministers. It is very probable that the responsibility for works of a particular department was imputed to the minister in charge. The ministers of the present-day governors in India, as we know them, are responsible to some extent only to the legislature in which the people's representatives form a majority, although they are appointed by the governors; but in ancient days the ministers were directly responsible to the ruler in whose hands their appointment lay. But it should be remembered that just as the governor now does, the king of ancient India also regarded them as "the channel of communication" between the government and the governed. Manu prescribes (VII, 56-57) that in all state matters the king should seek his ministers' advice first individually and then jointly and then act according to his own opinion, keeping, of course, the welfare and advancement of the people uppermost in his mind. Śukra says (I, 364-5) that the king should invite the individual opinion (to be stated with reasons) of each minister separately in a written form and then compare

¹ Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's translation at p. 142 in part II of his *Hindu Polity*.

it with his own—the final decision resting with himself. But according to him the rule of majority must be allowed to prevail finally (*yat-kuryyāt bahusammataṃ*). Kauṭilya, however, enjoins that in urgent matters of grave importance all the *dhi-sacivas* and *karma sacivas* i. e. the members of the Inner Cabinet (*mantrināḥ*) and those of the Outer Assembly of ministers (*mantri-pariṣad*) should be convened together in a joint meeting and be informed of all matters by the king who should accept what is settled by the majority, or do what appears to him to be beneficial (to the state). The implication of the second alternative stated above by Kauṭilya appears to us that the king, if he thought it proper, could go by the opinion of the minority also, in case it seemed to him to be for the good of the state. Hence I do not feel inclined to agree with Mr. Jayaswal who in his "Hindu Polity" says¹ "that the king is not given even the power of vetoing". The results of a joint deliberation of members of the inner and outer cabinets can be illustrated from the famous epigraphic record² of the reparation-work undertaken by the provincial governor of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra when the Sudarśana lake sustained a very huge breach in its dam by a rain storm in 150-51 A. D., causing a high flood in the neighbouring rivers. The *mati-sacivas* and *karma-sacivas* all vetoed the undertaking of the repairs as they would cost a good deal of public money and would require a long time to be finished. We do not know whether the central government of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman suffered at that time from pecuniary stringencies. But yet the king without raising any money either in the shape of new taxes or benevolences sanctioned a large amount of money from the royal coffers to be spent for this urgent public work and the provincial governor Suviśākha

1 *Hindu Polity*, part II, p. 118.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, No. 6.

ordered the completion of the repairs to the great relief of the suffering people and the work was accomplished in a very short time.

The salary given to a minister of the *mantrin* class was 48000 *panas* per annum and the same amount was fixed for the *Rtvik* (royal sacrificial priest), the *Ācārya* (royal teacher), the *Purohita*, the Minister of the Army Department, the Queen Mother and the Queen herself. Assuming the value of each *pana*, as some scholars do, to be about an English shilling (=about 10 annas now-a-days), the amount of 48000 *panas* equalises approximately Rs 30000/-. Hence in ancient India a minister's salary was not more than Rs 2500/- a month. We are also told that the ministers could very easily meet the cost of their necessities of life by means of such

Salary and residential quarters for the *amātyas*, etc.

subsistence and there was therefore absolutely no chance for them of falling a victim to external baits and allurements. But this much appears to be sure that an Indian minister's pay in ancient days was not as high as Rs 64000/- a year.

Considering the money-value of the present times, it may be reasonable to raise the present-day minister's pay to an amount more than Rs. 2500/- a month (the ancient Indian minister's pay), but it should not in any case exceed even the pay of the President of the French Republic (i.e. Rs. 60000/-) nor should it be almost equal to that of the Premier of England (i.e. Rs. 75000/-). Cāṇakya fixed the annual administrative charges for the various ministerial departments at one-fourth of the whole revenue; but there was no restriction in obtaining the services of competent ministers at higher state-costs for which the usual budget could be exceeded. Ministers were also given separate palatial residential quarters near the royal palace. Old Sanskrit poets, of course, describe them to be splendid. Ministers also possessed rent-free lands. Hindu political *śāstras* are very clear in their advice to ministers that they

should never desire anything more than their fixed salary and should receive no hush-money of any kind.

The next and the last question that I want to deal with here is the relation between kings and ministers and between the latter and the people.* In very early days of the Vedic period the people participated in the work of administration of the state through various political bodies,

such as the *samitis* and the like; and kingly power was kept within healthy limitations by the will of the people. In the next period we find a great fall of popular power during the absolute rule of the eastern monarchs. At that time the advisory element of administration was represented by the councillors and ministers to whom was transferred, as it were, the ancient power of the people, which gradually developed into a great factor, so much so that even the decision regarding succession to the throne rested with the ministers, who might be called "king-makers" (*rājākr̥t*). During the king's temporary absence from the capital on business, or during his retirement from worldly life, the ministers, who, in a way, were the people's men and voiced public opinion in the king's court, were kept in charge of the administration. Sometimes the reins of government were actually handled by them. It is really, as Fick says, upon the intelligence and energy of the Head of the State that "the influence of particular ministers upon the course of internal and external politics" depended. There were, however, kings who were quite independent of their ministers and behaved arbitrarily. Such sovereigns sometimes stripped ministers of their office which they were allowed to hold only during their pleasure, if, of course, the latter advised them wrongly or badly. They sometimes degraded others if they could not become satisfied by their indifferent advice. Still others they promoted, as you have just seen above, even to provincial governorships, if their advice was wholesome both for himself and the people. The king bestows

favours on such of the ministers as ungrudgingly place their services at his disposal and he also places full confidence in them. Inconvenient ministers were got rid of by the sovereign on his accession to the throne—an occasion on which he is described as “examining the offices of the ministers”. In contrast to such treatment of ministers by a king, we have the type of such rulers also like Candragupta Maurya, who made over the entire charge of government to a Chancellor or a Prime-minister like Cāṇakya and willingly abode by his superior advice, as such ministers really acted as “the guides of the king in worldly and spiritual matters”. In spite of such powers and privileges enjoyed by the High Ministers of State in ancient India, they are, in all Hindu political works, enjoined to be extremely cautious in behaving with their monarchs and they are always reminded by them that *rāja-sevā* (king’s service) is nothing short of *agni-sevā* (play with fire). The ministers everywhere in the world should do well to remember the Mahābhārata ideal of ministry, viz., that they should be able to put up with the sudden outbursts of kingly displeasure, reproof and wrath and even their degradation by him. Will not the king look up to such men on the next occasion for advice in all matters of state? Checks and obstructions offered by ministers could only be welcomed by monarchs, if the former could respectfully point out to the latter in a conciliatory spirit as to how they were erring towards wantonness and despotism. Disrespectful address and defiance to kingly authority by them could hardly be expected to be brooked by the sovereigns. Hence the *Nitiśāstras* are all concurrent in stating that whereas unwholesome advice is never to be given by ministers, wholesome advice also must not be offered in an insubmissive way. Ministers, nay all high officers of state, should not only be respectful in their conduct to the king alone, but also to all royal relatives and friends. When summoned by the king they should immediately be in attendance leaving a thousand other important engagements. Wrong explanation of situations is the

highest of crimes that might be committed by ministers and the greatest of all good deeds that they might do is that they should never undertake to do anything which is good only to the king but is harmful to the people¹. In case a king turns out to be an enemy of virtue, good polity and strength, and oppresses and punishes his subjects without reason—all that the ministers should do is that such a king should be deserted by them as a ruiner of the state (*rāṣṭra-nāśaka*), and in his place another qualified member of the royal family or any other worthy person should be installed by the royal priest with the consent of the various other *prakṛtis*. Such was, in short, the relation between the king and his advisers and between the latter and the people. This relation between the king and his ministers is thus excellently defined by Śukrācārya² in a couple of verses, which state that those officers who do not clearly explain to the monarch what is good and what is bad to him are really secret enemies in the shape of His Majesty's "most obedient servants"; and the king also who does not listen to the counsel of ministers or regards what is good and bad to the state is a "robber" in royal garb and an exploiter of the people's wealth.

Let me conclude my thesis by quoting the famous verse of the Indian poet Bhāravi (of the 6th century A. D.):

*"Sa kiṃ-sakhā sādhu na tīsti yo' dhiṣaṃ
hitān na yaḥ saṃśṛṇute sa kiṃ-prabhuh/
sadānukūleṣu hi kurvate ratim
nrpeṣu amātyeṣu ca sarva-sampadaḥ||"*

"That servant is a bad counsellor who gives not salutary advice to his sovereign, and that sovereign is a bad master who listens not to the advice of a well-wisher. For, all kinds of prosperity favour (the countries in which) the kings and his ministers act in concert."

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

1 *Śukranīti*, II, 273.

2 *Ibid.*, II, 256.

A Problem of Ancient South Indian History

II

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai seeks support for his date from the mention of a week-day, Friday, in *Chilappatikaram* ; and there are others who say that the mention of solar signs in *Paripadal* and in *Manimekalai* prove that they are late works. I have dealt with this subject elsewhere in some detail. The argument is that India borrowed the planetary week-days and the solar signs from the Greeks at some time not earlier than the fifth century after Christ. It is said that the earliest known genuine instance of the use of a planetary week-day is afforded only by the Eran inscription of Budhagupta, which has been assigned by Dr. Fleet to 484 A. C. ; and according to that great authority, there was no general practice of using the planetary names of days till the 8th century. From this it is argued that the composition of *Chilappatikaram* may be as late as the eighth or the ninth century. In vol. III of Dr. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which contains the inscriptions of the early Guptas and their successors, besides the Eran inscription there are only two other inscriptions, the Verawal inscriptions of 1246 and 1264, that mention a planetary week-day ; would we be justified in saying from this that (till the middle of the 13th century) the people in the reigns of the early Guptas and their successors were not familiar with the use of planetary week-days ? As a matter of fact, the planetary week-days seem to have been known in India centuries before the 5th century. The expression *vāra*, which imports a regulated division of the month, occurs in *Atharva Jyotiṣa*. In *Paitāmaha Saṃhitā*, which is said to be of the same type as *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, Tuesday is said to occur. In *Gāthāsaptasatī*, which is attributed to Hāla Sātavāhana, and which Sir R. G. Bhandarkar thinks was either written by Hāla or was dedi-

cated to him, we come across *Āṅāraka-vāra* (Tuesday). We have to place Hāla probably in the closing years of the first century B. C. or the opening years of the first century A. C. Āryadeva (c. 2nd century) employs week-days. *Hitopadeśa* mentions *Bhaṭṭāraka-vāra* or Sunday. In *Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra*, (c. 3rd century) *Budha-vāra* or Wednesday is mentioned. Yājñavalkya mentions planetary days. The *Matsya-purāṇa*, which is regarded as the earliest of the *Purāṇas*, is not only cognizant of planetary week, but also deals with astral theology, for a chapter is devoted to the worship of the Sun on *Āditya-vāra*. In Southern India, Tiruvalluvar, who is considerably anterior in date to the authors of *Chilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai*, has a couplet in his *Kural* which shows the adoption of the seven-day week. One of Jñāna Sambanda's *padigams* in the *Devaram* collection mentions all the days of the week in their order; and it is clear from that passage that in the minds of the people each day of the week had a well-understood beneficent or malignant influence associated with it. As regards the solar sign, Baudhāyana, whom Prof. Keith places in the 5th century B. C., and Āryadeva (c. 2nd century A. C.) mention the zodiacal signs; and so do also some of the *Smṛtis*. Even supposing that the planetary names of the week-days and the solar zodiac were borrowed by India from elsewhere, literary evidence shows that it must have been long before the 5th century of the Christian era. It has been conclusively established that there was extensive intercourse and traffic between India and Babylonia and Assyria; and the recent discoveries at Harappa in the Punjab and at Mohenjo Daro in Sindh, prove the existence in India in the remote past of a civilisation and culture closely akin to those of the Sumerians. The borrowing, if indeed there was a borrowing, may well have been from the Babylonian or Chaldean astrologers direct; and that is the view of the late Shankar Balakrishna Dikshit. In any event, India need not have waited till the 5th century A. C. to borrow this knowledge. Indeed

Dr. Fleet himself practically concedes this when he admits in his article on Hindu chronology in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that some of the astronomical books perhaps postulate an earlier knowledge of the lords of the days, and other writings indicate a still earlier use of the period of seven days.

IV. Vth century theory

The 5th century has been suggested as the date of the Tamil Sangam by Pandit Raghava Aiyangar in his scholarly monograph on Cheran Chenkuttuvan. His argument has been largely influenced by a mislection of the Samudragupta inscription on the Asoka pillar at Allahabad, for which Dr. Fleet was originally responsible. The text of the inscription as published by Dr. Fleet contained the words Kauralaka-Manṭarāja; and Dr. Fleet thought that Kauralaka must be a mistake for Kairalaka, and he translated the expression as Manṭarāja of Kerala. Following this interpretation, the learned Pandit cast about to discover what he thought was confirmation in Tamil literature of Samudragupta's supposed invasion of the Kerala kingdom. He equated Manṭarāja with Māntaram Cheral of Sangam literature, and noticing in an *Ahanānūru* lyric reference to a military expedition by *Vampa Moriyar*, he stated that the expression *Vampa Moriyar* meant the 'new Mauryas' or Guptas. Unfortunately for this reasoning, Dr. Kielhorn, in studying the Aihole inscription, identified *Kunala* therein mentioned with the *Kaurala* of the Allahabad inscription, and pointed out that *Kaurala* was a misreading. The proper rendering of the passage was settled by Dr. Kielhorn and Dr. Fleet in 1898; and it is now understood by all that the reference in the Allahabad inscription is to Samudragupta's victory over the king who was reigning over the region round Kollera or Colair lake. Nobody has yet claimed for Samudragupta conquest of any territory south of Kāñci; and Dr. Dubreuil

is of the definite opinion that Samudragupta did not advance south of the Kṛṣṇā. It leads nowhere, therefore, to repeat an acknowledged mistake and base a hypothesis thereon as the learned Pandit has done. I have dealt with this hypothesis with some fulness in my paper on the "Date of Chilappatikaram" and I would now satisfy myself with stating one further fact that there is a passage in the *Puranānūru* collection exactly parallel to the one from the *Ahanānūru* lyrics on which Mr. Raghava Aiyangar relies; and there the term employed is *Oriyar* and not *Moriyar*. The old commentary explains *Oriyar* as meaning Nāgas or Vidyā-dharas; and it is significant that the scholiast, who takes care to mention alternative readings wherever they are known to exist, does not mention *Moriyar* in his commentary as a variant.

Some have sought to make out that Sangam literature cannot have been anterior to the 5th century, as *Manimekalai* makes a reference to the Gurjaras. The expression *Kuccara Kudigai* occurs in *Manimekalai*; but in my view it has been wrongly interpreted to mean 'a building in the architectural style of the Gurjaras'. I understand the expression to mean 'a hut fashioned or cut in a rock', a 'rock-cave', *kuccara* being a corrupt form of *kudhra* a rock. The context seems to leave no room for doubt that this is the meaning. Prince Udayakumaran, in spite of *Manimekalai* having become a Buddhist nun, lecherously seeks her in a *dharmaśālā* where she was serving food to the poor. She at once suspects him, and entering an inner apartment transforms herself with the help of a *mantra* into a strange lady, and then comes out. The prince does not recognise her, and after a vain search in the inner apartment, leaves the place. It is to denote this inner apartment, the expression *kuccara kudigai* is employed in the poem.

V. IIInd century theory

The theory that assigns the Sangam epoch to the second

century A. C. falls next to be considered ; and if it explains, as I shall presently show it does, facts available from the Sangam writings in such a manner as no other date so far considered does, no *a priori* consideration of the remoteness of the date should deter us from accepting it. I have already referred to the astronomical data found in two of the Sangam works ; and there is no reason to suppose that the authors of those works were only romancing when they mentioned those data. Taking the astronomical details found in *Chilappatikaram*, I have pointed out in my paper on the *Date of Chilappatikaram* that 171 A. C. will thoroughly satisfy the conditions in the text for the great fire that consumed Madura. In 171 A. C. Ādi 26th was Friday ; Kṛṣṇā Saptamī ended and Aṣṭamī began at 25gh. 43p. after sunrise, and Bharani star ended and Kartigai began at 49gh. 57p. after sunrise. Thus 26th Ādi 171 A. C. will fit in exactly for the fire at Madura ; and if 171 be accepted as the date of the fire, then Chen Kuttuvan Chera must be taken to be living at that time. Let us see if this hypothesis will satisfy other facts relevant to our inquiry. Sangam literature discloses that when Chenkuttuvan was reigning, Musuri was a flourishing seaport, frequented by foreign ships. Pliny, who wrote his geography about 80 A. C., says that Musiri was unsafe for ships to call at, owing to the existence of pirates, but apparently that danger had ceased to exist by the time of Ptolemy who died about 161 A. C., for he speaks of that seaport as a great emporium, which it certainly was in Chenkuttuvan's time. Chenkuttuvan was a king of great prowess, and one of the titled names, Kadal-ōttia-Vēl-Keḷu-Kuttuvan or Kadal-pirakkōttia-Chenkuttuvan, by which Sangam poets refer to him is reminiscent of a naval engagement, which, perhaps, resulted in driving away the pirates from the coast. Again the value of synchronisms in fixing dates in Indian history is well-known ; and the matter contained in *Chilappatikaram* affords scope for several applications of that method. That epic recounts that Chenkuttuvan

went on an expedition to North India, in which he was assisted by his ally Nūṛṛavar Kannar, that on that occasion he fought a battle on the banks of the Ganges, where he was opposed by the combined army of certain 'Aryan' princes, among whom Vijaya, son of Balakumara, Rudra and others are mentioned ; and that, after defeating the allied Aryan forces he returned with a slab of stone from the trans-Gangetic region for fashioning the image of Kannaki the *patni-devī* or wife-goddess which he intended to consecrate in a temple to be built in her memory and honour. At the consecration which the author of the poem attended, the epic tells us that kings of various countries were present and among them was Gajabāhu, king of Ceylon ; and Gajabāhu, on returning to his country, ordered the erection of a shrine in honour of *patni-devī* and ordained the annual celebration of a festival for her in the month of Ādi. Now, nobody will question that for an invasion of the north by the Chera king, the political condition not only in the other Tamil kingdoms but also outside Tamil India should be exceptionally weak and perturbed and if we examine the political history of ancient India, there seem to be, so far as the materials now available go, only two or three periods when the Tamils could have marched into North India with any degree of success. Going not further back than the 3rd century B. C., we can state definitely that such an invasion could not have been possible in the times of Candragupta Maurya, Bindusāra and Aśoka. It could not have occurred in Puṣyamitra's time. It could have taken place between Aśoka's death and Puṣyamitra's accession, that is, perhaps, between 234 and 184 B. C. The period of the later Sungas appears to have been one of confusion ; but the Sātavāhanas or Sātakarnis were already attempting to become powerful, and by the close of the first century B. C., they seem to have supplanted the Kanvas, and in the early years of the 2nd century A. C. Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarni is seen from the Nasik Inscription (Ep. Ind., viii, p. 61) to have succeeded in defeating the

Kṣaharātas and annexing their territory. So another date for the northern invasion might be found, after Puṣyamitra's long and eventful reign, possibly in the disturbed and confused period of the later Sungas and Kanvas, that is, between c. 148 B. C. and the closing years of the first century B. C., provided the Andhras or Sātavāhanas would have presented no obstacle. After Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi (c. 109 to c. 135 A. C.) came Pulumāyi who is said to have reigned for about 30 years. He came into collision with Rudradaman I, the Saka Satrap of Ujjain, who took from him most of the territory which Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi had won from the Kṣaharātas (Girnar Inscription); but Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī (c. 174 to 202 A. C.) seems to have again defeated the western Satraps and recovered some of the lost provinces. Rudradaman's aggrandizement is held to have been about 150 A. C. and perhaps, between that date and the date of Yajña Śrī's accession, the Sātavāhanas were not powerful and could not have successfully opposed a southern army in its northward march. With the close of Yajña Śrī's reign, we enter on the 3rd century, which, in the words of Mr. Vincent Smith, "is one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history and almost every event of that time is concealed from view by an impenetrable veil of oblivion". In this dark century too an invasion of North India might have taken place. The fourth and the fifth century of the Christian era is the well-known period of the mighty imperial Guptas; and as Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil observes in the *History of the Deccan*, the fifth century is the century of the Vakāṭaka dynasty, which, the learned doctor affirms, is the most glorious and the most important of the dynasties of the Deccan between the third and the sixth century. By the 6th century we are in the period of the powerful Pallavas and Cālukyas who, till the latter were overthrown by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 753 A. C., were striving against each other for the mastery of the South. It is clear that the political conditions in the 4th and the succeeding four centuries so far as now known were not

at all favourable to an attempt by a Chera king to invade northern India ; and there is no need to pursue our analysis further. Now if the fire at Madura occurred in August 171 A. C., and therefore Chenkuttuvan was ruling then, how would it agree with the political situation we have been examining ? The poem tells us that Chenkuttuvan started on his northern expedition on hearing of Kannaki's apotheosis after the fire, and after he had ascertained through his spies that Nūrṟuvar Kannar had promised to assist him and desired to maintain friendly relations with him. Nūrṟuvar Kannar can be no other than Śātakarṇi ; and we may conclude that Chenkuttuvan and Śātakarṇi entered into a treaty for mutual assistance. We learn from the poem that Chenkuttuvan had been away from his state for 32 months, when he was on the bank of the Ganges. We may consequently suppose that about the beginning of 175 A. C. the Chera king was occupying the bank of the Ganges. This synchronizes with the period when Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi would have been seeking the aid of a friendly power to regain from the Satraps the territory lost by his ancestor Pulumāyi. Thus if we hold that Chenkuttavan was, during a portion of his long reign, contemporaneous with Yajña Śrī, we shall be able to explain satisfactorily his northern invasion, which while it served the Chera's object, must also have afforded material assistance to the Śātakarṇi in vanquishing the Satrap. We are told that at the battle of the Ganges, several northern princes were ranged against Chenkuttuvan and his ally ; and one of the opposing princes was Vijaya, son of Balakumara. I suggest that Balakumara is Ptolemy's Baleokouros. I know that it has been suggested by some historians that Baleokouros was probably one of the Śātavāhanas. The surmise may be unfounded ; but there can be no doubt that he was historically connected with the Śātavāhanas ; and as Ptolemy mentions him in his *Geography* as a contemporary ruling prince, he must have been in existence before 160 A. C. His son may well have been among the princes that opposed

Chenkuttuvan at the battle of the Ganges. Yajña Śrī himself was according to the *Matsya-purāṇa* succeeded by a Vijaya ; but it is not stated how they were related. Can that Vijaya be the Vijaya mentioned in *Chilappatikaram* ; and if so, was he a usurper, or did he come of a collateral line to which, perhaps, Baleokouros or Balakumara belonged ? Then, another of the princes that Chenkuttuvan defeated at the battle of the Ganges was Rudra ; and about this time we have Rudrasimha, if not also Rudrasena of the Satraps, from whom Yajña Śrī must have recovered his lost territory. My suggestion is that the battle of the Ganges was fought by Yajña Śrī and his ally against the forces of the Satraps and their allies.

There is also another important synchronism that has to be considered ; for, *Chilappatikaram* informs us that among the various kings that attended the consecration of the image of Patnī-devī, Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon, was one. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Gajabāhu was reigning between 173 and 191. The *Rājāvalī* says that Gajabāhu took with him some relics of Patnī-devī to Ceylon ; and this lends confirmation to the statement in the poem that on his return Gajabāhu ordered a shrine to be constructed and an annual festival to be celebrated in his dominion in honour of Patnī-Kadavuḷ or Patnī-devī. This account enables us to explain the hold that the tradition of Patnī-devī, the 'wife-goddess' has long had on the people of Ceylon, whereas Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy observes (*JRAS.*, 1909, p. 292) that some of the images in the temples that depict the old art of that island are those of the apotheosised wife.

VI. Conclusion

Thus we see that 171 A. C. as the date of the fire at Madura satisfies the test afforded by a consilience of results ; and we may therefore reasonably conclude that Chenkuttuvan was then the king of Chera. He reigned for 55 years, as we see

from *Patirru-pattu* (V) ; and according to *Chilappatikaram* he had been 50 years on the throne when he built and consecrated the temple of Patni-devi. His father Nedum Cheraladan, will have to be assigned to the latter half of the first century, as we learn from *Patirru-pattu* (II) that he reigned for 58 years. The poet Kumattur Kannanar who was rewarded by Nedum Cheraladan for his laudatory poem *Patirru-pattu* (II), and the poet Pālai Kautamanar who has sung *Patirru-pattu* (III) in praise of Nedum Cheraladan's brother, could not be later than the first quarter of the 2nd century. The poet Paranar, who has sung about Chenkuttuvan, has also sung about Ilanjéy-Chenni, the father of Karikala Chola. Naki-ranar and Mangudi Maruthanar have sung about the Pandya Nedum Seliyan and we see from *Chilappatikaram* that Nedum Seliyan's death occurred when Chen Kuttuvan had gone on his Northern expedition. Mudattama Kanniyar and Ruttiran Kannanar have panegyrised Karikala Chola. Thus some of the most famous of the Tamil kings and Tamil poets of the Sangam epoch may be placed in the 2nd century. There is internal evidence in *Chilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* that they are posterior to the famous Kural of Tiruvalluvar ; and if there be any substance in the tradition that associates Tiruvalluvar with Elela Singa, and in the identification, suggested by some scholars, of Elela with Elara of the Ceylon chronicle, then Tiruvalluvar would have to be placed in the latter half of the 2nd century B. C. Mr. Somasundara Desikar, to whose learned articles reviewing Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date for *Paripadal*, reference has already been made, claims for that Sangam work similar antiquity ; for he concludes his elaborate inquiry by showing that the astronomical data supplied by that work yield 161 B. C. as the date. Into the examination of these latter dates we need not now minutely enter. For the present we may, it seems to me, hold as a safe hypothesis that a very considerable portion of the literary and political activity of the Sangam epoch belongs to the second century of the Christian era.

K. G. SHESHA IYER

Persian Inscriptions in the Gwalior State

I

The territories of Scindhia are rich in Hindu and Moslem epigraphy, but unfortunately the latter has not received proper attention from the epigraphists so far. Persian inscriptions are found more in Malwa (or southern division of the state) than in the northern or around Gwalior, the capital. The possession of Malwa has been the cherished object of almost all the rulers of the known Musalman dynasties, which, after conquest, in view of its being a distant country, cared more to leave monumentary objects in this part than in a nearer place like Gwalior.

This inscription comes from modern Chanderi¹, one of the many places in the Gwalior State which have made their mark in history. It lies 24° 4" N. and 78° 11" E. and is situated in a picturesque valley of the Betwa river. It is a decaying town at present, and is reached from Lalitpur, a station on the Bombay-Delhi main line of the G. I. P. Railway, whence it is 24 miles by road. Chanderi is still famous for its fine muslins and gold brocade the only industry which survives to this day.

II

This inscription is being edited from a photographic reproduction of the original inscription discovered in a wall of a private house by the State Archaeological Department in December 1924.

1 The present Chanderi was founded after the desertion of its old site, now known as Budhi Chanderi which is traditionally believed to be the capital of Raja Siśupāla, a contemporary of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. Under the Mughals it had been a Sarkar in the Subah of Malwa.



The epigraph is incised on a soft white sandstone common at Chanderi in raised letters, and measures 4' by 2'. It consists of four lines of Persian prose written in Suls characters (an improved form of the Naskh characters). It refers to the construction of a mosque during the reign of Muhammad Shah in the country of Koka in 711 A. H. = 1311 A. C. It also mentions one Ismail, son of Abd-ul-Salam, who wrote this epigraph and caused the mosque to be completed.

Of the persons named, Muhammad Shah is the well-known Ala-ud-din Muhammad II Khilji, the third of the Sultans of the Khilji dynasty of Delhi, whose general Ein-ul-Mulk took Chanderi from the Raja of Malwa in 704 A. H. = 1304 A. C. The name of the Governor whose titles only cover more than a line of the inscription seems to have slipped from the pen of the writer, and which he might have thought of inserting somewhere amidst the titles. Next comes Ismail, son of Abd-ul-Salam surnamed Whajih-i-najib, who calls himself the writer of the inscription. As the mosque reached completion under this man, he seems to be in all probability either an architect or some subordinate officer who might be in charge of the construction of the mosque. However I have not so far been able to trace Ismail from the available records. The inscription names no town but mentions the territory of Koka. Koka was the Raja of Malwa who only opposed Ein-ul-Mulk in his conquest of Malwa in A. C. 1304. As the mosque was built in A. C. 1311, it is probable that even at that time, this part of country may have been more popularly known as Koka dominion (Désa). The date clearly reads as 20th Sha'ban 711 (A. H.).

The inscription conspicuously omits any quotation from the holy texts, which shows it to be a supplement to another inscription on the same building. This inscription though it is not at present *in situ* belongs presumably to Chanderi, as there is no big Muhammadan centre in the vicinity.

The Chanderi Inscription, Gwalior State



(۱) عمارت ابن مسجد در عهد مملکت سلطان المعظم علاءالدین والدین
اسکندر الزمان ابو المظفر محمد شاه

(۲) السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و علي امرة و شانه در وقت نيابت
امير الامرا

(۳) ملجاء الکبرا اختار الدولة والدین پهلوان ايران تمر سلطانے اوام الله معاليه
وزیر دولة

(۴) بنده اُمید وار برحمت دارلسلام اسمعیل بن عبدالسلام الملقب وجیه
نجیب محرر مکتوب بحظه کوک تمام کرد بیستم از ماه شعبان احدی
عشره و سبعه مائه

My reading of the text is as given in the annexed slip.

Translation :

- Line 1. The edifice of this mosque, in the time of the reign of the respected Sultan, the Commander of the World and the Religion, the Alexander of the Age, the victorious Muhammad Shah,
- Line 2. the king, may Heaven be his dominion, his commands exalted and his dignity elevated, during the governorship of Amir-ul-Umrāh,
- Line 3. the shelter of the sages, the lord (paramount) of the fortune of Religion, the (greatest) athlete of Iran, (the holder of the) royal sceptre, may God perpetuate his august and dignified existence,
- Line 4. the humble, desirous of the blessings of Elysium, Ismail, son of Abdul-Salam, surnamed Wajih-i-Najib, writer of the scrip, caused it to be completed in the country of Koka. 20th Sha'ban 711 (A. H.).

III

The historical significance of the epigraph lies in the following :—

1. The inscription alludes to the mosque to have been built in the country of Koka. Koka¹ was the Raja of Malwa in A. C. 1304. This Raja has been noticed by Ferishta only and a further evidence of his existence is found in this record.

2. It has already been remarked in the last footnote that the modern Chanderi has been founded after the desertion of its traditional site, now known as Budhi (old) Chanderi and situated nine miles north-west of the new town. When this change of site took place is not yet certain. Sir A. Cunningham² puts it early in the 15th century after the assertion of independence by the Sultans of Malwa.

¹ Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 361.

² Arch. Sur. of India R., vol. II, p. 402.

As this inscription bears the date 1311 and as it was found at the new site, it may be dated a century earlier, that is, after the second Muhammadan invasion in 1304, though it may even be placed in the latter half of the 13th century after the first Muhammadan invasion of 1251 as shown below.

According to Sir A. Cunningham the fate of the first Musalman invasion is not known, yet it is certain that Chanderi continued to be in the hands of the Hindus. The Hindu Rajas therefore must have shifted the seat of government, and that too just after the Muhammadan attack of 1251, as a result of the disappointment in the war and also as an artifice to baffle the invaders,—a recourse often resorted to by the Ranas of Chitor. Moreover the second Musalman invasion of 1304 conclusively puts Chanderi in the hands of Muhammadans, who, as usual, left there, a governor whose presence is proved by this inscription. The governorship should not have been possible, had the Hindus shifted the site after the second invasion. Besides, the conquerors seldom make such changes, and even if they did so at all, they hardly allowed the name to survive. All this is further corroborated by the following facts, viz., (1) the old site is almost a purely Hindu site with some Jain temple ruins of the 9th to 12th century, (2) the architecture of the ruins is practically free from Musalman influence, and the ruins are conspicuously devoid of the remnants of tombs or mosques, (3) the present town of Chanderi possesses a Jain temple with a pilgrim's record dated V. S. 1316, following almost the date of the first Musalman invasion—probably a work of newcomers, (4) the last though not the least is a sati stone recently discovered at the old site which mentions this place as Nasirabad, and bears the date V. S. 1545. This shows that by the time the Sultans of Malwa came into power the traditional name was changed for Nasirabad though it did not become popular.

Aspects of the History of Hindu Astronomy

"A man", says Seneca, "can hardly lift up his eyes towards the heavens without wonder and veneration to see so many millions of radiant lights and to observe their courses and revolutions, even without any respect to the common God of the Universe." Thus even at the dawn of human consciousness when the light of knowledge was fitfully glimmering from within the veil of ignorance, the science of Astronomy, the most ancient of all sciences, attracted attention. Even from the earliest ages, the beauty and the grandeur of sunrise and sunset and of the dreamy mystery that the night presents, excited awe and wonder even in the most careless observers and naturally a spirit of enquiry was roused in them :

"O Almighty omniscient Lord, what is the measure of this earth ? What is its shape ? Who holds it firm ? What are its divisions ? Where are the seven regions on it ? How does the cycle of night and day originate from the Sun ? And does he revolve illumining the different worlds ?" (*Sūrya Siddhānta*).

The basis of Hindu Astronomy was in the religious beliefs of Hindu votaries in times when each heavenly body represented a Divinity. The study of Astronomy originated in the doctrine that the Supreme Being had assigned duties to each of the heavenly bodies by which they became rulers of the world, and that a knowledge of the Divine Will would be acquired by watching and observing the order of their motions and the recurrence of times and seasons. With the Hindus the study of Astronomy became a sacred duty, at least among the most educated classes, inasmuch as the celestial bodies were viewed as gods, and worship of them was enjoined by the Vedas. Thus the piety of the Hindus in primitive ages led them to watch with care all the phenomena of the Heavens, and to perfect their calendar of festivals, etc., and to this end the first Hindu astronomers

directed their attention. Thus according to Baily, accurate astronomical observations had been in India, probably before 3000 B. C., a conclusion which is justified on independent evidence. Some writers of the history of the Vedic age have also held that the sacrificial rites described in the Vedas were of astronomical origin. In any case as they were regulated by the position of the moon with reference to the stars they must be held to pre-suppose astronomical observations, which indeed became a religious necessity, so that it is reasonable to argue that an extensive astronomical knowledge was obtained in India even in the Vedic times. From the translations of Vedic hymns by the great Vedic scholars of India, we understand that even in the Vedic times the Hindus had a knowledge of the motions of the planets (at least five) and the causes of solar and lunar eclipses ; and an astronomical interpretation of the Vedic hymns attempted by other scholars goes to show that a knowledge of solstitial and equinoctial points on the part of Vedic writers could reasonably be accepted.

In that early age when perfect instruments had not been invented, it was a most remarkable achievement for Hindu astronomers to have determined the lunar and solar eclipses with such correctness as would have stood the strictest scrutiny of scientific investigations. The Hindus were at a very early date well acquainted with the facts of the eclipses. They had rules for calculation of the various phases both of lunar and solar eclipses, the times of beginning, middle and end ; and notwithstanding the fact that the superstitions of the people in general had greatly deferred the progress of astronomical investigations in early times, the cause of the eclipses was well understood by the Hindu astronomers as is shown by the following extracts from the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, ch. 8, 1-6 :—

“The moon, moving like a cloud in a lower sphere, overtakes the sun ; hence it happens that the western side of the sun’s disc is first obscured and that the eastern side is the

last part relieved from the moon's dark body and to some places the sun is eclipsed and to others it is not eclipsed.

At the change of the moon, it often happens that an observer, placed at the centre of the earth, would find the sun, when far from the zenith, obscured by the intervening body of the moon ; whilst another observer on the surface of the earth will not, at the same time, find him to be so obscured, as the moon will appear to him to be depressed from the line of vision extending from his eye to the sun. Hence arises the necessity for the correction of parallax in celestial longitude and latitude in solar eclipses, in consequence of the difference of the distance of the sun and the moon.

When the sun and the moon are in opposition, the earth's shadow envelopes the moon in darkness. As the moon is actually enveloped in darkness, its eclipse is equally seen by every one on the earth's surface, and as the earth's shadow and the moon which enters it are at the same distance from the earth, there is, therefore, no call for the correction of the parallax in a lunar eclipse.

As the moon moving eastward enters the dark shadow of the earth, its eastern side is first of all involved in obscurity and its western side is the last portion of its disc which emerges from darkness as it advances in its course.

As the sun is a body of vast size, and the earth insignificantly small in comparison, the shadow cast by the sun from the earth is, therefore, of a conical form, terminating in a sharp point. It extends to a distance considerably beyond that of the moon's orbit.

The length of the earth's shadow and its breadth at the part traversed by the moon may be easily found by proportion".

From the above extracts we see that the correction of parallax in latitude and longitude is of great importance in calculating eclipses accurately, and hence we are led to believe that the Hindus had a thorough knowledge of this phenomenon

even in the Vedic age when eclipses were correctly calculated for religious purposes.

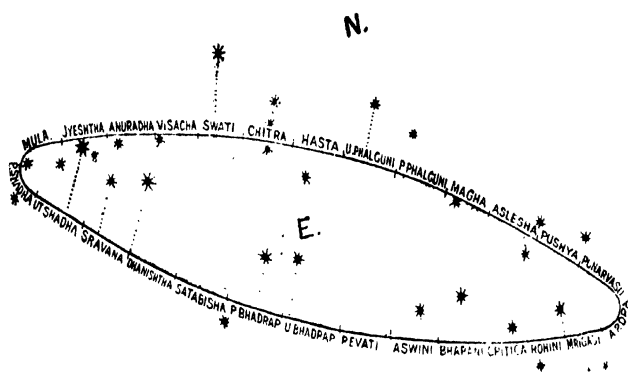
The subject of eclipses was of a nature too sacred to be treated lightly or communicated indiscriminately, and a warning is given in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* to this effect—"This science secret even to the gods is not to be given to any body but to the well examined pupil who has attended the whole year." The same feeling of awe was even current amongst the ancient Chinese who looked upon an eclipse as foretelling imminent calamities. Thus going back to Chinese records, we are told, that in 2159 B. C., the Royal astronomers Hi and Ho failing to predict an eclipse were executed, so that apparently an eclipse was then regarded as an event of serious portent. This was by no means strange. For if celestial phenomena, in general, excited wonder and a spirit of worship, an eclipse could not but be associated with a temporary deluge, and would as such be naturally regarded with a feeling of mysterious awe. And even as the motion of the sun and the moon produced obvious terrestrial phenomena, day and night and changes in the seasons, so there was nothing to indicate that these motions and the positions of stars, as well as such naturally striking phenomena as the eclipses and the appearances of comets and meteors were not capable of producing occult and baneful influence on man. Accordingly it should not sound in any way strange that the people who studied these phenomena were popularly credited with and gradually came to claim supernatural wisdom. Thus in the infancy of this ancient science, astrology and astronomy became blended together in an inseparable way. From the above account of the execution of the Royal astronomers Hi and Ho we may naturally conclude that the Chinese even at that time possessed some rules of predicting the eclipses, the knowledge of which the Hindus also could claim even in Vedic times.

We should not in this connection forget to mention the superior astronomical knowledge of the Chaldeans who had

apparently made a wonderful progress in astronomy ; long before the Greek civilisation came into being, the Chaldeans had discovered the Saros (literally means repetition). This consists of 223 lunations in a period of about 18 years 11 days constituting a cycle and includes an exact number of periods of the revolutions of the moon's nodes, relative to the earth ; and the Chaldeans had found by means of observations that eclipses during one cycle are repeated during the following cycles, exactly in the same order and almost under similar circumstances. In order to understand this, it is necessary to remember that an eclipse takes place, when the sun, the earth, the moon and the node of its orbit are almost in the same line. It will be easily seen that all the configurations satisfying this condition for an eclipse will continually recur in a fixed sequence, at every succeeding Saros on account of its peculiar characteristics mentioned above. It may be possible, and it was perhaps so, that the explanation of the remarkable property of the Saros was not known to the Chaldeans. It was probably derived as a generalisation from observations alone. In order to arrive at this generalisation, it was obviously necessary to observe and tabulate the eclipses for a considerable length of time and with an accuracy which presupposed a high standard of astronomical knowledge. In fact, the discovery of the Saros was one of the greatest achievements of ancient astronomy and it is no small credit for the Chaldeans to be associated with one of the most brilliant records of scientific generalisation.

The next step of astronomical progress leads us to the discovery of the divisions of the ecliptic and the signs of the zodiac. The question naturally arises, to whom the credit of this important discovery is due. The Hindu astronomers had two systems of reckoning : the lunar mansions or the *tithis* and the signs of the zodiac or the *râsis*, the first being obviously the earlier of the two. For while the moon's motion among the stars is a matter of direct observation, the solar motion in its relation to the stars could only be observed by an

indirect method on account of the fact that its light shuts out of view all stars in its neighbourhood. On the other hand the moon's motion is much more irregular than that of the sun. The observation of the sun's motion, therefore, came to be recognised as a matter of practical as well as of scientific importance and the method of signs or *rāśis* ultimately superseded the method of the *tithis*. As regards the Lunar system of the Hindus, its high antiquity is testified to by the fact that the primitive series opened with Kṛttikā (Pleiades) as the sign of the vernal equinox. This could take place only about 2300 B. C. Nowhere else would be found a well-authenticated zodiacal sequence of so early a date. If this be granted, it seems to be very probable that the method of signs was built up in India, for the method of *tithis* which is admitted to be peculiar in India may be regarded as the parent of the method of signs and we are thus able almost to trace a gradual evolution along lines well recognised in science of the system of signs. The Hindu astronomers divided the ecliptic and the zodiac into 28 parts (and then into 27) forming so many groups of stars in the path of the moon, each division corresponding with the space of the moon's daily motion through them. The groups were hence called lunar asterisms. The ancient Hindu astronomers chose a set of 27 principal stars, one for each of the 27 lunar constellations, generally the brightest star of the asterism, and called it *Yoga-tārā* whilst the cluster of stars was named the *Nakṣatra*. The *Yoga-tārā* was connected with the beginning or the first point on the ecliptic of the division representing this space of the asterism by the small arc of apparent difference of longitude between them, this arc being called *Bhoga* of the asterism. Thus the 27 divisions of the ecliptic became as fixed in position as the stars themselves like a fixed dial, with the numbers ranging not along the equator but along the ecliptic itself. The accompanying diagram may, perhaps, more explicitly convey the nature of the Hindu ecliptic, which is here shown as a great circle in perspective.



J. H. Q., December, 1925

Each division represents one twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic, and each star the *Yoga-tārā* of the lunar asterism to which it belongs. From the above arguments and from the investigations of Weber and Colebrooke we deduce that the Hindus founded their lunar mansions which the Arabs (under the name of *Manzil*) and the Chinese (under the name of *Sien*) borrowed. We also know that the Greeks were not possessed of the system of lunar mansions. Weber, however, propounded the view that the system originated in Babylon. Such a view can no longer be maintained, since we have now to admit that the Babylonian system is based on the sun's motion. Now if the view advocated above that the lunar system must be of older date than that based on the sun's motion be correct, we have to admit that the Babylonian system was derived by adoption. Hence we are justified in inferring that if the Hindus can claim to be the originators of the system of lunar mansions, they have an equal right to claim to be the propounders of the system dependent on the divisions of the Zodiac; for it is natural to believe that a theory which belongs to a particular country in its first stage would very likely belong to that country in its second stage as a natural consequence of evolution.

But a careful examination of the scientific facts hitherto available leads us to the conclusion that the Hindu, the Chinese and the Egyptian astronomy grew up side by side, till at a later date the diligence and genius of the Hindu astronomers gave such an impetus to the progress of astronomical knowledge in India that it secured for them the superiority over all other ancient nations. Perhaps the rudiments of astronomy the Hindus, the Chinese, and the Egyptians gathered from their common central Aryan home. For, according to Colebrooke, the emigrating tribes, who undoubtedly went from their common Asiatic home, carried with them the evidences of the common origin of their astronomies, and

the arguments in support of this proposition can be summarised as follows :—

- (1) They had a like number of days of the week and a like number of months.
- (2) They had similiar divisions of the ecliptic.
- (3) They had the same signs of the zodiac.
- (4) They had similiar months of the year.
- (5) They had a like number of lunar constellations.
- (6) They made a like use of the celestial sphere.
- (7) They made a like use of the Gnomon and
- (8) They had a like fantastic nomenclature of constellations.

Some are however inclined to include Greek astronomy in the above list. But a careful investigation of certain facts does surely raise some doubts as to the date of origin of the Greek astronomy which, we are persuaded to believe, cannot be placed as early as that of the Hindu astronomy, nay, the Greek astronomy was of a much later origin. For we know that it was Thales who first introduced in Greece the study of astronomy on a scientific basis and he in his turn had been taught his rudiments by the Chaldean priests. Before his time scientific investigations of astronomical phenomena had not been encouraged and it was not till a much later date that the study of astronomy was taken up in Greece on a purely scientific basis. Even up to the time of Aristotle we find no plausible record of scientific generalisations of astronomical phenomena formulated in Greece. To prove that the earth is spherical, Aristotle asserts that the sphere is the most perfect shape and the earth being the handicraft of the greatest workman must be spherical as a perfect specimen of the noblest workmanship ; again in connection with the diurnal motion, Aristotle argues that the motion of the heavens is towards the right because this is the more honourable direction. Such arguments, we dare say, can hardly be called scientific reasonings, not to speak of conclusive proofs. The two great names that stand out pre-eminently in the history of Greek

astronomy are Hipparchus and Ptolemy. In fact it was due to them alone that the Greek astronomy was rebuilt and remodelled on a novel scientific plan. It was in the second century B. C. that Hipparchus determined that the sidereal time taken by the sun to start from one sign and to return to the same again is less in the next year than it was in the previous year. This earlier return is termed precession. On account of this precession we get the tropical year which is the interval that elapses between the sun's starting from one sign and its coming back to the same again ; whereas the sidereal year is the interval elapsing between the sun's moving from one star and reaching it back. Hipparchus calculated the respective periods of these two years, the number of days in a month and also the periodic times of the five planets then known. Besides it was due to him also that the inclinations of the Solar and the Lunar orbits with the equator were finally determined. Of course, he was indebted in no small degree to the Chaldeans for his calculations and assertions ; yet it was he who first made Greek astronomy stand on a sound mathematical basis. About four centuries later came Ptolemy. Within this interval Greek astronomy made no noteworthy progress. Ptolemy was undoubtedly the most eminent of ancient Greek astronomers. His chief credit lay in compiling his greatest work *Almaghast* in which were recorded in a systematic way the notable discoveries of his predecessors and of himself. He commanded a unique influence on the public mind of his time. He asserted that the earth was fixed and the planets of the solar system were moving round the earth in circles. Of course this view was well grounded on common experience. In this connection, it will be interesting to cite the scientific reasonings which he put forward in support of his view. He said that the stars and the planets were of the nature of fire, and the earth was a collection of hard substance ; hence it was more reasonable to ascribe motion to the planets than to the earth. He further added that if the earth was

in motion, why should men be unconscious of the fact. But about this time Āryabhaṭṭa maintained [in the beginning of the Christian era, (see Brennand's *Hindu Astronomy*), or 5th century A. D., (Kern and Colebrooke)], the diurnal motion of the earth round its axis. "The starry sphere", he affirms, "is stationary and the earth making a revolution produces the daily rising and setting of stars and planets." The commentator, Prthūdaka Svāmin quotes the following lines in support of the above view :

Bhūpañjaraḥ sthiro bhūr evāvṛtyāvṛtya prātidaivasikau/
Udayāstamayau sampādayati nakṣatragrahānām//

The idea of heliacal rising and setting of stars and planets was first fully developed in Europe by Copernicus in the 15th century, and before him it was not recognised, though some rudimentary hints were thrown by Pythagoras in the 5th century B. C. Āryabhaṭṭa promulgated the above theory in its present form in the beginning of the Christian era or 5th century A. D. at the latest. We are therefore inclined to believe that this theory had its origin in India and was introduced into Europe through the Greek medium, where it was given its present practical garb. After Ptolemy the study of astronomy became obsolete in Greece and when the Arabs came as a conquering nation to settle in Europe, they grew fascinated by this ancient science and took up its study seriously. At first a few Greek treatises were translated, but soon by the untiring energy and exertions of Al-Badauni Abul Waza and others there came a new spirit of astronomical researches among the Arabs and as the result a few theories on precession and the lunar orbit were discovered. However, the above arguments lead us to believe that the Hindu, Chinese and Babylonian systems grew up side by side and under their fostering influence was developed the astronomy of the Greeks and the Arabs.

The fixing of the first point of the Indian Zodiac so as to make it unchanged in after time is characterised as a

remarkable event in the history of Hindu astronomy and is one of the fundamental differences of the Hindu and the European systems. In the European astronomy all longitudes are measured by arcs of the ecliptic, whose origin is the equinoctial point at the time of observation. This point moves backward along the ecliptic at an annual rate of about 50" causing an annual change of the same amount in the longitude of the stars and this is termed the precession of the equinoctial point. Hindu astronomy, however, avoided the annual change of longitude by assuming a fixed point of the ecliptic as the beginning of their system, the position of the lunar asterisms being all fixed in relation to that beginning. The Hindu astronomers were at a very early date acquainted with the phenomenon of precession. Even the theory of the Libration of the Equinoxes was early known to them. Bhāskara says,—“The intersection of the equinoctial and ecliptic circles is the *Krāntipāta* or intersecting point of the sun's path. Its revolutions are retrograde, three myriads in a Kalpa”. A corresponding passage occurs in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*,—“The circle of Asterisms moves eastward 30 score (or 600 times) in a Yuga that is to say all the asterisms at first move westward 27°, then returning from that limit they reach their former places, then they move eastward the same number of degrees and returning thence come to their own places. Thus they complete one libration or one revolution as it is called. In this way the number of revolutions in a Yuga is 600, which answers to 600000 in a Kalpa” (Vapudeva Sastri).

We shall now return to our discussion of the Zodiacal system. In modern times, with our fixed observatories, our instruments of precision, clocks and instruments, it is rather an easy affair to determine the position of the sun or any other celestial body, at any time. We have, in fact, only to note the moment of the transit of the body across the meridian of a place, by means of the sidereal clock. This gives one of the co-ordinates and the other co-ordinate

is given by the altitude of the body at its meridian passage, and by this means the position of the body and its motion at any time may be accurately represented. But the ancient astronomers had no such means at their disposal. They early recognised that the various groups of stars or constellations seemed to be bound together by an invisible chain and to be apparently fixed or practically so to the celestial dome or vault, which appeared to rotate about a certain definite axis practically fixed in space. Of this rotation of the celestial vault the *Sūrya Siddhānta* says :—

Bhacakṛaṃ dhruvayor baddham ākṣiptaṃ pravahānilaiḥ/
Paryetyajasraṃ tannaddhā grahakakṣā yathākramam//

“The starry sphere is said to revolve constantly through the influence of the pravaha winds, as also do the planets confined within their respective orbits”. The ancient astronomers must have noted, moreover, in the next place that there is one family of constellations, arranged along the whole of the celestial region, through which the sun, the moon and the planets (known to them) pursued their courses. The family constellations, therefore, came to be used as so many signs for indicating and describing the positions of these at any time and their motions from day to day. To explain this Zodiacal system in the light of common experience we suppose a big clock to be fixed in space with twelve divisions marked on it and the two hands indicating specified times, and then we see even at the first sight that such a clock bears a close analogy to the Zodiacal system with its twelve signs. Just as we can find the exact time simply by looking at the clock, in a similar way the Zodiacal system gives the precise position of the sun at any time even on a moment's observation. For this reason, we must admit that whoever the first inventors of the Zodiacal systems may have been, this device of the signs and asterisms seems to be of very remote antiquity and speaks volumes for the ingenuity of the early students of astronomical science. We know that the sun's path on the

celestial vault is a circle. If this is suitably divided into twelve parts, each arc will be found to be occupied by a group of stars, called a sign of the Zodiac irregularly placed but in such a way that the group may be taken roughly to give a distinctive character to the particular sub-division which it occupies. Starting with any time of reckoning from an equinox (that is, the moment at which the sun is at the equinox or when we have equal day and night, throughout the earth) each of these signs will be passed over roughly in one month and one mode of describing the sun's motion would obviously be to name the particular sign and the position in that sign that the sun occupies, at any particular epoch. In the same way, the lunar path in the celestial vault being also a circle, this path might also be used in the same way as the circle of reference. This latter circle was used by the Hindus, who divided its circumference into twenty seven parts. Now as the sun's path as well as the moon's are contained within the same belt of the celestial vault, the solar as well as the lunar positions might be described with reference to the *tithis* as well as to the signs. Also the fact that the motions of the sun, the moon and the planets are all confined to a narrow belt with the ecliptic as the central line enhanced the usefulness of these methods of representation. The lunar month consists of 30 lunar days or *tithis*. It is the moon's synodic period from one new moon to the next, and the thirtieth part of this period is, therefore, the lunar day. A solar day is the time which the sun takes to move from the beginning of one sign of the Zodiac to the next. A solar year consists of 12 solar months, and this is called a *Divya Day* or a day of the gods (See *Sūrya Siddhānta*).

Thus when the motion of the sun and the moon became completely known and their positions accurately predicted, the determination of the eclipses was naturally the next stage in the development of observational astronomy. This calculation of the eclipses the ancient astronomers performed with

great skill and the solution was very correct, though naturally not so accurate as modern methods will yield. For it should be noted that for a successful solution of the problem of an eclipse, it was not necessary to definitely grasp the fact that it was the earth that was in motion ; the result could have been the same, if the earth were at rest and the sun was moving about it, as the phenomenon is dependent on the motion of the cone of shadow cast by the earth, relatively to the moon and its node, and this motion would be the same, whether the sun is at rest and the earth is in motion, or the contrary is true. Thus in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* :—
 “The earth’s shadow is always six signs from the sun. When the place of the moon’s node is some degrees within or beyond the place of the shadow, the same thing will take place. At the end of a new-moon, the sun and the moon are of the same signs and at the end of a full-moon, they are at a distance of six signs. The moon, being like a cloud in a lower sphere, covers the sun in a solar eclipse ; but in a lunar eclipse the moon moving eastward enters the earth’s shadow, and the shadow obscures her disc.”

This observation of the sun’s motion with reference to the signs of the Zodiac must have very early led to the discovery of the phenomena, namely that at each succeeding equinox, the sun does not come to the same stars, but that the signs and the stars are observed to have a motion relative to the point, which the sun occupies at either equinox and that the direction of motion is opposite to the sun’s observed annual motion among the stars. In 134 B. C. Hipparchus discovered this fact on observing a star which was new to him, but the precession was apparently long known to Hindu astronomers, and its rate determined by them roughly to a near approximation.

Now it was a very remarkable achievement for the ancient astronomers ; for the discovery of precession was essential to the progress of accurate observational astronomy. Hence we shall put in here a few words to explain this phenomenon

by assuming results that belong to modern astronomy, following the method of synthesis as far as practicable. We know that the path of the sun in the celestial vault is accurately a circle and it follows that its orbit must be a closed plane curve. An observation of the stars which may be regarded as fixed to the celestial vault and in space leads to the conclusion that this plane is fixed in space. The line perpendicular to this plane through the centre of the celestial vault is, therefore, fixed in direction in space and precession consists in the rotation of the earth's axis about this line in a period of about 26000 years. The point at which the polar axis meets the celestial vault thus describes a small circle in space as a necessary consequence, the stars that occupy the region marked by this circle become pole stars in succession. While this goes on, the line of intersection of the equator and the ecliptic (which passes through the sun at an equinox) points to different stars at different epochs. This apparent change in the position of the stars is called libration and the polar axis is called its fulcrum. We have in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*:—

“The circle of asterisms librates 600 times in a great Yuga, the libration being performed through 27° from a mean point in a retrograde direction ; then returning to the mean point, proceeding through 54° with a direct motion, thence returning to the mean point with a retrograde motion, thus making 108° for a complete libration”. The rule further directs the calculation to be carried backwards proportionally, the quantity of it to be computed by means of the days in a Kalpa or a Yuga, and the days which have elapsed from the assumed epoch. When the sun is at the equinoxes and at the solstitial points, its observed position will give the amount of libration or the amount of precession of the equinoxes. If the true longitude of the Sun be less than the observed longitude, the asterism librates towards the east by the amount of difference and if greater, the asterism librates towards the west by the amount of excess.

The motion of the earth to which precession is due is a phenomenon well-illustrated by the common peg-top, though in this case we are dealing not with rotation about the centre of gravity of a body free in space, but with rotation about a fixed point. While the top is in rapid rotation about its axis of symmetry, the axis is itself slowly describing a cone round the vertical. Thus the axis of the peg-top is at each instance moving in a direction at right angles to that in which the force of gravity would appear to urge it and which it is only prevented from following by the fact that the top has a rotation about its axis very much more rapid than the conical motion of the axis itself. The axis of the top will here represent the earth's axis, the vertical, the axis of the ecliptic, and the spin the motion of the earth (to which the apparent diurnal motion of heavenly bodies is due).

It is this precession, which among other causes led to a great confusion in calculating the months of the calendar. Defining in general terms the period in which the Sun completes its cycle as the year, it is easily seen that the cycle may be said to be completed, either when the Sun returns to the same point in space, the same point of a *tithi* (or a *rāśi*) or to the same solstice (or same equinox) as the one from which the year is reckoned. The first is called the tropical year and the second the sidereal year. Again the year may be determined by lunar months or the periodic times of other celestial bodies, as has been described in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. Further the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that none of these periods contain an exact number of days and the solar day is not a constant interval time ; hence it is a matter of no little wonder how the problem of the calendar was so successfully solved in India, China, Chaldea, Egypt and Greece in ancient times. The next point that engages our attention in the gradual development of ancient astronomy is the explanation of the planetary motions and the method of epicycles. The first notion of planetary motions was stated thus in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*: "The planets in

their orbits go rapidly and continually with the stars towards the west, and hang down at an equal distance as if overpowered by the stars. Therefore the motion of the planets appears towards the east, and their daily motions, determined by their revolutions, are unequal to each other in consequence of the circumferences of their orbits; and by this unequal motion they pass the sign. The planet, which moves rapidly, requires a short time to pass the sign, and the planet that moves slowly passes the sign in a long time". This opinion that the motion of all the planets was caused by a velocity in their orbits, which was the same for all alike, was prevalent not only in the east but also in Europe even in the times of Kepler and Newton. This is evident from the manner in which Kepler combated this doctrine and the important use he made of it. Soon after the death of Tycho, Kepler made many discoveries from Tycho's observations. He found that astronomers had erred from the first use of science in ascribing circular orbits to the planets. He easily saw that the higher planets not only moved in greater circles, but also moved more slowly than the nearer ones, so that on a double account their periodic times were greater.

This planetary motion the Hindus and the Greeks explained by means of epicycles. Āryabhaṭṭa ascribed to the epicycles, by which motion of a planet is represented, a form varying from a circle and nearly elliptic. It was known to the Hindus that a supposed uniform motion in a circle about the earth did not really represent the true motion in its orbit, although the hypothesis served sufficiently to determine the mean motions and the mean place of a planet when deduced from observations carried on for lengthened periods. They knew that every planet in its course was subject to great irregularities, the motion undergoing continual changes. At one time it would be direct towards the east until the planet reached a stationary point where it would seem to be at rest; then a retrograde motion would ensue

and continue till another stationary point was reached, and the eastward motion could be repeated. It was to account for these inequalities that the Epicycle was invented. By the Greeks this contrivance was ascribed to Apollonius. He conceived that a planet in its course described, with uniform motion, the circumference of a circle, called the Epicycle, whose centre *moved uniformly in the circumference of another circle* called the deferent, the centre of which was the centre of the earth. It was also supposed that while the centre of the Epicycle was moving eastward in the direction of the signs, the planet itself was moving in a direction contrary to that of the signs. By this hypothesis it was easy to show the various changes in the motions of the planets. This theory was generally adopted by the western nations with the addition of Epicycles, introduced by Ptolemy, as necessary for expressing the apparent motions with accuracy. But the Hindus had two different methods for calculating "the true place" of a planet from its mean place. One of these methods resembled that of Apollonius, but there was considerable difference: that while the planet moved in the deferent concentric with the earth, *the Epicycle itself was conceived to be variable, the circumference being greatest when the planet was in an apsis (at Apogee or Peragee, the true and mean places being then coincident) and least when the planet was at a distance of 90° from the points.* The other method supposes that while the mean place of a planet is a point moving uniformly eastward round the circumference of a circle whose centre is the earth, the Planet also moves uniformly eastward, in the same time round the circumference of an equal but eccentric circle whose centre is situated in the line joining the Apogee with the centre of the earth, the distance from it being the eccentricity. These two methods, whether by assuming the motions as being in an eccentric or in an Epicycle, give exactly the same results. These main points of the Greek and Hindu Epicyclical theories show that unlike the Epicycles of Ptolemy and other

Greek Astronomers, the Indian Epicycles had a variable circumference, that of the first Epicycle being largest at Apogee and Perigee, varying from those points through the deferent to its places at the quadrants where its circumferences were least.

Here we give in a few words a short review of ancient astronomy. We have tried to follow in a synthetic method the gradual developments of this ancient science and we are led to believe that its progress was remarkable inasmuch as it paved the way for further scientific generalisations. Even it is conceivable that the principle of gravitation in its elementary form was known to the early Hindu writers of astronomy. The following occurs in the second chapter of *Sūrya Siddhānta*: "The solar disc being heavier, the force of attraction on it is less and the lunar disc being lighter the force of attraction on it is greater".

In fact, we think that this passage has a special significance with regard to the principle of gravitation, for the first part of Newton's theory states that the forces of attraction are directly proportional to the masses. Even Varāhamihira writes in the sixth century: "The earth attracts that which is upon her." It is also given by Brahmagupta, in the following more complete form, "All heavy things fall down to the earth by a law of nature, for it is the nature of water to flow, that of the fire to burn, and that of the wind to set in motion." Or as in *Siddhānta Siromaṇi*: "The earth has the power of attraction and therefore it attracts heavy things towards it; the general notion is that of falling". But one thing strikes us most when engaged in the study of ancient Astronomy. In many places we notice that the ultimate generalisations are only recorded but the intermediate links are lost. At least this is often noticeable in the case of Hindu astronomy. We have there many remarkable scientific generalisations noted down but the method of procedure that must have been required to arrive at these generalisations is not recorded. This probably

led some oriental scholars to believe that those theories are of foreign origin. But we think there is a sufficient reason for this omission. In India, we know, there prevailed the custom of oral transmission of knowledge in literature as also in science. When a preceptor arrived at any general result he would have it recorded in the form of a śloka; he would of course explain the method of procedure to his pupils and ask them to get the śloka by heart. Thus with the succession of preceptors as years rolled on, the number of ślokas became so large as to demand a systematic collection of them, for a compilation served the purpose of constant reference. The pupils had this collection from their guru and would learn the processes orally from him. But certainly there came a time when the study of science was neglected in India. The result was that the methods of procedure which had been regarded as the connecting links were lost and only the general theories survived. Thus perhaps originated the greatest treatise of astronomy of the Hindus, namely, the *Sūrya Siddhānta*.

However, when all is said, this should not be denied that in the study of astronomical facts and in the observation of astronomical phenomena the early thinkers brought with their wonderful power of investigation a noble spirit of enquiry and a love for the truth—a love almost akin to a spirit of veneration for the grand and the sublime. Thus when bewildered with the awful mystery of the heavens or the rich panorama of the nocturnal sky, they would in a fit of momentary trance exclaim :—"O Lord, O omniscient Creator, remove my doubt, for none else save Thee can fathom this deep mystery !"

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

Dharmasamuccaya

II

The copyist, a bhikṣu, puts the following date as the time of his writing : Saṃvat 293 Vaiśākhaḥ śukracaturthyam. It means it was written in the saṃvat 293 which is, of course, the year of the Nepalese era, the work being copied in the reign of Raja Rudra Deva of Nepal. The present year is the 1045th of the Nepalese era and the date when it was copied by Bhikṣu Sujita Śrījñāna of Citra Vihāra, therefore, is equivalent to 1173 A.D. So the manuscript was written and finished on the fourteenth dark fortnight day of Vaiśākha in the Christian era 1173.

This date is very important to the student of the history of Nepal as it throws light on the state of Buddhism at least on the existence of the Bhikṣu Saṅgha in Nepal. The common belief amongst the Śaiva brahmins and the present Gurkhas and Newars is that Śaṅkarācārya and his successors had come to Nepal and destroyed the Buddhist religion and literature there. This is the main report which the non-Buddhists in particular have been circulating for discouraging every Buddhist activity, up to date. In fact we find from the gradual disappearance of the original Bhikṣu and Bhikṣuṇī Saṅghas of the original Buddhist scriptures, of the Buddhist literary and monastic culture, and of the state aid for Buddhist education, that there were some persecutions a thousand years back.

The names of two bhikṣus who compiled and copied the work respectively show that the Bhikṣu Saṅgha was still existent and the Bhikṣus were active. Preaching of the Buddhist Law was still going on ; this is evident from the fact that Bhikṣu Avalokita Simha had compiled the work especially with the object of enlightening the people and of showing the true way to those who were busy

with various religious disputes. Moreover, the work itself had the object of expounding the doctrine of Buddha to others.

Again, the name of the king furnishes further evidence of Buddhist predominance in Nepal. The chronicle of Nepal shows that Raja Rudra Deva belonged to a Rajput dynasty, a collateral branch of the Solar dynasty of the former king Aṃśu Varma. Vāmadeva was the first king of the Rajput dynasty and Mān-deva was his great grandson who ruled 16 years and then abdicated in favour of his son Narasimha Deva. He then must have built a vihāra which is still known as Mān-deva-saṃskṛta vihāra where he took ordination in the Bhikṣu Saṅgha, remained in it and obtained salvation. The biographies of three Rajas are not given and then comes the name of Raja Mān-deva's great grandson, Raja Rudra Deva, who ruled only 7 years, abdicated in favour of his son Mitra Deva and then took ordination. He remained in the old Oṅkuli vihāra which had been built by Raja Śiva Deva Varma and which he had just repaired. This Raja, although invited, sent a statue of Dīpaṅkara Buddha in whose name the charity festival was celebrated, to receive the offerings. He had also granted land and money with which the members of the vihāra were to meet the necessary expenses. It is recorded that he remained to inform his great grandson Jayadeva Malla about the endowment. This shows that Rajas zealously worked for the promotion of the cause of Buddhism, abdicated voluntarily for Nirvāṇa's sake, repaired old vihāras and erected new ones, lived therein, studying and practising Buddhist Law to the end of their lives; and the literary and monastic activities of the bhikṣus were not marred by the intolerant policies of any interested sectarians at least 800 years ago.

As to the Citra Vihāra where the manuscript was written the great number of the vihāras all over Nepal does not allow any definite determination of the spot where it was located. Besides this the names of the vihāras appear to have under-

gone changes and the wants of a systematic chronology and a detailed history of Nepal are some of the obstacles.

The work will be published under the joint editorship of Dr. B. M. Barua of the Calcutta University and myself. It is a bigger Dhammapada, an independent compilation of a Nepalese bhikṣu. The materials were collected from now unknown works of Sanskrit Buddhist literature, the chapters being more systematically arranged than in any other works of the kind.

DHARMA ADITYA DHARMACARYA

Kingdoms of the Deccan

*(mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of
Samudragupta)*

An article under the heading 'Identification of the Princes and Territories mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription' appeared in this Journal (Vol. 1, No. 2). On seeing it, the long conceived idea of identifying the kingdoms conquered by the Gupta emperor has impelled me to write this article.

In some of the articles relating to Kalinga, I have tried to identify one or two of these kingdoms ; but never attempted to study the whole Praśasti. Even now I confine my remarks to those of the Dakṣiṇāpatha kingdoms that have been stated to have been conquered by Samudragupta.

The clue to this portion of the inscription seems to lie hidden in the expression, 'Piṣṭhapuraka-Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta.' This has been misunderstood by all the scholars who have handled the inscription. Dr. Fleet divides Mahendragiri into 'Mahendra' and 'giri' and takes the former to be the name of the king of Piṣṭhapura ; he couples 'giri' with Kauṭṭūraka and understands it to mean 'Kotṭūra on the hill.'

M. Jouveau-Dubreuil accepts this view. But *Dr. Bhandarkar* says, "The *vrddhi* in 'Kauṭṭūra' clearly shows that the word 'giri' preceding it is to be connected with *Mahendra*. If 'giri' had really formed part of the name of the country of which *Svāmidatta* was a ruler, we should have had 'Gairi-kauṭṭūra' instead of 'Giri-kauṭṭūra' (*I. H. Q.*, I, p. 252). So he concludes that *Mahendragiri* was the king of *Piṣṭhapura*, and *Svāmidatta* was of *Koṭṭūra*.

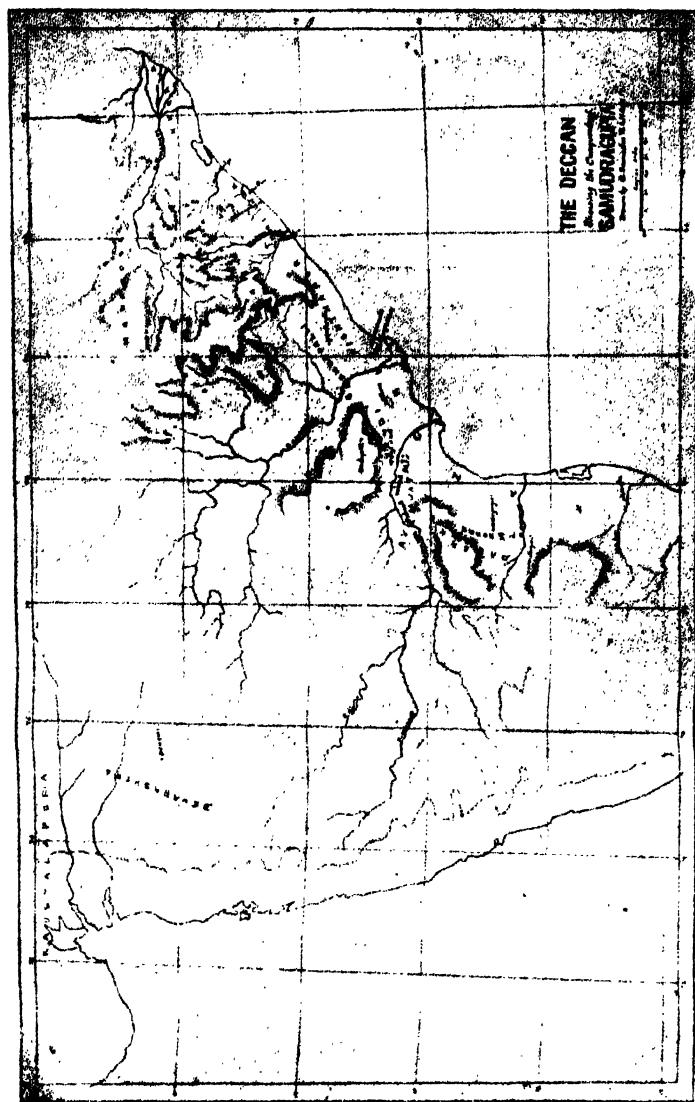
All these scholars appear to have been led away by the idea that the name of the ruler is invariably given after the name of his territory. It may be so in respect of all, but in this particular case it cannot be so. The lengthening of the first vowel in *Mahendragiri* shows that *Kauṭṭūra* should be taken with the word. The expression then means *Koṭṭūra* near *Mahendragiri*. To consider that *Mahendragiri* is the name of a king is unsupported by history or inscriptions.

Mahendra hill has always been associated with *Kalinga*. *Yudhiṣṭhira* is said to have reached *Mahendra* hill, meaning that he arrived in *Kalinga* (*Mbh.*, *Āraṇya*, cxi, 5—*Kṛtvā catat-cāsanamasya sarvam Mahendram āśādyā nīṣām-uvāsa*).

In the *Raghuvamśa*, king *Raghu* is similarly said to have encamped on this hill (c. IV, v. 30). *Hemāṅgada*, the king of *Kalinga*, is said to be the lord of the *Mahendra* hill as well as of the Ocean. (c. VI, v. 54—*Asau Mahendrādri samāna sārāḥ patir Mahedrasya Mahodadhōśca*).

In the grants of the *Kalinga* kings, the hill is invariably mentioned as the abode of *Gokarṇasvāmi*, the family god of the *Gaṅga* kings. The name of such a famous landmark should naturally be added to identify a place. In the documents old and new, the identification of the object of the grant is given by mentioning the district in which it lies. It is also customary to add the name of a well-known hill, river or town to the name of a place to distinguish it from a number of other places of the same name.

To distinguish the capital of *Kalāhandi* from *Patna* on the *Ganges*, *Bhavāni*, the name of the river on which



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the chief seat of the Kalāhandi estate is situated, is added to it and it is called Bhavānī-Patna. In the district of Ganjam there are about a dozen villages called Kottūra; eight in Vizagapatam and about half a dozen in Godāvarī. To distinguish the particular town from the others of the same name, the chief eminence of the country is added to it.

By Māhendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka is intimated that the town of Kottūra near Mahendra hill was the chief city in the country of Kalinga. It may be remarked here that all the scholars, who have tried to interpret this praśasti, thought that the countries are named, and not the chief seats of government; but a careful study shows that, not the countries, but the chief centres of the countries are mentioned in the inscription. Kottūra, Piṣṭhapura, Eraṇḍapalli, Vengi, etc. are towns and not countries.

Paiṣṭhapuraka-Māhendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta, therefore, means Svāmidatta who had his seat at Piṣṭhapura and at Kottūra near Mahendragiri. This informs us that Svāmidatta was the king of the two territories: (1) the one, of which Piṣṭhapura (Pithapur) was the capital; and (2) the other, of which Kottūra near Mahendra was the capital, i.e., Kalinga.

That Pithapur and Kalinga were under the sway of the king of Pithapur is corroborated by the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarma (*Ep. Ind.*, xii, 1). The king issuing the charter from Piṣṭhapura treats Kalinga as a district in his dominions. This was the state of affairs until Samudragupta's invasion. Śaktivarma of Ragolu plates must be an ancestor, if not the immediate predecessor of Svāmidatta. It appears that it was with some object that Piṣṭhapura is put in the beginning of the expression. It shows that Svāmidatta was really the ruler of Piṣṭhapura and got the sway over Kalinga by conquest. The natives of Kalinga must have very much resented the foreign sway, so much so that an era (Vijayarājya samvatsarāḥ) was started in honour of the conquest of Kalinga by Samudragupta. The great Gupta had wrested

it from Piṣṭhapura king and established the first of the Gaṅga dynasty on its throne. The coincidence of the year, from which the early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga had reckoned their years, with the year of the conquest of the country by the Gupta emperor leads us to these conclusions. In my paper on the 'Chronology of the Early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga' (*JBORS.*, Sept. & Dec., 1923), this is fully discussed.

Thus supported by the inscription and the chronology of the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga, stands the fact that Piṣṭhapura and Kalinga were both under one king at the time of the invasion of Samudragupta. That king was Svāmidatta.

Having thus settled the naming of Paiṣṭhapuraka-Māhendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta, we find that the dominions of Svāmidatta extended along the east coast from the Godāvarī in the south to Mahendra hill in the north.

Eraṇḍapalli, the capital of another independent state could not exist near Chicacole according to what Dubreuil has said. He thinks that Eraṇḍapalli was near Chicacole, because it is mentioned in the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 212). In this document it is stated that the donee was an inhabitant of Eraṇḍapalli; and the Allahabad Pillar inscription records that it was the seat of the king of Damana. The Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman inform us that Rākaluva, identified with Ragolu near Chicacole on the northern side of the river Nāgāvalī, was situated in Kalinga. Chicacole is identified with Chikkali, Vātaka and Tāmara Cheruva of the Kalinga Gaṅga plates (see 'Historical Geography of Kalinga under the Gaṅgas' in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, xiv, 4) and therefore Chicacole also lies in Kalinga. We have seen above that Kalinga was a part of the territory under the sway of Svāmidatta. Under these circumstances it is unreasonable to think that the territory of Damana existed within the dominions of Svāmidatta.

Fleet's identification of it with Eraṇḍol (Khandesh) is also unfounded, as Eraṇḍapalli mentioned immediately after the kingdom of Svāmidatta should be so far away on the western

coast. It must be somewhere in the vicinity of Kalinga and Piṣṭhapura kingdom.

In Golgonda Taluk of the Vizagapatam district, is a village called Yenḍipalli (17° 37' N. Lat., 82° 43' E. Long., *Ind. Atlas*, sheet No. 94). Another village named Eṇḍapilli (17° 7' N. Lat., 80° 57' E. Long.) lies in Ellore Taluk. To the west of this latter village exists a fort in ruins. Though no ruins of antiquarian interest have been discovered in either place, the taluks have a number of places where very ancient structures and inscriptions exist (*vide* Sewell's *List of Antiquities*). The tracts in which these villages are situated have not yet been explored for antiquities. The famous Guntapalli¹ caves and Buddhist remains lie 20 miles to the north of Ellore and 16 miles south-west of our Eṇḍapilli. In Golgonda taluk also, very many interesting antiquities are said to exist but they have not been included in Sewell's *List*. A careful exploration of these two regions will certainly reveal signs of the existence of ancient civilization in these parts.

The old kingdom of which Eṇḍapalli was the capital must have extended from about the northern boundary of Golgonda taluk to about Ellore. The line of demarcation between the kingdoms of Damana and Svāmidatta appears to be the line running along the foot of the Eastern Ghats.

Mahākāntāra, the kingdom of Vyāghrarāja, being mentioned immediately before the territory of Svāmidatta, must be to the north of the kingdoms of Eṇḍapalli and Piṣṭhapura Kalinga.

In the map is seen the Agency tract of Vizagapatam immediately to the north of the region comprising the kingdom of Eṇḍapalli. In the copper-plate grant of Nara-simhadeva II (*JASB.*, pt. iii, 1896) it is said that the village of Tucchāda was in the southern Jhād-khand (l. 19—*dakṣiṇa jhāda-khaṇḍa madhya tucchadā grāmiya*). The name of the village is in Telugu (*āda* = village), the name of the donee

1 Guntapalli is Nagalapally of the *Indian Atlas*.

also is in Telugu. *Jhāda-khaṇḍa-palli* is the name of some villages in Nowarangapur, Raighada and Gunpur taluks of the Agency. Therefore the village of *Tucchāda* is identified with *Tutsur* (*āda* and *ūru* mean the same thing) no. 1058 of Gunpur taluk (Census Report, 1901). The zamindar of Jeypore is still called the ruler of 'Jhād-khand' (Jhād-khand *Bādshāh*). In Oriya 'Jhād-khand' means a 'forest region' and therefore it is the same as 'kāntāra' in Sanskrit. If the Vizagapatam Agency is 'Dakṣiṇa-jhāda-khaṇḍa', the Agency tract of Ganjam which lies in continuation of the former, must have been 'Uttara-Jhāda-khaṇḍa'. This region must have been the 'Mahā-kāntāra' of *Vyāghra-rāja*. To the east of this lies the hill Mahendra; and Mahā-Kośala or the Dakṣiṇa Kośala is to the north-west of this Agency tract.

Any invader marching through Kośala and Mahākāntāra can easily arrive at Mahendragiri which commands the region to the north-east as well as Kalinga.

The *Vyāghra-rāja* of Mahākāntāra is identified with the *Vyāghra Deva* of the *Vākāṭaka* inscription from Ganj (*Ep. Ind.*, xvii, p. 13). The editor of the inscription says that 'it is not possible to identify our *Vyāghra Deva* with any of the several chieftains of the same name.'

The *Vākāṭaka* inscription is undated. But its editor on palæographical grounds assigns it to the seventh century A. D. It cannot be prior to the fifth century of the Christian era. Moreover, the titles of *Rāja*, *Varma* and *Deva* tell us a history of their own. 'Deva' seems to have been assumed from the seventh or eighth century A.D. Therefore the *Vyāghra-rāja* of the pillar inscription cannot be identified with the *Vyāghra Deva* of the *Vākāṭaka* inscription of Ganj.

The Agency tracts now identified with Mahākāntāra contain several signs of their ancient glory. The *Podāguda* inscription of a king of the Nala family (*Ep. Rep.*, 1921-22) is assigned to the fourth century A. D.; the inscriptions copied at Dodra and Palasagam, the Sati stones found at Poppadahandi, Nowarangapur; the undeciphered inscriptions on the

hill at Rayagada,—all these prove that the region had been inhabited by civilized people from the time of the invasion of Samudragupta to the 13th century A. D.

Kurāla mentioned immediately after Mahākāntāra must be the plain country to the north-east of the Mahendra hill. This tract is now chiefly occupied by the Oriyas and comprises the part of Ganjam district to the north of Mahendragiri and the whole of Orissa. The Oriyas bear another name of Utkals and they call their country by that name. Pargiter says that "Utkala and Mekala are linked together as if the two words possessed some element in common" (*JASB.*, xvi, pt. 1) That common element is nothing but the word 'kala', which by some is supposed to be a contraction of 'Kalinga'. But a careful study shows it to be a contraction of 'Kurāla'. Kurāli in Oriya means a sound of mouth made by a number of men joined together. It is not possible to discuss the etymology of 'kala' in Ut-kala and Me-kala ; but it appears to have some relation to Kurāla, the capital of Maṇṭarāja.

Thus Samudragupta marched through Kośala in a south-western direction and entered Mahākāntāra. Thence he encamped near Mahendra hill and turned his arms north-eastwards, defeated Maṇṭarāja and turned south against Kalinga. Having defeated Svāmidatta and his western neighbour Damana, he marched through the country of Svāmidatta and crossed the Godāvarī to go against Viṣṇu-Gopa of Kanchi.

The kingdom of Kanchi extended from the mouth of the Godāvarī to about the river Palar, if not beyond. To the west of this lie the Eastern Ghats, in which must have been the kingdoms of Veṅgi and Pālakka and Āvamukta.

Veṅgi has been accepted by all scholars to be the Veṅgi the capital of the Chalukyan kings. This kingdom must have been to the west of the lake Kollar beyond the Krishna in the south.

The kingdom of which Pālakka was the capital has been

severally identified. Since it is mentioned in association with Veṅgi and Kanchi, it must have existed close to those regions.

Amongst the brahmins of the Telugu country there are sects that bear the name of the tract where the sect had inhabited originally. Vegi-nādu, Velnādu, Pulnādu, Pākanādu have got the name from the chief town in the region. Nādu means a region. The country around Veṅgi bore the name of Veṅgi-nādu. Similarly Pāka-nādu must have got its name from a town called Pāka.

In the Nellore district between Udayagiri and Venkatagiri is a place called Pākkai. It is found in the inscriptions of Rājārāja and Kulottunga Chola (nos. 481, 800 & 804 of vol. II, *Topographical List* by Rangachariar). It is similarly called in the inscriptions, nos. 812-815 (*ibid.*) copied in the same village. Pā-ṇ-ka Nāṇḍu is mentioned in the Kāvali plates of Gajapati Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Orissa (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1920-21, app. A, no. 12). It is stated in the plates that this Pā-ṇ-ka Nāṇḍu was a part of the kingdom of Udayagiri. Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara besieged the fort of Udayagiri, drove the Oriya king from that country and got the sway over the kingdom of Udayagiri. Even in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings, this region is mentioned with the same name.

This Pāka-nādu or Pā-ṇ-ka Nāṇḍu or Pākkai-nādu appears from these epigraphs to have extended, from the time of Rājārāja, between Udayagiri and Venkatagiri of the Nellore district.

Just as Tenugu becomes Telugu, Pā-ṇ-ka-nādu becomes Pā-ḷ-ka-nādu or Pā-la-kka-nādu. Here must have been the Pālakka of the Allahabad Pillar inscription; the modern village of Pākkai in Nellore district marks the site of the capital of Ugrasena. His kingdom might have extended westwards beyond the region now occupied by the districts of Cuddapah and North Arcot. To the north of this, and south of the kingdom of Veṅgi must have existed the kingdom,

of which Āva-mukta was the capital. There are no sufficient materials at present to discover its site.

Devarāṣṭra is the kingdom mentioned next to Pālakka. M. Dubreuil identified this with the region of Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam district. If it were really so, then an independent state comes within another independent state. On the simple fact, that a place called Devarāṣṭra is found mentioned in the Kasimkolā copper plate as connected with Yellamanchili Kalinga, cannot be based the arguments to identify the kingdom of Kubera with the place mentioned in the copper-plate.

Since it is mentioned after Pālakka, it must be either to its west or south, Devagiri in Dharwar, Deogiri the capital of the Yādava king that paid tribute to Alauddin Khilji in the 14th century A. D. [see the inscriptions of the Yādavas of Devagiri in the Anantapura district (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1920-21)]. A sect of Koinatis (merchants) in Penugonda taluk of the Krishna district traced its descent from Kubera (Kubera Vamśa) (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1916, p. 157). All these show that Devarāṣṭra might have existed in the region now known as Mahārāṣṭra. Fleet and V. A. Smith have identified Devarāṣṭra with Mahārāṣṭra.

Samudragupta, after having subdued the kingdom of Pālakka, might have turned westwards where he found the powerful king Kubera. Beyond Devarāṣṭra he must have gone to Kausthalapura because it is the last kingdom mentioned before he entered northern India. As has been identified by Fleet, it may be the capital Ānarta, the modern Kathiawar.

Thus Samudragupta had marched along the east coast subduing one kingdom after another until he subdued Ugrasena and then turned westwards and marched northwards along the Western Ghats subduing Devarāṣṭra and Gujarat and entered northern India.

Samudragupta's conquest is said to have been 'simply the unfortunate attempt of a king from the north who wanted

to annex the coast of Orissa, but completely failed'. This opinion is probably based on the expression, 'grahana-mokṣ-ānugraha-janita' in the prasasti. Fleet translates it into 'produced by the favour shown in capturing and liberating.' But it may also mean 'produced by capturing, favouring and liberating.' That is, his glory was produced by capturing some kings; by showing favour to some; and by liberating some (that had been under subjection at the time of his conquest). Conquest in all quarters was considered as a means to get glory by ancient kings. Kālidāsa says that the Raghu kings went on conquering expeditions simply to earn glory (yaśase vijigīṣūnām). In these expeditions there were opportunities for them to capture some kingdoms, to show favour to their followers and also to give liberty to those that were under foreign yoke.

The last two seem to have been shown in the case of Kalinga. It is shown above that Kalinga had been under the domination of the king of Piṣṭhapura. From the data supplied by the documents of the kings of the earlier dynasty of the Kalinga Gaṅgas, it has been established that their era of 'Vijayarājya samvatsarāḥ' was begun from A.D. 349, the year of the conquest of Kalinga by the Gupta emperor. This coincidence of events and the name of the era cannot but suggest that Kalinga was liberated from the domination of the Piṣṭhapura king and was made an independent monarchy under Candravarma, the first of the dynasty. This has been fully discussed in my paper on the 'Chronology of the early Ganga kings of Kalinga' (*JBORS.*, 1923). The kings of this family commemorated the era started in honour of the victory of their benefactor for about four centuries from A.D. 349 to A.D. 700. Here is an instance of Samudragupta's fame obtained by liberating a country under foreign yoke and by showing favour to one, perhaps a general in his own army.

Eraṇḍapalli is stated in the pillar inscription to have been a kingdom. After the invasion we hear of it as only an ordi-

nary place in the Siddhantam plates and no record or tradition speaks of it again as a kingdom. What has become of it? If it had existed as a kingdom in the years subsequent to the conquest of the Gupta emperor, will there be no account of it? May it not be the result of the invasion?

Further investigations may show that Samudragupta's conquest was not a failure, but had lasting effects which, by the lapse of time and the change of peoples, have been erased from men's minds.

G. RAMADAS

Śālihotra

II

In the Law Books we have unmistakable testimony of the practice of the medical science according to scientific method. In the *Manu Samhitā* public lands for pasture are described (viii, 237-8) and Todd (*Rājasthān*, vol. ii, *Marāwra*, ch. xvi, p. 145) describes the Gaswali to be a graduated tax on cattle, or as the term imports, the right of pasture. A sheep or goat is estimated at one anna, a buffalo eight annas; and each camel, three rupees.

In the *Parāśara Samhitā* it is ordained: "If a cow is kept confined for treatment of her diseases, or for the rectification of any abnormal presentation during delivery, and, notwithstanding all possible precautions taken for its prevention, the cow dies, then no expiation would be necessary. But if a number of diseased cows is kept under control, and if one of them dies, after being treated by a cattle-doctor, who is not proficient in his art, expiatory ceremony must be performed". Āpastamba and Sambarta also give us similar directions. Viṣṇu lays down that "those who have hurt a man or a domestic animal shall pay the

expense of his cure" (vs. 75, 76). "A physician who adopts a wrong method of cure in the case of a patient of high rank, shall pay the highest, in the case of any other patient the second and in the case of an animal the lowest amercement" (vs. 175-177). Parāśara again remarks : "If a cow is killed by any man, the blood of the dead cow must be examined, for it becomes necessary to know whether the cow was diseased or weak before her death. For the ceremony of expiation would vary according to the state of health and disease of the cow". Such an examination of the dead cow to determine her health and disease during life foreshadows our post-mortem reports in a court of law. But it seems strange that though such an examination is recommended by the law-givers in cases of accidental death of cows, no such procedure is mentioned in the Law Books, as far as I know, in cases of accidental death of human beings. It may be due to the fact that cows were held in high esteem by the ancient Hindus as the modern Hindus do at present. But human life was always held sacred by the Hindus, and possibly similar post-mortem examinations were the practice in cases of accidental and homicidal death of men, but notices of such practice are not forthcoming.

But though we do not find any reference to post-mortem examinations in the law books and medical literature of the Hindus, we find it mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya as *Ātūmṛtaka parīkṣā*, "Examination of bodies of men who have died recently". Report of such an examination was necessary in higher courts of law "Kāṇṭhakaśodhana Courts" during the reign of Candragupta. Bodies of men who committed suicide by hanging, drowning, poisoning, etc. were kept in an "examination room" which was set apart for the purpose. Such examination rooms, corresponding to our morgues, were established in the different provinces of the empire. Here all accidental cases, homicidal, or suicidal, were kept for examination and reported as to the cause of death to higher authorities who dealt with the cases accordingly. To prevent

decomposition, dead bodies were kept immersed in oil or oleaginous preparations (*Ātūmṛtakaparīkṣā* in the *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 215-217). At least we know of two instances of the use of oil as a preservative to dead body: when Daśaratha died, Rāma was away in the forest, and Bharata was away in the house of his maternal uncle, the dead body of his father was kept by the minister immersed in oil in an iron pan. Similarly the dead body of Nimi was preserved in oil.

Examination of Sudden Death in the Arthaśāstra

"In cases of sudden death, the corpse shall be smeared over with oil and examined.

"Any person whose corpse is tainted with mucus and urine, with organs inflated with wind, with hands and legs swollen, with eyes open, and with neck marked with ligatures may be regarded as having been killed by suffocation and suppression of breathing.

"Any person with contracted arms and thighs may be regarded as having been killed by hanging.

"Any dead person with swollen hands, legs, and belly, with sunken eyes and inflated navel may be regarded as having been killed by hanging.

"Any dead person with stiffened rectum and eyes, with tongue bitten between the teeth, and with belly swollen may be considered as having been killed by drowning.

"Any dead person, wetted with blood and with limbs wounded and broken may be regarded as having been killed with sticks or ropes.

"Any dead person with fractures and broken limbs may be regarded as having been thrown down.

"Any dead person with dark-coloured hands, legs, teeth and nails, with loose skin, hairs fallen, flesh reduced, and with face bedaubed with foam and saliva may be regarded as having been poisoned.

"Any dead person of similar description with marks of a bleeding bite may be considered as having been bitten by serpents and other poisonous creatures.

"Any dead person, with body spread and dress thrown out after excessive vomiting and purging, may be considered as having been killed by the administration of the juice of the *Madana* plant.

"Death due to any of the above causes is, sometimes under the fear of punishment, made to appear as having been brought about by voluntary hanging, by causing marks of ligature round the neck.

"In death due to poison, undigested portion of meal may be examined in milk. Or the same extracted from the belly and thrown on fire may, if it makes '*ciṭciṭā*' sound and assumes the rainbow colour, be declared as poisoned.

"Or when the belly remains unburnt, although the rest of the body is reduced to ashes, the dead man's servants may be examined as to any violent and cruel treatment they may have received at the hands of the dead. Similarly such of the dead man's relatives as a person of miserable life, a woman with affections placed elsewhere or a relative defending some woman that has been deprived of her inheritance by the dead man may also be examined.

"The same kind of examination shall be conducted concerning the hanging of the body of an already dead man.

"Causes such as past evils or harm done to others by a dead man shall be inquired into regarding any death due to voluntary hanging.

"All kinds of sudden death centre round one or the other of the following causes :—

"Offence to women or kinsmen, claiming inheritance, professional competition, hatred against rivals, commerce, guilds and any one of the legal disputes is the cause of anger; anger is the cause of death". (*Arthaśāstra*, transl. by R. Shamasastry).

(To be continued)

The Trade of India

(from the earliest period up to the 2nd century A. D.)

I. The earliest literary reference to the commercial intercourse of India with foreign countries is found in the Vedic mantras. There we find references to men who desired to earn a "hundred treasures"¹ to seek "riches with riches"² and went to far off lands for "interchange of merchandise"³. Trader "desiring wealth sent ships to sea"⁴; parties of merchants went on the ocean⁵ in ships with a hundred oars⁶, "to distant lands for sale and barter"⁷. Trade was such a vital element in the life of the people that it led a ṛṣi to conceive of the great God Indra as the "merchant Indra" and to put into his mouth the words "Give me, I give these gifts: bestow upon me, and I bestow on thee," to which the worshipper replies, "to me present thy merchandise and I to thee will give my wares"⁸, thus describing sacrifice itself as a kind of barter.

Probably this commercial intercourse, certainly not primitive but well-developed, led to an overflow of ancient Indian culture to the land of the Mitanni near the western land of the Euphrates before the 15th century B.C.,⁹ where we meet with chiefs with decidedly Indian names—Artatama, Sutarna, Dushratta. In an inscription of one of these princes discovered at Boghuz-keui, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and the Nāsatyas are invoked. The Nāsatyas were especially the guardian deities of voyagers and helped them to return from "the

1 RV. iii. 18. 3.

2 AV. iii. 15. 6.

3 AV. iii. 15. 4.

4 RV. i. 48. 3.

5 RV. i. 56. 2.

6 RV. i. 116. 5.

7 AV. iii. 15. 4.

8 SV. iii. 50.

9 Vide my *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, pp. 121-123 for a discussion of the implications of this document.

sea's farther shore"¹, "uninjured through the ocean.....to safety"². Indra, too, was the "distant roamer"³, "bearing a name renowned in far-off regions"⁴, and was hymned by merchants to distant lands; and Mitra and Varuṇa were "powerful lords of the sea"⁵. This proves that these gods travelled to the land of the Mitanni in the company of merchant-princes, who lived 3,500 years ago. The names of two such are preserved in the R̥g Veda: (1) Br̥bu, who set himself over the highest head of merchants, "like the wide bush on Gaṅgā's bank"⁶, and whose good bounty, "swift as the rushing wind" made him give a thousand liberal *dakṣiṇās* to the makers of hymns⁷. Another was Bhujyu, son of Tugra, owner of an "animated ship with wings to fly withal"⁸, and "with a hundred oars"⁹; who was shipwrecked in "the ocean at the region's end"¹⁰, and relying on the help of the Nāsatyas, set birds free to show him the shoreward way¹¹, "fled with easy flight from out the mighty surge"¹², and reached the home of his sires with the help of "horses brown of hue, that flew with swift wings"¹³.

II. The traders referred to in the above quoted passages from the mantra-portion of the Vedas were Āryas; by the word Āryas, I do not mean people belonging to a supposed race of men who settled in North India from without it, but I use the word in its traditional Indian meaning of people who followed the cult of Agni jātavedas, the cult which believed Agni to be the mouth of the gods and the intermediary between the latter and their (Indian) worshippers. Agni "joys in food and growth of riches"¹⁴, and "watches over the merchant's children, his body, his kine, his life"¹⁵, during the "distant exile"¹⁶ of the "treasure-winner"¹⁷.

1 RV. i. 116. 3.

2 RV. i. 117. 15.

3 RV. vi. 31. 3.

4 RV. x. 30. 5.

5 RV. vii. 64. 2.

6 RV. vi. 45. 31.

7 RV. vi. 45. 32. 33.

8 RV. i. 182. 5.

9 RV. i. 116. 5.

10 RV. x. 143. 5.

11 RV. vi. 62. 6.

12 RV. i. 182. 6.

13 RV. v. 117. 14.

14 AV. iii. 15. 8.

15 AV. iii. 15. 7.

16 AV. vii. 60. 3.

17 AV. viii. 60. 1.

But the bulk of ancient Indian traders was not Āryas. It was the Paṇis (Vāṇiya, baniya), who by means of their trade "hoarded wealth and cattle"¹. They did not accept the cult of Indra-Agni, but worshipped Vala in caves²; they did not speak the language of the Āryas, whence they were called *mr̥dhvavāca* (of injurious speech)³. The Paṇis despised the brāhmaṇas, were not afraid of their words which could wound; they would not give the brāhmaṇas the *dakṣiṇā* they were so eager to obtain, and were hence execrated as niggards⁴. These Paṇis represented the trading traditions of India from the neolithic age, during which they built boats and entrusted their lives and goods to the mercy of the waves of the sea.

III. That this sea trade existed from very early times is proved by the following considerations: The people of India especially of that part of the country which is below the Aravallis, belong to the so-called Mediterranean race, i.e., their area of characterization was the sea-coast (of India), and their early culture primarily coastal. The language of southern India which escaped being swamped by the Sanskrit dialects of the people who followed the Ārya fire-cult possess several words naming the ship and its various parts. Indeed, Tamil has a special word *neydal* to indicate the coastal region as *an area of characterization*, and another word, *Paradar*, as the name of the people whose manner of life was determined by the neighbourhood of the sea. The people inhabiting the East and West coasts of India have, from pre-historic times, been intrepid sailors and from their ranks are, today, recruited the lascars who are indispensable to the cheap working of the P. and O. company's numerous steamers. Relics of very ancient sea-trade of India with foreign countries are not lacking. The Indian teak found in the ruins of Ur (Mughair), which was the capital of Sumerian kings

1 RV. i. 83. 4.

2 RV. i. 11-5.

3 RV. vii. 6. 3; vii. 18. 13.

4 RV. x. 51. 14; vii. 32. 6.

in the fourth millennium B. C., is held by Prof. Sayce¹ to have been exported from India. The word *Sindhu*, found in an old list of articles belonging to Accadian times, refers to Indian (cotton) cloth which found its way by sea to the head of the Persian gulf. In later days we know that Indian goods were taken on Indian boats to ports on the Persian Gulf and beyond, right up to Aden where Arabian traders exchanged them for Arabian frankincense and gold, and took them up to the Red Sea ; by which means Indian goods reached Egypt and the Mediterranean littoral. We know also that long before Hippalus, the Roman "discovered" the monsoons about 47 A. D., Indian sailors had known about them and taken advantage of these wind currents to carry on direct sea trades with East African ports. There is nothing to show that this trade did not exist in the third or even the fourth millenium B. C.

(To be continued)

P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR

Principles of Hindu Taxation

Taxation is a necessity of the state. This is illustrated in (a) the Vedic prayer for "rendering the people *bali-hṛt* (tax-bearing)"², (b) the Epic aphorism that "the state is maintained by finance"³, (c) Kauṭilya's observation that "finance is the basis of all activity (of the state)"⁴, Śukra's statement that "funds should be collected by the king to maintain the commonwealth"⁵ and Kāmandaka's saying that "treasury is the main stay of the government"⁶. From the earliest time down to the age of Śukra the life of the state was seen, as usual,

1 Hibbert Lect., pp. 137-8.

3 Śānti Parva, 133, p. 1024.

5 Śukra Niti, p. 138.

2 Rg Veda, X, 173.

4 Arthaśāstra, pp. 73, 394.

6 Niti-sara, p. 43.

bound up with taxation and all undertakings of the government depend on it. In the economic language of Fawcett "the legitimate functions of governmentcannot be performed without incurring a considerable expense. To meet this expense taxation is necessary"¹. Similarly Mill speaks of revenue as "the condition of the existence of governments"². The close connection between taxation and public administration is almost self-evident in all works on politics as one of the primary and fundamental conditions of corporate life.

The effort to think out the basis for such taxation in the shape of governmental demand naturally led to the formulation of theories which were ultimately grounded on the principle of exchange. In fact there is no theory in the history of Hindu taxation which is not in some way or other a modification of this principle. Again, this modification really becomes more and more intensive in accordance with the definition of the conditions of taxation and of the economic relation between the people and the state expressed through taxation. Generally speaking, from the stage of voluntary subscription³ to that of compulsory contributions⁴ on the supposition that both are for a common interest, taxation changes its character with the nature of the constitution of the state, and according to the view taken of the kingship. The aspects of monarchy, as already known, characterised taxation in ancient times. The types of principles on which taxation turned in Hindu theory are those of (a) simple contribution, (b) governmental contract, and (c) remunerative wages. Looked at from the point of view of the people it is merely contributory, while from the side of the state represented by the king, it is mainly remunerative for service done.

Nature of Taxation

(a) In the period of the Law-Books treated below, taxes were considered simply as contribution by the people without any specification of their nature. Much advance was made on the Vedic conception of rather loose voluntary contribution⁵, if such was really the condition of the age. The Code of Gautama, one of the earliest law-givers, may be taken as the type in respect of more systematised and therefore

1 Pol. Econ. p. 196.

2 Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 483.

3 Cf. Mill, Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 485.

4 Banerjea, Pub. Admin. in Anc. Ind., p. 173.

5 Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 166.

primitively scientific taxation and it is probable that other legislators followed with him some common custom for determining taxation.

In the 10th book of his *Samhitā*, Gautama explicitly asserts that "a subject is bound to pay revenue to his king"¹. This is equal to making it the duty of the people according to the orthodox procedure of the law-books. Later on he supplements and explains his statement by adding "Inasmuch as a king ensures the safe possession of all these things" (of the cultivators and traders)².

As to the king's share his ruling is: "The surplus of the revenue after defraying all the charges of good and efficient government should be appropriated by the king for his personal use"³.

Viṣṇu, another legislator of great importance, gives in the same line as that of Gautama the following rule: "Every year he (the king) shall collect from his subjects as revenue etc.....The king shall appoint trustworthy agents in the collection of taxes"⁴.

He does not try to explain the significance of his rule as is done by Gautama, but merely puts it down as a duty of the king. In fact the spirit of the law-books is not so much explanation as guidance of conduct both of the king and the people in respect of things to be done legitimately. They do not go into theories; their work is supposed to be done in supplying the pithiest maxims for practical purposes.

(b) The contract basis of taxation is seen at its best in the *Mahābhārata* in the clear understanding between the king and the people when both unite to erect the fabric of the state. This becomes clear when effort is made to understand popular political authority. While it tacitly assumes the contributory element, it adds to it proper and binding settlement with the character and authority of law. This is clearly read between the lines if it is missed in the body of the contract itself. Its value obviously lies not only in the fact that it freed the principles of taxation from the dogma of sacred law, but also supplied a good deal of positive dignity to the status of the people. It gave rise to the consciousness of making concrete and purposive contributions for the sake of a common good. Thus it is found in the Buddhist account and in the *Mahābhārata* that people for the first time designate themselves as a corporate body by the

1 Gautama *Samhitā*, X (Dutt's Trans.), p. 678.

2 Ibid., X, p. 678.

3 Ibid., X, p. 679.

4 Viṣṇu *Samhitā*, III, p. 820.

use of the word "we" in fixing the terms of the contract. It marks a high state of political experience involving the consciousness of the state as a commonwealth. Tax-giving likewise passes from the passive to the active and positive state where it is a self-imposed duty with a purpose.

In the Buddhist as well as in the Epic contract, the main condition of taxation is the protection of the people as in the canonical law. The Buddhist tradition makes tax a payment essentially for judicial work of adjusting and dealing out rewards and punishments, without any reference to other needs of the state. The wording of this contract is reproduced again for convenience of comparison and contrast: "Henceforth thou shalt punish those of us who deserve punishment and thou shalt recompense those of us who deserve recompense, and we shall give thee a portion of the produce of our fields and of the fruits we gather"¹.

The Mahābhārata on the other hand is elaborate in its treatment of taxation rising out of contract. The nature of taxation is also well illustrated in it. The state is seen to be properly developed with its many necessities, and tax means the supplying of all these. The function of taxation therefore becomes clear and definite from many points of view. The terms on both sides are stated thus :—

1. The people's invitation to Manu the first king—Lord, you need not fear, sin will not touch you. We shall give you for the increase of treasury one-fiftieth portion of gold and animals, and one-tenth portion of paddy and beautiful maidens (as fine) in case of quarrels, dice, gambling and custom (duty on trade). Those who can use weapons will follow you (as your army). The fourth part of our religious merits will be yours. It is also obligatory to supply to the king conveyance, umbrella, dress, ornament, food, drink, house, etc. (and other necessities). The king should be respected by people desiring welfare.
2. Expected duties on Manu's part—"Now you maintain us like Indra the king of the gods, and scorch the enemies like the Sun being out for victory". Then "Manu punished crimes" and "put people to their respective duties. On receipt of his dues the king is expected "to speak sweetly to all" and to become "grateful and loving"².
3. It ought to be noted as well that when Pṛthu, the first constitutional king according to the orthodox politicians of the Mahā-

1 Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 7.

2 Śānti Parva, 67, p. 984.

bhārata, was elected to the throne of his father Vena, "the Earth in her (own) divine shape came to him with riches and precious jewels" as due tribute to an accepted ruler¹.

The account of the Epic shows how taxation is the basis of the treasury, the army and trade as well as religious institutions, and royal duties grow from the conditions on which tax is paid. But the terms are as yet of the nature of a transaction and the balance is equal in character to both the parties, viz., the king and the people. Prof. B. K. Sarkar has characterised it as "the cash nexus binding the king and the people"².

(c) The next step in the intensive growth of the theory of taxation is the distinct *remunerative idea* for service demanded and done and it is reached as the very climax by gathering up all the progress made in the preceding speculations of previous ages. The corner-stone of popular liberty and power is indeed laid on it affecting every sphere of political thought. If "no representation and no taxation" is one of the greatest political maxims of the West, "taxation the royal wages" is equally as great and carries with it similar far-reaching implications. This can be to a certain extent shown in the revolutionary doctrines rising out of the bad handling of the principles of taxation³. By the time the technical wage theory was solidified, kingship became the firmly established form of government. In reality the theory itself specifically applies to monarchy and puts it absolutely under popular control. The contract idea receives in it a new impetus and strength though it was the original ground-work for such a super-structure. There could have been a wage theory as in Baudhāyana noted below straight from the law books, but never with the same meaning as it acquired after the contract doctrine. The royal position in receiving tax changes from that of equality with the people of the contract to that of servitude to the people in the wage theory.

The passage to the wage conception from that of governmental contract is easy and logical. It means only a step forward and is

1. Śānti Parva, 59, p. 980. 2. Pol. Th. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 183.

3. Over-taxation is often a cause of revolution. See Manu-saṃhitā, vii, 111, Kullūka's commentary, p. 375 ; Medhātithi in Ghosal's Hist. of Hindu Pol. Th., p. 241 ; Śānti Parva, Chaps. 91, 92 ; Anuśāsana Parva, Chap. 61 ; Arthasāstra, p. 342 ; Śukra Nīti, pp. 87, 139 ; Kāmandaka's Nīti-sāra, p. 61.

an evident growth securing further popular control. It is the index of the advance made in politics in general. To express it in another way is to say that it is the popular side emphasised to the utmost while the other side, viz., that of the king, naturally drops out of view. But it must be admitted that in its assimilation of the force and result of the other two theories, being itself practically the same, it has undergone a new allotropic modification. Nothing can exactly be posited as to the time of its birth. Apparently it looks like a corollary deducible from the exchange and contract ideas and nothing beyond the analysis of the underlying thought can be attempted to elicit as far as possible the historical genesis of this theory which is undoubtedly one of the highest achievements of Indian political speculation as well as of practical politics working upon constitutional lines. It is to be seen how Baudhāyana is traced to be the first writer to lay it down and since then it became current in political thought.

Among the legislators Baudhāyana has applied this theory direct to taxation, presumably from the prevailing ideas of constitution. He has merely referred to the exchange principle, and contract was then out of the question. It is repeated almost in the same form and substance in later political literature down to Śukra. This may be well realised from the standpoint of kingship, and hence a succinct resumé is given here to keep up the connection of thought when it is brought to bear upon a different subject as taxation :

1. Baudhāyana announced :—"Let the king protect (his) subjects, receiving as his *pay* a sixth part of their incomes and spiritual merits)¹".

2. The law-giver Nārada has put it as :—"Both the customary receipts of a king and what is called the sixth of the produce of the soil form the royal revenue, the *reward* for the protection of his subjects"².

3. The Mahābhārata has also this stratum of thought incorporated with others of a separate type. It may be a simple later addition :—"Through the one sixth *balī* tax, import and export duties, fines and forfeitures collected from offender—gathered in accordance with the Śāstras expect revenue as your *wages* (vetana)"³.

1 Baudhāyana, (S. B. E., vol. XIV), p. 199.

2 Nārada, XVIII, 48—Jolly quoted in "Hindu Polity" ii, p. 162.

3 Śānti Parva, LXXI, 10 - Bengal Text, p. 174.

4. In Kauṭilya there seems to be a mixture of all the ideas on taxation. While he accepts the contract basis he is not quite clear over the wage theory. The following extract shows his position :—
 “People……alloted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. *Fed by this payment* kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects”¹.

5. Śukra’s synthetic statement is clear and emphatic, the wage idea rising to its highest in his work :—“God has made the king though master in form, the servant of the people, getting his wages in taxes for the purpose of continuous protection and growth”².

Mr. Jayaswal has called it the “divine theory of taxation” on the ground that “the broker to that contract was the Creator himself”. The fact is that Śukra has tried to combine the orthodoxy of the canonical writers with the radicalism of the secular politicians. His object evidently is to secure the maximum of authority and freedom at one and the same time. This is one of the great merits of Śukra as the sanest political thinker, the Hindu Aristotle so to speak. The influence of Manu on the above conception is already well known and needs no elucidation. The wage theory has its climax in this remarkable and equally significant synthesis.

(To be continued)

J. N. C. GANGULY

1 Arthaśāstra, p. 26.

2 Śukra-Nīti, I, 88, Jayaswal’s translation.

The Mahābhāṣya

ADHYĀYA I

PĀDA I

ĀHNIKA I

[Introduction]

Now begins "Śabdānuśāsana"¹ or rules for the study of words [the science of grammar]. The particle "atha" (now) is used to indicate the introduction of the subject. What is to be understood is that the treatise called "Śabdānuśāsana" is now commenced. [The study] of what words? Of both popular and Vedic words². Among these the popular words are as follows³ : gauḥ (cow), āśvaḥ (horse), puruṣaḥ

1 The expression 'Śabdānuśāsana', ingeniously used by Patañjali instead of the more popular term viz. 'Vyākaraṇa', is considered to be an appropriate designation of the science of grammar as pointing at once to the main function of Vyākaraṇa, which, as is quite evident, is to formulate such rules as would serve to distinguish correct words from Apabhraṃśas or corrupt forms. Kaiyaṭa rightly observes that by using the expression Śabdānuśāsana the author has clearly shown the direct or supreme end of grammar (Pradīpa).

2 A distinction is here made between the current or popular speech and the sacred language of the Vedas, the former being generally known as 'Bhāṣā' and the latter as 'Chandas' or 'Nigama'. There is ample evidence both in Yāska's Nirukta and Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī that such a distinction was well known to these reputed authors. What we can legitimately infer from such epithets (Laukika and Bhāṣā) being often applied to Sanskrit is that Sanskrit, which had undoubtedly enjoyed the dignity of a spoken tongue at the time of Yāska and Pāṇini, continued to be so even to a much later period.

3 The special claim of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī to be regarded as the "Vedāṅga Vyākaraṇa" is due to the fact that it takes notice of both popular and Vedic words; it is neither wholly concerned with secular words, as is the case with the grammar of Śākaṭyāyana, nor is it confined, like the Prātiśākhya, to the treatment of the Vedic words alone.

(man), hastī (elephant), śakuniḥ (bird), mṛgaḥ (deer), brāhmaṇaḥ (brahmin) etc. The Vedic words are verily such as "Śan no¹ devīr abhiṣṭaye" (May the goddess fulfil our desire); "Iṣetvorje tvā". (Thee for desire, thee for strength); "Agnim īle purohitam" (I worship Fire, the priest); 'Agnā āyāhi vitaye' (O Fire, come to our sacrifice for drinking) etc.

[*Determination of the exact nature of word: sound conveying the intended sense is what is word*]

Now, what is the word in [the utterance] "gauḥ²"? [What really is the word when one utters the sound "gauḥ"?] Is that the word which gives the idea of a thing having dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns³? No, as one would say, [for] that, indeed, is a *thing*⁴. Is it then the gestures, movements, and twinkling of the eyes that constitute the word (gauḥ)? No, as one would say, that verily is called *action*. Is it then the word which indicates its complexion such as white, blue, tawny or grey? No, as one would say, that, indeed, is *quality*. Is then the word that common element⁵ which remains

1 These form the opening verses of the four Vedas. As a fixity of the position of words is strictly followed in the Vedas, the author has given the sentences from the Vedas and not detached words by way of example.

2 What really is implied is this: In popular usage word and its meaning seem to be mutually convertible. Commenting on Yega-Sūtra, 3. 17, Vyāsa has clearly explained how word, meaning and cognition are all falsely considered to be reciprocally convertible. Accordingly, when the sound "gauḥ" is uttered, the cognition of a class, individual and word is at once presented before our mind, and it becomes difficult to ascertain what exactly is the word in the utterance. A word, says Patañjali elsewhere, denotes four objects, namely, class, individual, quality and action (Mahābhāṣya, 1. 1. 2).

3 Gotama maintains that the conception of a thing comprehends the individual, the class and the form—Nyāya Sūtra, 2. 2. 98.

4 The sound "gauḥ" and the object denoted by it (cow) are not comprehended by the same sense-organs; they are therefore far from being identical (Pradīpa).

5 Kaiyaṭa explains it as "Mahāsāmānya" or *summun genus* that pervades the entire sphere of existence. According to Bhartṛhari, the

undifferentiated¹ even though the individuals are different, and undestroyed even when the individuals are destroyed? No, as one would say, that, indeed, is the *form*² [as indicating the class]. What, then, is the word? The word "gauḥ" is that which when uttered gives rise to the conception of beings possessing dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns; or, in other words, the sound by which an object is comprehended is popularly called a word. Thus, one making [or uttering sound is spoken of as follows: "Make a sound"; "Don't make any sound"; "This boy is making sound". The sound is, therefore, the word.³

[*Necessity of making a thorough study of grammar*]

What, again, are the objects of making a study of "Śabdānu-śāsana" (grammar)? The objects are—*Preservation*, *Modification* (determination), *Vedic Injunction* (scripture), *Facility*, and *Removal of confusion*. [The science of] Grammar should be studied for the purpose of preserving the Vedas⁴: since he who knows elision, augment, and transformation of letters is alone competent to preserve

supreme existence (Sattā) is essentially one, but manifests itself in different forms (see Vākyapadiya, 3). So far as the logical interpretation is concerned, the class is eternal and pertains to many individuals—"nityatve sati aneka-samavetatvam."

1 The words *undifferentiated* and *undestroyed* are used to indicate the oneness and eternity of the class (Pradīpa).

2 Patañjali has used the word "ākṛti" as denotative of both class and form. According to his definition, a class is comprehended by the particular form of the individuals—"Ākṛti-grahaṇā jātiḥ".

3 It contains the final conclusion as to the identity of sound with word. The series of questions serve to bring out that a word is really distinct from the class, individual, quality and action.

4 This refers to the real beginning as well as to the paramount importance of grammar as a Vedāṅga. The six Vedāṅgas, specially Vyākaraṇa, came into existence for the sake of facilitating the study of the Vedas. How useful and indispensable the study of grammar is, so far as the understanding of the Vedas is concerned, is best shown by such descriptive epithets of grammar as "Vedānām Vedam" (Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 7. 1.) and "Mukham Vyākaraṇam smṛtam" (Pāṇiniya Śikṣā, 42). Cf. Vākyapadiya, I. Kār. II.

the Vedas [intact] in a proper way. Again, modification¹ is also verily required: The Vedic verses have not been stated in all possible genders and case-endings; they must needs be modified in a suitable manner by the person engaged in a sacrifice. As a non-grammarian is not capable of making such necessary modifications, grammar deserves to be studied. Moreover, there is verily the Vedic injunction²: "The study as well as the understanding of the Vedas with their six [subsidiary] members should be pursued by a Brahmin as an obligatory duty (viz. without having any other object in view)." And among these six members grammar is the principal one; and labour devoted to the principal subject is sure to be fruitful. Grammar should also be studied for the sake of securing facilities [in the knowledge of words]. "A Brahmin must have a knowledge of words"; and excepting grammar [without the help of grammar] words cannot be understood or known by any other easier means [quicker method].

The study of grammar should also be pursued for the removal of doubts. Thus, the Vedic texts³ relating to sacrifice read: "Sṭhūla-prṣatīm āgnivāruṇīm anaḍvāhīm ālabheta" (A large-spotted heifer consecrated to Agni and Varuṇa is to be killed). Now, there arises a doubt (as to the exact meaning) as to whether the expression "Sṭhūla-prṣati" means that the heifer is large [fatty] as well as spotted, or that it is one whose spots are large. One who is not conversant with grammar can hardly determine it [the exact significance] from the accentuation in the following way: If there is accent on the first syllable, the compound would be a "Bahuvrīhi"; and if, on the other hand, the accent falls on the last member of the compound, it would be a "Tatpuruṣa"⁴.

1 The word "Ūha" usually means "reasoning" or 'conjecture', but here it is used in the sense of "making necessary changes" or "supplying the words".

2 Āgama is a term meaning the Vedas. Here it is used as an authoritative statement inducing Brahmins to take to Vedic studies as a sort of obligatory duty.

3 The word "Yājñika" generally means "one who performs the sacrifice," but Nāgeśa has taken it in a different way—viz. "words occurring in the ritualistic portions of the Vedas" (Uddyota).

4 Pāṇ., 6. 2. 1, and 6. 1. 223.

[Besides these] again, these are further objects for the study of grammar¹: "Te 'surāḥ"² (those demons); "duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ" (a corrupt word); "yad adhītam" (what is read); "yas tu prayuṅkte" (he who uses); "avidvāmsaḥ" (uneducated); "vibhakṭim kurvanti" (they supply case-endings); "yo vā imām" (who so knows it); "catvāri" (four); "uta tvaḥ" (some other); "saktum iva" (like grains of wheat); "Sārasvatīm" (an expiatory rite of that denomination); "daśamyām putrasya" (of a son on the tenth day); "sudevo'si Varuṇa" (Varuṇa, thou art a gracious god).

"Te 'surāḥ" (those demons)—"Those demons" uttering "helayo helayaḥ"³ (instead of "he'rayaḥ") got defeated [in consequence of corruption in language]. A Brahmin, therefore, should not use the barbarous language [as that of the Mlecchas], i.e., should not use corrupt forms, for that which is barbarous is indeed corrupt. Thus, grammar should be studied so that we may not become Mleccha⁴ or barbarous [by the use of incorrect forms]. "Te 'surāḥ" [is thus explained].

"Duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ"⁵ (a corrupt word)—A word corrupt or wrong in accent or letter, [if] improperly used [by a man], fails to convey the intended sense. That [like a] thunderbolt of speech destroys the sacrificer himself, as did the expression "Indra-śatruḥ" [turn fatal] on account of error in the accent. We should study grammar so

1 Having shown the immediate purposes that are served by the study of grammar, the author now proceeds to point out some other reasons why the science of grammar should be studied with care.

2 These are inserted as the initials of a number of verses that are fully quoted and explained afterwards.

3 This passage occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with slight variations. See Tait. Saṃhitā, 2. 5.

4 The Apabhraṃśa elements are the absence of "pluta" (prolonged vowel), non-reduplication with regard to "he" and the transformation of 'r' into 'l' (Pradīpa).

5 Nāgeśa does not take the word "Mleccha" as referring either to the country (See Manu, 2. 23) or people, but as a term expressing 'contempt'.

6 This verse occurs in the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā and several other treatises. The legendary account underlying the expression "Indraśatru" is to be found in detail in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

that we may avert the chance of using corrupt words. "Duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ" [is thus explained].

"Yad adhitam" (what is read)—What is read without understanding [and] is simply recited [in a loud voice], does not burn [i.e., produce any effect], like dry fuel [kept] in a place where there is no fire. Grammar should therefore be studied with a view that we may not read anything without understanding. "Yad adhitam" [is thus explained].

"Yas tu prayunkte"¹ (he who uses).—"The skilful man (a grammarian) who uses words, as they ought to be used on special occasions, obtains infinite success in the next world ; but [on the other hand] even he who knows the proper formation of words² is also blamed by the use of corrupt words." Who? Even he who knows the [grammatical] formation of words. Why is it so [How a grammarian happens to be blamed]? Because he who knows the correct words is also expected to know the corrupt forms ; and just as religious merit lies in the knowledge of correct words, so the knowledge of corrupt words is also attended with demerit, or the amount of demerit is rather greater. [Because] the incorrect words are numerous, whereas the correct words are very few, for a single correct word has got a good many corrupt forms ; as, for instance, of a single word "gauḥ" there are so many corrupt forms as "gāvi", "goṇā", "gotā", "gopotalikā" and so on. Now, he who does not know the formation of words has ignorance as his refuge. This statement is untenable. [Because] ignorance should not be one's only excuse ; for he who kills a Brahmin or drinks liquor³ even through ignorance is, I think, also liable to sin. Thus, he who knows the formation of words obtains immense success hereafter, but he is blamed too by reason of using [if he happens to use] corrupt forms. Who? He who does not know the formation of words. Now, he who knows the formation of words has knowledge as his protection. Where is this read? In the verses called the

1 This purports to show that the study of grammar is attended with religious felicity (Pradīpa).

2 "Vāgyogavit"—is one who can determine the meaning of words by analysing them into stems and suffixes [Nāgeśa].

3 Drinking and brahminicide are enumerated in the list of five great sins. See Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 5. 5. 10, and Manu,

"Bhrājā"¹. So verses even are to be taken as an authority? What is meant by it [what follows from it]? If verses prove to be an authority, then the following verse may also be regarded as such: "When a large number of copper-red wine-jars when emptied [drunk] do not lead one to heaven; how can they do the same when used [in a small quantity] in a sacrifice?"² This is, however, thoughtlessly declared by you; and that which is delivered after due deliberation can alone be counted as authoritative. "Yas tu prayuñkte" [is thus explained].

"Avidvāṃsaḥ" (uneducated)—"The uneducated are those who do not know how to prolate a name in responding to a salutation"³. To these people one should simply (unhesitatingly) say, on his return from abroad, as if to a woman, "Here am I." Grammar should be studied so that we may not be treated like women at the time of greeting. "Avidvāṃsaḥ" [is thus explained].

"Vibhaktiṃ kurvanti" (they apply case-endings)—The sacrificial texts read as follows: "Prayājāḥ savibhiktikāḥ kāryāḥ" (The Prayāja hymns should be applied with [proper] case-endings). But it is impossible to render them as such [to make the Prayāja hymns associated with the proper case-endings] without the help of grammar. "Vibhaktiṃ kurvanti" [is thus explained].

"Yo vā imām" (who so [knows] it)—"He who uses this speech [having proper knowledge] word by word, accent by accent, and letters by letters, is competent to be a sacrificial priest." Grammar should be studied in order that we may become [qualify ourselves for] sacrificial priests. "Yovā imām" [is thus explained].

"Catvāri"⁴ (Four)—"Furnished with four horns, three feet, two heads, and seven hands, bound in three parts, the Bull (representing either sacrifice, Śabda-Brahman or religious merit) is making sound; evidently a Great God is dwelling in mortals."

1 These Ślokas are popularly attributed to the authorship of Kātyāyana.

2 This verse is intended to show the undesirability of drinking on the occasion of the "Sautrāmaṇi" sacrifice (Pradīpa).

3 For the customary manner of salutation—see Manu. 2. 122.

4 Ṛg Veda, 4. 58. 3. In his Introduction to the Ṛg Veda, Sāyana has attempted to explain this Ṛk from two different standpoints—sacrificial and grammatical. According to the interpretation of Patañjali and Sāyana, this Ṛk may be viewed as containing the earliest reference to grammar.

The four horns are the four kinds of words, namely, noun, verb, preposition and indeclinable. The three feet [of it] stand for the three divisions of time [tenses], viz. past, future and present. The two heads represent [correspond to] two kinds of words¹—eternal and resultant. The seven hands thereof are the seven case endings. "Bound in three parts", i.e., bound in three places, namely, chest, throat and head. "Vṛṣabha" (the Bull) [comes from the root] 'vṛṣa' "to shower" [to fulfil desires]. "Roravīti" means "making sound." How is it? [Because] the root "ru" means "to make sound." "A Great God has entered the mortals", viz., the great god, i.e., word [Śabda-Brahman]²; mortals, i.e., men that are liable to death; it is dwelling in them." Grammar should be studied in order that we may have union with the Great God.

Another says—"Four are the division of words³ [i.e., divisions of speech]. Only Brahmins having control over their mind are conversant with them. Three lie hidden in the cave [are unknowable], and are not manifested; men speak only the fourth from of speech." "Four

1 Patañjali speaks of two kinds of words—"Nitya" and "Kārya"; by the former he understands "Sphoṭa" and by the latter "sound" as is produced by the operation of vocal apparatus.

2 Śabda or more properly "Śabda-Brahman" is here compared to a Bull that manifests itself in all mortal beings. Following in the wake of Patañjali, the author of the Vākyapadīya has also made use of this metaphor—cf. Vākyapadīya, I. kār. 132. To the orthodox Hindus, who repeat the sacred syllable like Praṇava as an emblem of god, Śabda is not a creation of human effort, but represents a perceptible manifestation of divinity in ourselves. The grammarians had such a lofty conception of Śabda, as is sufficiently clear from their exposition of the doctrine of "Sphoṭa", that they finally identified Śabda with Brahman itself.

3 R̥g Veda, 1. 164, 45. The four different forms of speech (representing the four stages through which Vāk or internal consciousness gets more and more manifested) are as follows: "Parā, Paśyanti, Madhyamā" and "Vaikhari". Both Bhartṛhari and Nāgeśa have given detailed account of these forms of speech. The first three forms are more or less imperceptible by our ordinary sense-organs, being comprehensible only by the 'Yogins'; and it is only the last one, i. e., "Vaikhari" which is generally spoken by men,

are the divisions of words", i. e., the four kinds of words, namely, nouns, verbs, prepositions and indeclinables. "Only Brahmins having control over their mind know them." "Maniṣiṇaḥ", i. e., "those who have control over their mind". "Three lying hidden in the cave are not manifested"—within the cave three lie hidden, i. e., do not move; are not manifested [is the real significance]. "Men speaking only the fourth form of speech", i. e., what is current among men is only the fourth form of speech. "Turtiya" means "fourth." "Catvāri" [is thus explained].

"Uta tvaḥ¹" (some one else)—"Some people, although seeing, do not [practically] see speech; some one, though hearing, does not hear it [fails to grasp the significance]. To some person she unfolds her body, just as a loving wife, dressed in fair garments, shows herself to her husband."

Some one, although seeing, does not see speech; verily some one, though hearing, does not hear it. This half [of the Ṛk] refers to the ignorant. But to some one she reveals her body, i. e., shows her person. Like a well-dressed wife desiring her husband: as [for instance] a wife desiring her husband, dressed in fair attire, discloses her person [to him], so speech reveals itself to one learned in speech [a grammarian]. Grammar should therefore be studied so that speech may reveal itself to us. "Uta tvaḥ" [is thus explained].

"Saktum iva²" (like barley-meal)—"The wise [versed in grammar] purified speech [discriminated the correct words from corrupt forms] by their mind [by the exercise of intelligence], like sifting the barley-meal by means of a sieve. Here the friends realise what friendship³ is; for veritably a gracious fortune rests in their speech."

"Saktuḥ" from the root "sac" (to sprinkle) means "what is hard to cleanse"; or, derived from "kas" (to stretch) by transposition and

1 Rg Veda, X. 6. 71.

2 Rg Veda, X. 6. 71. These four Ṛks are calculated to show that the study of grammar ultimately leads to salvation (Nāgeśa).

3 This passage is difficult to render into English, for the words "sakhāyaḥ" and 'sakhyaṇi' are not used in their ordinary sense, viz., 'friends' and 'friendship.' According to the interpretation of Kaṛyāṭa and Nāgeśa, the meaning will be as follows: Consequent upon a

meaning "blooming". "Titau" is a sieve : [it is so-called] because of its expansion or having many holes. "Dhīrāḥ", i. e., the thoughtful ones [the grammarians]. "Manasā" means "by proper knowledge."¹

"Vācam akṛata" (made speech) i.e., purified speech [from corruption]. "Here friends realise what friendship is," i.e., here being friends they realise what friendship means [attains union with Brahman]. Where ? That difficult path of speech which is only passable by one² [pure knowledge]. Who, again, are they ? The grammarians. Why is it so ? Because auspicious fortune is inherent in their speech, that is, in their speech [the Vedas] lies the auspicious fortune [to a great extent]. "Lakṣmī" from "Lakṣaṇa" (shining), i.e., competent to reveal [to dispel the darkness of ignorance]". "Saktum iva" [is thus explained].

"Sārasvatīm"—The sacrificial texts read : "One having his [sacri-ficial] fire kindled up is required to perform the expiatory rite called Sārasvatī, if he happens to use a corrupt word". Grammar should be studied so that we may not be liable to observe the expiatory penance. "Sārasvatīm" [is thus explained].

"Daśamyāṁ putrasya"³ (of the son, on the tenth day)—The sacrificial texts read : "One should name his son on the tenth day after his birth⁴ by a name beginning with a sonant letter, having a semi-vowel

perfect knowledge of the Vedas, the grammarians gradually shake off all differential knowledge (Bheda-budhi) and are ultimately blessed by union with Brahman.

1 It means that the grammarians distinguished the correct words from corrupt forms and thus cleansed their language of all corruptions.

2 Brahman in the shape of the Vedas is only attainable by pure knowledge, there being no other path leading to final emancipation—cf. "Nānyaḥ panthāḥ vidyate ayanāya"

3 This is taken from some Gṛhya Sūtras. The reading of Gobhila is not exactly identical with it (cf. Gobhila, 2. 9-18).

4 The "Nāmakaraṇa" ceremony should be celebrated either on the tenth or on the twelfth day from the birth (see Bṛhadhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, 2. 1. and Manu, 2. 30.)

in the middle, not containing a long vowel, a name resembling those of the three ancestors and not one current among his enemies. Such a name is much honoured. The name¹ [so given] should be made as consisting of two or four letters, ending in a 'Kṛt' and not in a "Taddhita" suffix"². "Daśamyām putrasya" [is thus explained].

"Sudevo 'si'"³ (thou art a gracious god)—"Varuṇa, thou art a gracious god, whose seven rivers are flowing from the palate, as through a perforated iron-image".

"Varuṇa, thou art a gracious god", i. e., true god, of whose seven rivers", i. e., the seven case-endings [that] are flowing from the palate. 'Kākuda' means the palate, inasmuch as 'Kāku' means tongue, and as it is turned upwards within, so it is called 'Kākuda'. "As through a perforated [and beautiful] iron-image": this is as follows : As fire entering inside a perforated and fine iron-image burns it, so thine seven rivers, i. e., the seven case-endings, flow from the palate. For that reason thou art [regarded as] a glorious god. Grammar should be studied in order that we may become glorious gods [shining in truth]. 'Sudevo 'si' [is thus explained]

[Some one may argue] again, is this statement [exposition] of the motives meant only for those that are inclined to make a study of grammar [only to persuade the students to the study of grammar], or for something else⁴ [has some other object in view, i. e. the study of the

1 Cf. Bodhāyana, 2. 1.

2 For particulars of "Nāmakaraṇa" see Manu, 2. 31-33.

3 Rg Veda, viii, 8. 69.

4 What is really implied is this : Is the exposition of the motives necessary only for persuading the students of grammar and not those that undertake the study of the Vedas ? In regard to both the cases, the enumeration of motives (Prayojana) seems to be useless, as the study of the Vedas and of grammar should be pursued by scholars without having any particular object in view (Uddyota). As the old practice is no longer in existence, and the majority of scholars first read the Vedas before they devote themselves to the study of grammar, there arises the necessity of enumerating the 'Prayojanas' as to why the study of grammar should be taken up, and that first of all,



Vedas also]. People [i.e., students of the Vedas] use to read the Vedic words beginning with "Śam" (a term expressing auspiciousness) in order of the sections [Prapāṭhaka], after uttering [the sacred syllable] "Om". The custom prevalent in ancient times was as follows : The Brahmins used to read grammar after the time of "sacrament of holy thread"; the instruction on the Vedic words was imparted to them only when they could understand the places [of utterance], internal and external efforts [involved in the production of sound], and [articulated] sounds. But this is not the case at present, for they [now-a-days] first take to the study of the Vedas and use to say [are competent to recite or speak Sanskrit] in course of a short time and they also argue : "The Vedic words are learnt by us from the Vedas, and the popular words from the current usage ; the study of grammar is, therefore, useless". It is for those students entertaining such a false idea [with regard to the study of grammar] that the revered teacher [e.g. Pāṇini and Kātyāyana] has expounded the science of grammar [enumerated its aims], pointing out—"these are the objects why Grammar should be studied".¹

Thus, word [what a word really is] is told ; its exact nature is also shown ; and the objects also are enumerated. Now it is required to state the rules for the study of words (viz. how correct words are to be distinguished from corrupt forms). How is it to be stated ? Is it necessary to give instruction on correct words, or on corrupt words, or on both of them ? Instruction on either of them will serve the purpose ; as, for instance, by the restriction of what is eatable is also implied [indirectly] the prohibition in regard to what is not fit to be eaten. What is to be inferred from the statement "Five among the five-nailed animals are only fit to be eaten"² is that animals other than these are not eatable. Similarly, by the prohibition of what is uneatable is also indicated the restriction as to what is eatable ; as, for example, what is understood by [the prohibitive injunction] the statement "The domesticated fowl as well as the domesticated pig are not eatable"³ is that those that live in the forest are per-

1 Here ends the discourse on the 'Anubandhas'. Quite in keeping with the philosophical aspect of grammar, Patañjali has first dealt with the four "Anubandhas", namely, subject, object, relation and the competent scholar (who is fit to undertake the study of grammar).

2 See Bodhāyana Dharma-sūtra, I. 5. 131.

3 See Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra, I. 5. 129.

mitted to be eaten. Similar is the case here. If correct words are only dealt with, then the form "gauḥ" being stated [as correct], it would follow that words like "gāvi" etc. are corruptions. Again, if instruction on corrupt words is only given, then when the forms "gāvi" etc. are stated [as corruptions], it would necessarily imply that "gauḥ" is the correct word. Now, which of these two alternatives is preferable? The instruction on correct words is preferable on the ground of succinctness. [Because] it is easier to deal with correct words, [but] it is difficult to deal with corrupt forms. [Because] of each correct word there are many corruptions; as, for example, of the single word "gauḥ" there are so many corruptions as "gāvi" "goṇā" "gotā", "gopotalikā" and so on. Moreover, it [the instruction on correct words] is verily an exposition of what is desirable.

Now, in course of the study of words [the study of correct words being desirable], is it necessary to read them word by word [each word individually] for a knowledge of words? Should these words be studied [one by one] as "gauḥ", "āsvaḥ", "puruṣaḥ", "hasti" "śakuniḥ", "mṛgaḥ" "brāhmaṇaḥ", and so on? No, says one. Because the study of each individual word is impracticable so far as the knowledge of all words is concerned. The tradition runs as follows¹: To Indra Bṛhaspati [the divine tutor] delivered "Śabda-pārāyaṇa"², reading word by word, for a period of one thousand years of the Gods, but failed to reach the end. A teacher like Bṛhaspati with Indra as a scholar, and the period of study extending over a thousand divine years, [yet he] could not reach the end. What, again, is the case now-a-days? He who veritably lives long lives for only one hundred years [at the most]. [But] learning is made perfect in four ways, namely, at the time of receiving instruction, the time of assimilation, the time of teaching, and the time of application [as in the performance of a sacrifice]. Among these his entire life [if he were to read word by word] would be spent or required even in the period of receiving instruction. For a knowledge of words it is therefore impracticable to read them one by one. How, then, these words are to be comprehended? Some treatises [grammar] containing

1 Cf. Tait. Saṃhitā, VI. 4. 7, where Indra is spoken of as one who first attempted to analyse speech in response to an appeal made by gods.

2 The word "Śabdapārāyaṇa" means a particular Śāstra (Pradīpa).

both general and particular rules should be made whereby people might master the huge collection of words with the help of little effort.¹ What, again, is that? General and particular rules. [In some cases] a number of general rules and [in some cases:] a number of particular rules should be made. How, then, are to be made the general rules and how the special rules? A general rule should be framed on the basis of generalisation, as for example, "Karmāṇyaṇ²" (Pāṇ. 3. 2. 1.); and a particular rule [is made] by [its] specialisation, as, for example, "Āto'anupasarge kaḥ³" (Pāṇ. 3. 2. 3).

[Discussion in regard to whether a word denotes a class or an individual]

Is the meaning of a word a class or an individual? [Does a word mean a class or a thing⁴?] Both [says the grammarian]. How is it known? Because the rules [of the Aṣṭādhyāyī] have been stated in both these ways; taking 'class' as the meaning of a word the aphorism "Jātyākhyāyām ekasmin bahu-vacanam anyatarasyām" (Pāṇ. 1. 2. 58) has been formulated; and taking "thing" [individual] as what is denoted by a word, the "Eka-śeṣa" rule "Sarūpāṇām" etc. [Pāṇ. 1. 2. 64] has been commenced.

1 It shows clearly that Sanskrit grammar is based on the scientific principles of generalisation and specialisation.

2 A root gets "aṇ" when it is preceded by an Upapada in the objective case, as "kumbhakāraḥ."

3 A root ending in "ā", not preceded by any Upasarga, and having an Upapada in the objective case, is allowed to have "ka", as "Godah"

4 To determine the exact denotation of a word has been a much controversial topic among the Hindu philosophers. The Mīmāṃsakas advocated the "class-theory", and consequently held that all words denote a class; the Naiyāyikas maintain that a word denotes "an individual conditioned by the class"; the grammarians have, however, reconciled these two views, as is clear from the statement of Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana, taking both class and individual as what is denoted by a word. Patāñjali has recognised four classes of words, namely, words denoting a class, words denoting quality, words denoting action and words denoting particular names. See Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I. p. 19.

[*Discussion on the eternity and non-eternity of words*]

Again, is a word eternal [permanent] or created¹ ? It has been principally discussed [examined] in the 'Saṃgraha²' as to whether a word is eternal or created [produced] ; there the defects [in regard to the non-eternal view of words] have been shown, and the [reasons] objects also have been stated. The conclusion arrived at there is as follows : whether a word is eternal or created, the rules [i.e., grammar] must needs be made in both the ways. Why, again, the grammatical treatise [Aṣṭādhyāyī] of the venerable Pāṇini has been made ? [If words are held to be eternal, what is the use of grammar ?]

"The word, the meaning, and the relation [in which a word stands to its significance] being eternal [permanently fixed³]" Var. I.

The word, its meanings, and the relation also [having been established as eternal] being permanently fixed—[the question next arises].

Cf. Daṇḍin's classification of words—"Śabdaireva prattiyante jāti-dravya-guṇa-kriyāḥ."

1 It is another difficult problem to decide whether words are eternal or created by men. The Mīmāṃsā system is in a sense based on the eternity of sound, while the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika schools have vehemently discarded it. As upholders of the doctrine of "Sphoṭa", the grammarians have strongly supported the eternal character of Śabda. According to the standpoint of the Grammarians, Śabda, or more properly, "Sphoṭa" is subject to neither production nor destruction ; it is essentially distinct from sound that only serves to manifest it.

2 'Saṃgraha' is the name of a great treatise on grammar consisting of one lakh of verses popularly attributed to the authorship of Vyāḍi (Nāgeśa). Vyāḍi is said to have been the expounder of the "Individualistic theory" of words, as opposed to the 'Class-theory' of Vājapyāyana. That this work was held as an authority with regard to the grammatical problems is quite evident from the reference of the subsequent grammarians. Mention is made of both Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana in the Mahābhāṣya [Vol. I. pp. 242 and 243].

3 This and the following two Vārttikas, though explained separately, are considered to be the parts of one and the same Vārttika.

Now, what is the meaning of the word "Siddhaḥ" ? The word 'Siddha' is synonymous with "nitya" [eternal]¹. How is that known ? Because it [Siddha] is used to denote objects that are imperishable and motionless ; as, for instance, [one says] "Siddhā dyauh" [eternal heaven] ; 'Siddhā pṛthivī' [eternal earth] ; "Siddham ākāśam" [eternal sky] etc. Well, Sir, it is also used to denote created things, as [one says] "Siddha odanaḥ" [boiled rice] ; "Siddhaḥ sūpaḥ" [cooked soup] ; "Siddhā yavāgūḥ" [boiled gruel]. When it is also applied to things that are created, why should it be taken only as an equivalent of eternal and not that one [i.e., the word "Siddha"] as denotes created things ? [To this we reply]. From the fact of its being treated in the "Samgraha" as an opposite view in relation to the "Kārya" standpoint², we opine [suggest] that it [Siddha] should be taken as an equivalent of eternal. The same thing holds good here too. Or there are cases where ascertainment³ is also indicated by one inflected word as "Ab-bhakṣaḥ", "Vāyu-bhakṣaḥ", i.e., 'he who lives only on water', and 'he who takes only air' [for his food]. So here too it [Siddha] means 'only eternal' and not what is "created". Or the elision⁴ of the first word is to be seen here, that is, 'Siddhaḥ' [as an abbreviation of] for "atyantasiddhaḥ" [altogether eternal] ; similarly, [we have] "Dattaḥ" for "Devadattaḥ", and "Bhāmā" for "Satyabhāmā".

1 The Kātantra-Vyākaraṇa also begins with the aphorism "Siddho varṇasamāmnāyaḥ", where the word 'siddha' is used to mean "fixed by nature".

2 "Is a word eternal [Nitya], or created ["Kārya"] are the two divergent views discussed in the Samgraha ; it follows from the very nature of the discourse contained therein that the word "Siddha", as opposed to "Kārya", should be taken as an equivalent of eternal (Pradīpa).

3 "Avadhāraṇa" or determination is generally indicated in Sanskrit by such particle as "eva", as the expression "Apa eva bhakṣayati" really means 'a person who lives only on water and takes nothing else for his food' ; "that he takes nothing but water" being implied by the force of the particle "eva". But in some cases, as is shown here, such a sense is derivable even without the particle "eva".

4 The practice of shortening names by dropping some syllables may be largely traced even in the present state of our society.

Or [on the strength of the dictum] by the principle "Vyākhyānato viśeṣa-pratipattir nahi sandehād alakṣaṇam" [The particular knowledge of a rule of grammar is usually derived from the interpretation, but it does not become anything but a rule because of the doubt], we are allowed to explain the word (Siddha) as being synonymous with eternal. What, again, is the use of such strained explanation? Why in a loud voice the word "nitya" (eternal) has not been uttered, [instead of 'Siddha'] which being so used, there would have been no room for doubt? For the sake of auspiciousness. The auspicious teacher³ has used the word "Siddha" just in the beginning evidently for the welfare of the great collection of Śāstras (rules of grammar). (Because) Śāstras⁴ beginning with an auspicious word (like "atha", "om", "siddha" etc.) obtain popularity, the learners whereof turn out heroes⁵ (invincible), the followers whereof happen to be long-lived,

1 This is a Paribhāṣā (for explanation see Paribhāṣenduśekhara). What it really means is this: Whenever there arises a doubt in regard to a certain grammatical point, the best course is to turn our attention to the interpretation of the acknowledged teachers for the solution, but we should not in any case reject the Śāstra or any portion simply on the ground of doubtfulness.

2 Really it requires straining to some extent to get into the sense viz. 'eternal' from the word 'siddha', for the word is used to denote both eternal and that which is created. The proper and usual word for "eternal" is "nitya", and the author ought to have used it in order to do away with all doubts.

3 The author of the Vārttika is here said to be auspicious, as the object he kept in view was to secure the desired end that is far from being abominable.

4 In pursuance to the time-honoured custom most of the orthodox Śāstras began, as a rule, with some auspicious words like 'om', "atha" 'siddha', "vṛddhi" etc. The Aṣṭādhyāyī begins with the word "Vṛddhi"; the Kātantra-Sūtras with 'siddha' and so on. The use of such auspicious words is supposed to have the efficacy of removing all obstacles that might hinder the completion of a work.

5 It means that those who carefully go through the Śāstras of such description become ultimately intellectual wranglers, i.e., they are not expected to meet with discomfiture in a literary debate (Pradīpa).

and the readers have their desire fulfilled. But verily the word 'nitya' does not necessarily apply only to objects that are imperishable and motionless. What, then? (To what else does it apply?). It is also used to denote "repetition of action", as, (one says) 'Nityaprahasitaḥ' (he laughs repeatedly); and 'Nityaprajalpitaḥ' (talking repeatedly) etc. As it is also applicable to denote repetition, there too the meaning will (be clear) be explained by the same dictum—"Vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir nahi sandehād alakṣaṇam". The revered teacher finds out that the word 'siddha' expressing auspiciousness will be used in the beginning, and [if necessary] he would be able to explain it as a synonym of "nitya" [eternal]. Therefore, the word 'siddha' has been used, and not the word "nitya" [eternal]. Now, what, again is taken to be the meaning of the word [siddha] when the sentence is thus dissolved—"siddhe śabde'rthe sambandhe ca"? One says, it is the form [as indicating a class]. Why is it so? [Because] the form [the class] is eternal, and the thing is non-eternal [created]. Now, if "thing" is held to be the meaning of a word, how the sentence [Sūtra] should be broken up? [In the following way] As "Siddhe śabde arthasambandhe ca". [Because] Eternal is the relation of significant words with their meanings. Or when 'thing' alone is taken to be the denotation of a word, the following way of disjoining as "Siddhe śabde 'rthe sambandhe ca" might also be consistent [proper]. Because thing is eternal, and the form is non-eternal. How is that known? It is often noticed in the world that in connection with a certain form [by assuming certain form] earth turns into 'clod'; and small

1 The word 'ākṛti' literally means 'form', i.e., the particular arrangement of limbs or parts in a body. A class [jāti], according to the grammatical conception, is indicated by the particular form of the individuals [Cf. "ākṛtigrahaṇā jātiḥ"]. In the following discourse the word is, however, used as both indicator (viz. the form whereby the class is indicated) and that which is indicated (viz. the class or "Jāti").

2 "Dravyam hi nityam" [Thing is really eternal] is explained by Kaiyaṭa as referring to "Brahman conditioned by false attributes".

3 According to the strict interpretation of the Vedānta standpoint, the class such as "gotva" is also non-eternal, for it does not really exist (Pradīpa).

pots are made [out of it] by crushing the 'clod-form' ; again, by bruising the form of pots, pitchers are prepared. Similarly, coming in contact with certain form gold assumes the shape of bullion ; by bruising the form of bullion 'Rucakas' [an ornament for the neck] are made ; [again] "Kaṭakas" [bracelets] are prepared by bruising the form of "Rucakas" ; [again] bruising the 'Kaṭaka-form' "Svastikas" [a kind of vessels] are made. It is again turned into lump of gold, and, again, in connection with a particular form it [the lump of gold] takes the shape of ear-rings resembling the colour of charcoal of Khadira tree. The form may be either this or that [may vary in many ways], but the thing remains the same. The thing alone remains on the destruction of the form. If the form [the class] is also held to be what is meant by a word, the following way of disjoining [the Sūtra] as "Siddhe śabde'rthe sambandhe ca" might be admissible. But it has already been said [by you] that the form is non-eternal. It is not so. [Because] the form [the class] is eternal. How ? Though destroyed in some individuals, the form is not [altogether] destroyed in all places, but it might be perceived as belonging [inherent] to some other things. Or this is not the only criterion [definition] of eternity, since what is constant, absolute, motionless, undecaying, changeless, unmodifiable, beginningless, growthless and imperishable is also known to be eternal. That is also regarded to be eternal wherein the essence is not destroyed [the inherent property is not destroyed even when the thing itself is destroyed]. What, again, is the essence ? 'Essence' means the inherent property [of a thing]. In the form too the essence is not destroyed. Or what is the use of our discussion such as "it is eternal" and "it is non-eternal" ? [We should say] taking what is eternal as the meaning of the word, the decomposition [of the Sūtra] is made as follows "Siddhe śabde'rthe sambandhe ca".

1 Patañjali here gives the loftiest conception of eternity by eliminating the three different varieties of "anityatā" or non-eternality, namely, non-eternality due to association, non-eternality due to modification, and non-eternality caused by destruction (Pradīpa). All things, according to Vāṛṣyāyaṇi, are liable to pass through the six different stages, namely, existence, production, modification, growth, decay and destruction. It is clear from the interpretation of Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa that what is eternal is not subject to any of those changes as enumerated by Vāṛṣyāyaṇi.

How is it known that the word, the meaning and the relation are all permanently fixed [eternal]? *From the world*¹ [it is known]. Because in ordinary affairs of life men first ascertain certain things [viz. the meaning to be expressed] and then use words; but they do not try to create them. But in regard to things that are created attempt is, however, made for their production [whenever necessity arises], as, for example, a person having something to do with a pot goes to the house of a pot-maker, and asks "make a pot for me, I shall do my work with it". Similarly, a man desiring to use words does not go to the house of a grammarian and asks him, "make words, I shall use them". But [without approaching a grammarian] they determine the thing [in their mind] and then use words [to express the meaning]. If, then, popular usage is taken to be the authority [viz. if words are to be learnt from the popular usage] in the use of these words, what is done [what purpose is served] by the Śāstra [grammar]?

"Though the meaning [of words] is determined from ordinary life, by the Śāstra [grammar] is laid down a religious restriction in regard to the use of words." Vār. I.

Though the meaning is [generally] known from popular usage, [a sort of] religious restriction is laid down by grammar in regard to the use of words². What is meant by "Dharmaniyamaḥ" [a restriction relating to religious merit]? Does it mean "Dharmāya niyamaḥ" i.e., a restriction for the sake of religious merit; or, "Dharmārtho niyamaḥ" i.e., a restriction which has religious merit as its result; or, "Dharmaprayojano niyamaḥ" i. e., a restriction which has religious merit as its object?

1 "Lokataḥ" is taken to be a part of the first Vārttika. There is, however, some anomaly with regard to the extent of the first Vārttika. According to both Kaiyaṣa and Nāgeśa, the first Vārttika will read as follows: "Siddhe śabdārthasambandhe lokato'rthaprayukte śabdaprayoge śāstreṇa dharmaniyamo yathā laukika-vaidikeṣu". Patañjali has split up this long Vārttika into four parts evidently for the sake of convenience of exposition.

2 It will be stated later on that religious merit lies in the proper use and not only in the knowledge of correct words.

"As in the secular and Vedic texts"¹. Vār. I.

The people of the Deccan² are fond of Taddhita-suffixes, since where 'loke' and 'Vede' are to be used, they use "taddhita", i.e., "laukikeṣu" and "vaidikeṣu". Or the meaning of the 'taddhita'-suffix is actually right, as [one says] "laukikeṣu Vaidikeṣu ca kṛtānteṣu" [in popular and scriptural opinions]. It is said in ordinary life that "a domesticated fowl is unfit to be eaten" and "a domesticated pig is unfit to be eaten".³ By "eatable" is meant what is taken to appease or remove one's hunger ; and one is capable of satisfying his hunger even by means of dogs' meat. A restriction is laid down here as 'this is eatable', and "this is not 'eatable'". In the same way desire for women arises from carnal passion ; and the same [similar] is the satisfaction of passion whether a cohabitable or uncohabitable woman is enjoyed. Here a restriction is thus enjoined "such is fit for co-habitation", and "such is unfit for cohabitation." In the scripture also it is enjoined "A Brahmin⁴ should take only milk [as his food]" ; "A Kṣatriya should take barley" ; and "A Vaiśya should take curd." "Vrata" means what is taken for food and [it is possible to perform one's 'Vrata'] one can also take rice and meat for his food. A restriction is laid down in this case. Similarly, it is enjoined "the sacrificial post should be made of either Bilva or Khadira tree." A 'yūpa' is what is used for the binding of animals ; and it is possible to bind an animal by some pieces of wood with certain engravings on them. Here too a restriction is laid down. Similarly, [it is enjoined that] by holding the covers on fire one recites the following incantation [Mantra] "Bhṛgūṇāṃ aṅgirasāṃ dharmasya tapasī tapyadhvam" [Let you be heated by the heat of virtues of Bhṛguś and Aṅgirasas], But even without the [help of] incantation fire makes

1 Kaiyaṭa explains "laukika" as what is enjoined by the "Smṛti" texts, and "Vaidika" as what is laid down by the Vedas (Pratīpa).

2 What is inferred from this passage is that the author of the Vārttika [Kātyāyana] was an inhabitant of the Deccan.

3 "What is eatable and what is unfit to be eaten" has been particularly discussed in the Dharma-sūtras. See Bodhāyana, 1. 5.

4 This passage is evidently taken from the Brāhmaṇas which form an integral part of the Vedas (cf. "Śeṣe Brāhmaṇaśabdah"—Pūrvamīmāṃsā, 1. 31). See also Bodhāyana Dharma-sūtra, 3. 7. 10.

the covers heated by virtue of its power of burning. Here also is laid down a restriction to the effect "this being properly done becomes conducive to welfare". So here also, though the meaning is equally expressed by the use of correct words¹ as well as by corrupt words, a restriction for religious merit is thus laid down—"the meaning is to be expressed only by the use of correct words and not by corrupt forms"; and this being actually done will lead to welfare [The use of words in conformity to the rules of grammar is alone conducive to welfare].

"There exists word which is not used²." There are words which are no longer used ; as, for example, 'ūṣa' 'tera', cakra 'peca' etc. What [is the use of having words that are not used ?] if there exist some words that are not used ? You determine the correctness of words from their use ; and those that are no longer used are not [necessarily] correct. What you say is fallacious, *i.e.*, that there exist some words which are not used. Because if they really exist, they cannot but be used ; if, again, not used, then [it follows] they do not [really] exist. That they exist and are not used is fallacious [a contradiction in terms]. It is while using them that you say "there exist words which are not used". Who else like yourself will be [competent] an authority in the use of words ? This is not inconsistent. We say they exist [though not used], inasmuch as those who know the Śāstra [*i.e.*, the grammarians] have supported their formation with reference to the rules of grammar. Again, we say they are not used, as they are not used by men [in ordinary conversation]. As to the statement "who else like yourself will be competent in the use of words", we do not mean to say that they are not used by us. What then ? [we simply say] They are not current among people. But you too are one among the people. [He replies] Yes, I am one among the people, but not exactly the same as the people [as a whole].

1 There is divergence of views regarding the question whether the so-called corrupt words [Apabhraṃśas] are directly capable of expressing the meaning like all correct words. As they take "Apabhraṃśa" only as corruption of Sanskrit, the Hindu grammarians have advanced arguments to prove that corrupt words [originating from inability to pronounce the correct words or from carelessness] have no significance of their own, but they express the intended sense only by means of inference. See Vākyapadīya, I. Kār. 151.

2 This is considered to be a part of the next Vārttika.

"If you say 'there are words but not used', it will not stand, since words are used to express the meaning." Vār. 2.

If you say there exist words which are not used, it will not do. What is the cause? Because words are used [for the knowledge of meaning] to express the meaning. Words are used for the comprehension of sense¹ [viz. things that are denoted by them], and there are meanings of these words in which [for the denotation of which] they [words] are used.

"Their non-use is simply because other words are used in their stead." Vārt. 3.

Verily, the non-use of these words is also justifiable. Why? [Because other words are used in their place] On account of other words being used in their place. People now use other words to denote the meaning [in the sense expressed by these words] as is expressed by these words; for instance, [the expression] "kva yūyam ūṣitāḥ" [where did you live?] is now used in the sense denoted by the word "ūṣa"; "kva yūyam tīrṇāḥ" [where did you cross?] in the sense of "tera"; "kva yūyam kṛtavantāḥ" [where did you do?] in the sense of 'cakra'; "kva yūyam pakvavantāḥ" [where did you cook?] in the sense of 'peca'.

"Though they are not used, they [should be taught] are like long sacrifices". Vārt. 4.

Even if these words are not used, yet they must needs be taught [explained] by the rules of grammar, just as is the case with long sacrifices; for instance, long sacrifices² are such as are continued for a hundred years and for a thousand years. But now-a-days nobody performs them; it is only the sacrificers themselves [or the Vedic texts relating to sacrifice] who [enjoin] teach them by the [with reference to]

1 The existence of things that are to be denoted by words is the immediate cause so far as the use of words is concerned (Pradīpa).

2 There is evidence to believe that in ancient times sacrifices were sometimes performed which lasted for such a length of time as one thousand years. Such sacrifices are no longer in vogue, but we only hear of them in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta-sūtras.

Śāstra, taking what has been transmitted through the ancient seers¹ as a kind of religious merit.

"All [these words are used] in other countries". Vārt. 5.

Verily, all these words are used in other countries. But they are not known. Make an effort for their knowledge. [Because] Wide is the extent in regard to the use of words. The earth with seven islands², the three worlds³, the four Vedas with their subsidiary branches⁴ [Aṅgas], and the mystical [secret] treatises⁵ [Upaniṣads] in all their varieties, the one hundred branches⁶ of the Yajur Veda, the Sāma Veda with its thousand paths, the Ṛg Veda with nine branches, treatises on dialogues⁷ [or the science of Logic], the Itihāsa⁸ [the epics], Purāṇas, and the

1 The expression "R̥ṣisampradāyāḥ", ordinarily means "the generation of sages" i.e., the tradition handed down from the ancient sages; Kaiyaṭa, however, explains it as denoting "the study of the Vedas."

2 The seven islands; as enumerated in the Purāṇas, are as follows: Jambu, Plakṣa, Krauñca, Śveta, Śāka, Śālmali Kuśa.

3 viz. Heaven, Earth and Infernal region.

4 The Aṅgas are six in number, namely, Śikṣā (phonetics), Kalpa (rituals), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Jyotiṣa (astro-nomy) and Chandas (prosody).

5 This means either 'Upaniṣad' or 'Smṛti' texts as those of Manu, so called because of their bringing out the hidden or subtle meaning of the Vedas (Nāgeśa).

6 This shows the real extent of the Saṃhitā literature known to ancient India. It is really a matter of great regret that very little of this vast literature has come down to us.

7 "Vākovākya" is explained by some as meaning the science of Logic, but Kaiyaṭa takes it as a treatise containing dialogues.

8 In early literature [see Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 7. 2.] the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa were taken as forming a single branch of study. The word 'Itihāsa' occurs in Yaska's Nirukta as representing the ancient stories as are narrated in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. In later times, however, they came to be regarded as two distinct branches of

science of medicine—this much is the range in regard to the use of words. Without knowing this extent of the use of words, to say that there are words which are not used is nothing but boldness pure and simple. In this exceedingly wide extent of the use of words, certain words are found to have their meanings fixed [restricted] in some places. Thus, for example, the form '*Śavati*'¹ meaning 'motion' is only used by the Kāmbojas; the Āryas use it in the sense of "transformation" as '*Śava*' [a dead body]; '*hammati*' is used among the Surāṣṭras; '*raṃhati*' among the eastern and central countries, but the Āryas use only '*gam*'; '*dāti*' is used by the easterners in the sense of 'cutting', and '*dātra*' by the northerners. The use is also found of those words which are considered by you as what are not used. Where? In the Veda. Thus, "*Saptāsye revati revadūṣa*"; "*Yadvo revati revatyāṃ tamūṣa*"; "*Yanme naraḥ śrutyaṃ Brahma cakra*"; "*Yatrā naścakrā jarasaṃ tanūnām.*" [It must be noticed here that the words 'ūṣa' and 'cakra' have been used in the above Vedic texts].

[*The use of correct words in conformity to the rules of grammar is a means to attain religious merit*].

Again, does religious merit lie in the knowledge of correct words or in their use²? What is the difference?

studies [cf. the list of 14 different branches of learning—"Purāṇam-itihāsaś ca vidyā hyetāś caturdaśa"]. By 'Itihāsa' we generally mean the great epics (viz. the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa), and by "Purāṇa" the anecdotes relating to minor events. That the Mahābhārata was called an "Itihāsa" is to be found in the Mahābhārata itself ['Bhāratasyetihāsasya' M. B. I. 19]. There are five well-marked characteristics of the Purāṇas viz, "*Sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca, Vaṃśānucaritaṃ caiva purāṇaṃ pañca lakṣaṇam*". A distinction between the two is thus shown by Kaiyaṭa: 'Itihāsa' is the narration of old stories; 'Purāṇa' is the narration of accounts relating to the dynasties of kings and so on.

1 This passage also occurs in Yāska's Nirukta, p. 161 (Bom. ed.). It shows that Patañjali was conversant with the dialectical varieties of Sanskrit as were used in different parts of the country.

2 Rg Veda. 4, 4, 6, 4.

3 Kaiyaṭa has here quoted a 'Śruti' evidently to show that it is not only the knowledge of correct words, but it is practically

"If religious merit [is said to arise from] lies in the knowledge, then there will be also religious demerit". Vār. 6.

If you say religious merit lies in the knowledge, then religious demerit too will be there, because he who knows the correct words knows also the corrupt forms. And as religious merit results from the knowledge of correct words, so religious demerit also arises from the knowledge of corrupt words. Or greater demerit results therefrom (from the use of corrupt words), inasmuch as corrupt words are numerous (are larger in number) and correct words are but few¹. Because of each correct word there are many corruptions; as, for instance, of the single correct form 'gauḥ' there are so many corruptions as gāvī, goṇī, gotā, gopotalikā etc.

"The restriction [holds good] is in the use [of words]" Vār. 7.

Again, the 'Rṣi' [the Veda] lays down a restriction in regard to the use of words, viz., "those demons [for] uttering 'helayo helayāḥ' [instead of 'he'rayāḥ'] i.e., 'O foes, O foes,' got defeated". Then, let it be said that religious merit lies in the use [of words].

"If [religious merit lies] in this use, the whole world would have it"². Vār. 8.

their use in consonance to the rules of grammar, that is really attended with religious merit. The Śruti tells us as follows: "A word, thoroughly understood and used in conformity to the rules of grammar, becomes like a 'wish-yielding' cow (that fulfils all desires) both in heaven and earth".

1 It is a fact of common experience how numerous corrupt forms are given rise to by a single correct word. The corrupt forms or Apabhraṃśas represent, as the native grammarians hold, only corruptions of Sanskrit. The so-called 'Tadbhava' class of Prākṛta might well be shown as the corruptions of their corresponding Sanskrit forms. The science of grammar had been studied in ancient India with so much zeal mainly for the purpose of preserving the sacred character of Sanskrit from being amalgamated with the different varieties of Prākṛta that were current among the masses.

2 What it means is this: If religious merit is attainable from the use of words, every one, no matter whether he is acquainted

If religious merit lies in the use [of words], all people [simply by virtue of using those words] might have obtained heavenly bliss. Now, who would be jealous of you if the whole humanity is blessed with heavenly felicity? Certainly nobody would be jealous. But [in this way] there will be uselessness of making any effort¹; for such effort only should be made as is sure to be fruitful. And effort is nowhere without fruit. [viz. effort is always attended with the fruit]. But those who make effort [in the study of grammar] will use correct words and they alone will largely receive heavenly bliss. The reverse is also seen [viz. effort is not sometimes attended with the fruit]. Because some persons even who have made regular effort are also found to be incompetent, whereas others who have not made any effort are also found to be competent. Thus, there is also difference of the result. Thus, then, religious merit does neither lie only in the knowledge nor only in the use². In what then?

"Religious felicity rests in the use of words accompanied by the knowledge of [by the study of] grammar ; it is like what is indicated by the Vedic word.", Vār. 9.

He who uses the words in accordance with the Śāstra [grammar] is blessed with religious merit. It is just like what is implied by the scriptural word. The scriptural words also declare "Yo'gni-ṣṭomena yajate ya u cainam evaṃ veda" [One who performs the 'Agniṣṭoma' sacrifice, or one who knows it in this way] and "Yo'gniṃ nāciketam cinute ya u cainam evaṃ veda" [One who kindles

with grammar or not, who uses words would be competent to obtain heavenly blessing.

1 If one is entitled to heavenly felicity simply on the ground of using correct words, the study of grammar becomes entirely useless.

2 Having discussed the two views whether religious merit arises from the knowledge of correct words or from their use, Patañjali finally sets forth the conclusion that the so-called religious merit lies only in the use of correct words accompanied by a knowledge of grammar. The study of grammar is therefore indispensable for the attainment of religious merit,

the sacrificial fire called "Nāciketa", or one who knows it in this way]. Some one says "Tattulyaṃ Vedaśabdena [i.e., explains it in the following way] i. e., as the words of the Vedas, if studied according to the rule, become fruitful, so he who uses the words according to grammar obtains religious felicity. Or, again, let it be said "religious merit lies only in the knowledge of words". But it has already been argued viz. "if religious merit arises from the knowledge, then there would be similarly religious demerit too". This is no fault [this is not objectionable]. Because we have words as our authority and whatever a word denotes is an authority with us. The word [viz. the Śruti which runs as "Ekaḥ Śabdaḥ suprayuktaḥ" etc.] also speaks of religious merit as arising from the knowledge of correct words, but does not similarly attribute religious demerit to a knowledge of corrupt words. Again, that which is indecent but not forbidden is neither objectionable nor conducive to religious felicity, as, for instance, hiccough, laughing and scratching are neither offensive nor conducive to religious felicity. Or the knowledge of corrupt forms is but a means to acquire the knowledge of correct words, for he who knows corrupt forms knows [is expected to know] also correct words. Thus, what [follows] is inferred from the import when you say "religious merit lies in the knowledge of words" is that "religious merit arises from the knowledge of correct words accompanied by that of corrupt words". Or it will be just like [the conduct of] a well-digger, as, for instance, an excavator of well, if he gets dirty with mud and dust in course of digging a well, derives such a quality from the water arising therefrom by which that fault [viz. dirtiness] is completely removed and he also largely obtains [the desired end] good fortune. In the same way, here also, though there arises religious demerit from the knowledge of corrupt words, yet by the amount of religious merit resulting from the knowledge of correct words that fault will be entirely destroyed and there will be an association with [will follow] immense fortune. As to what was said "there is restriction in regard to the use of words", [we should say in reply] that restriction [holds good] applies only to the sacrificial act [and not elsewhere]. The tradition runs as follows : "There were sages named 'Yarvāṇa' and 'Tarvāṇa' who directly visualised religious merit¹, acquir-

¹ It means that they could know everything by their spiritual vision.

ed both the higher and the lower knowledge¹ [pure knowledge and nescience], knew all that is knowable and realised the ultimate truth." Those revered sages used "Yarvāṇa' and Tarvāṇa instead of 'Yadvāṇa' and "Tadvāṇa", but they did not use corrupt words while performing sacrificial rites². "Those demons [on the other hand], again, made use of corrupt words even in sacrificial performance and they were consequently defeated."

[Now follows the discourse to determine what is actually denoted by the term 'Vyākaraṇa'. It is both the words and the rules that constitute what grammar is].

Now, what [precisely] is the denotation of the word 'Vyākaraṇa' Sūtras [the rules of grammar].

"If grammar is identified with the rules, the significance of the genitive case-ending [viz. relation as is indicated by the expression "the rules of grammar"] will be inconsistent." Vār. 10.

If grammar is held to be exactly the same as rules, the significance of the genitive [case-ending], as in the expression "the rules of grammar", does not seem to be consistent. Is it that grammar is something distinct from the rules whereof these are the aphorisms?

"[If so, then] There will be no comprehension or knowledge of words"³. Vār. 11.

(If grammar is identified with words) There would also follow the non-comprehension of words³, for we usually say—"We know the words from [a study of] grammar"; and it is not only from the rule that one learns the words. Wherefrom then? Also from the inter-

1 They were naturally fitted to distinguish "Vidyā" [true knowledge] from 'Avidyā' [nescience or illusion].

2 The prohibitive injunction "Na Mlechhitavai nāpabhāṣitavai" was in all probability strictly observed by the Brahmin priests only at the time of sacrificial performance, and they were allowed to use corrupt words in ordinary affairs of life.

3 It is not possible to have an accurate knowledge of words only from the rules; it is practically from the interpretation of those rules that we obtain sufficient knowledge about the formation and significance of words.

pretation. But that rule when dissolved [into parts] becomes [what we call] the interpretation. It is, however, [not to be understood] not alone the disjoined parts such as 'Vṛddhiḥ āt aic' [of the rule "Vṛddhi-rādaic", Pāṇ. 1. 1. 1.] that constitute the explanation. What then? It is example, counter-example and supplying of words that in their combination or entirety make up the explanation. Then, it is word [that is to be understood by the term 'Vyākaraṇa'].

"If grammar is identified with words, the meaning of [the suffix] 'lyuṭ' [instrumentality] becomes inconsistent". Vār. 12.

If word is held to be the same as grammar, the meaning of the suffix 'lyuṭ' becomes inconsistent, [for the term 'Vyākaraṇa' is thus derived] as in the following derivation—"Vyākaraṇa" is so called because words are analysed [into parts, i.e., stems and suffixes] by it¹. But nothing is analysed by words. By what then? By means of Sūtras [rules].

"Also the 'Taddhita' suffix² [available] in the sense 'produced therefrom' becomes inconsistent. Vār. 13.

The 'Taddhita' suffix denoting the sense "produced therefrom" also becomes inconsistent, as in the following "a Vaiyākaraṇa is [one that has] what is related with grammar'.

"The 'Taddhita' suffixes denoting the sense "it was said by him" etc. [Pāṇ. 4. 3. 101.] are not also consistent". Vār. 14.

The 'Taddhita' suffixes denoting the sense "it was said by him" etc, are not comprehensible, [as we say] as "Pāṇiniyam" means "what was said by Pāṇini" ; "Āpiśalam"³ [what was said by Āpiśali] and "Kāśa-kr̥tsnam" [what was said by "Kāśakr̥tsna"]. But words were not told by Pāṇini. What then? [He only made the rules] Only the Sūtras [rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī]. Why both these two rules, i. e., "Bhave" and "Proktādayaś ca taddhitaḥ" have been stated, and not alone the rule "Proktādayaś ca taddhitaḥ" whereby [the rule] "Bhave ca

1 It is the popular way of deriving the term 'Vyākaraṇa'. See *Tait. Saṃhitā*, vi. 4. 7.

2 In Prof. Kielhorn's edition it is not treated as a Vārttika.

3 'Āpiśala' and 'Kāśakr̥tsna' are the names of two well-known systems of grammar by Āpiśali and Kāśakr̥tsna respectively. These two names might be traced in the list of eight reputed grammarians [Śabdīkas]. Mention is made of the former in Pāṇ. 6. 1. 92.

taddhitāḥ" might also have been included¹ [indicated]? At first it was noticed by the revered teacher [viz. the author of the Vārttika] that a 'Taddita' suffix is also available in the sense "produced therefrom" ["Bhave ca taddhitāḥ"], and then it was read [formulated this Vārttika]; afterwards it was found "Proktādayaś ca taddhitāḥ" i. e., "taddhita suffixes are also available in such sense as "it was said by him" etc. and then it was also read. But in present times the revered teachers do not set aside any rules after making them.

It is, not, however, open to criticism when it is said "Śabde lyuḍarthāḥ", i. e., "if grammar is identified with words, the meaning of the suffix "lyuḍ" becomes inconsistent"; for the suffix "lyuḍ" is not only available in connection with the Instrumental [Karaṇa] and the Locative [Adhikaraṇa] cases. Where then? Also in some other cases, as is enjoined by the rule "Kṛtyalyuḍo bahulam" [Pāṇ. 3. 3. 113. The suffixes known as "Kṛtya" and "Lyuḍ" are available in various cases], for instance, "Praskandanam" [wherefrom something leaps down] and "Prapatanam" [wherefrom something falls down]. Or [it may be said] words are analysed [i. e., comprehended] even by words only, as, for instance, when the word 'gauḥ' is uttered, all doubts cease to exist, that is, it [what is meant] is neither a horse nor an ass. It is then open to objection to say "Bhave Protādayaśca taddhitāḥ". Then it should be [such as follows]—

"Words and rules are what constitute grammar". Vār. 15.

Words and rules—these two being combined together constitute what is grammar. What, again, is 'lakṣya' [that which is characterised or example] and what is 'lakṣaṇa' [that which characterises]?

A word is 'lakṣya' [that which is characterised or forms an example] and the rule is 'lakṣaṇa' [by which words are characterised]. Here also an objection arises, for the word "Vyākaraṇa" [grammar] is used to denote the whole [the entire collection of rules] and not any portion of it; but one reading only the rules is also called a 'grammarian'. This is not objectionable, for words denoting the whole are also applicable

¹ Because what is meant by the rule "Bhave", or more properly "Tatra bhavaḥ" [Pāṇ. 4. 3. 52] is included within the scope of "Tena proktam" [Pāṇ. 4. 3. 101].

to the parts, as, for example, [one says] the eastern Pañcāla¹ [the eastern portion of the Pañcāla country], the northern Pañcāla, oil has been eaten², 'ghee' has been eaten, white, blue and black [viz. the entire piece of a cloth is said to be white even when some parts of it only happen to be white]. Similarly, the word 'Vyākaraṇa', though used to signify the whole, is also applicable to the part. Or [let it be said] let the rules, again, be identified with grammar. But it has been already argued thus : "if grammar is held to be the same as the rules, the meaning of the genitive [case-ending] becomes inconsistent." It is not objectionable, for it would apply according to the principle of "Vyapadeśivadbhāva"³, i.e., one thing getting twofold designation [as in the expression "the head of Rāhu"; though Rāhu represents nothing but a head, people make a distinction and say—"the head of Rāhu"]. As to [what was argued] the argument "non-comprehension of words; we should say it is not only from the rules alone that words are understood; wherefrom then? Also from the interpretation". It was set aside by saying [holding] "the same rule when dissolved into parts becomes an explanation." But it was further argued "it is not only the disjointed parts that form an explanation [in this way] viz. Vṛdhiḥ āt aic' etc. What then? Example, counter-example and supplying of sentences—these when combined together constitute an explanation [in the exact sense of the term]. Such is the case only with those who do not know [the exact meaning of the rules]. Because words are [really] understood only from the rules; consequently⁴ it is from the rules alone, [that the knowledge is actually derived] and what is spoken contrary to the rules of grammar is not accepted [by people].

1 The whole country has got the name Pañcāla [a country lying between the streams of the Ganges and the Jamnā], but it is also used in connection with different parts of it as shown in the above examples. The northern part of Pañcāla was called "Ahicchatra".

2 These two instances are applicable only when oil and ghee are said to be used for medical purposes.

3 It refers to a Paribhāṣā which runs as follows : "Vyapadeśivadeksmin". For detailed explanation see "Paribhāṣenduśekhara", Paribhāṣā, 30.

4 Nāgeśa here quotes a verse to the effect that all that is discussed either in the Vṛtti or in the Vārttika is to be found in the Sūtras themselves.

Now what purpose is served by the utterance of letters¹ ?

"The utterance [enunciation] is for an orderly arrangement of letters as suitable for the [study] application of grammar". Vār. 16.

The utterance [enunciation] of letters is [made] to secure the methodical arrangement of letters as suitable for the application of grammar¹. What is meant by "Vṛttisamavāyārthaḥ" ? It means either "Vṛttaye Samavāyaḥ", i.e., a particular arrangements of letters for the sake of grammatical application ; or "Vṛttyartha vā samavāyaḥ", i.e., a particular arrangement of letters with grammatical application as its result ; or "Vṛttiprayojano vā samavāyaḥ", i.e., a particular arrangement of letters having grammatical application as its object. What, again, is 'Vṛtti' ? It means "the application of grammatical rules." Now, what is "Samavāya" ? An orderly arrangement of letters. Now, what is "Upadeśa" ? Utterance [or enunciation]. How is it so ? One utters the letters and then says "these letters are 'upadiṣṭa' [uttered].

"Also for the sake of making [indicating] the 'Anubandhas'". Vār. 17.

The utterance of letters should be made also for the purpose of indicating the 'Anubandhas'. We should determine the 'Anubandhas'

I We generally learn how to pronounce letters and the order of their arrangement from popular usage. The study of words is, however, not at all affected by the so-called utterance of letters. What particular purpose is then served by the so-called "Māheśvara-Sūtras" as presenting a peculiar order of letters ? One of the various grammatical innovations made by Pāṇini is that he made a great departure so far as the order in the arrangements of letters is concerned. He has not strictly followed the order in which letters are usually enunciated by other grammarians. The "Kātantra" system of grammar begins with the aphorism "Siddho varṇasamāmnāyaḥ" which means that the order of letters is permanently fixed by nature [as ka, kha, ga etc.] ; it is while commenting on this rule that Duga Siṃha has obviously shown his disregard towards the peculiar arrangement of letters as given by Pāṇini [Cf. "Na punaranythopadeṣṭavyaḥ"]. It should, however, be admitted that this departure on the part of Pāṇini, though apparently anomalous and misleading, has its advantages from the scientific point of view, for it has evidently facilitated the formation of the 'Pratyāhāras' which are so important for a clear understanding of Pāṇini's rules.

completely ; and it is not possible to determine the 'Anubandhas' without uttering the letters. This way of uttering letters is [helpful] for securing a particular arrangement of letters as helpful to the application of grammatical rules as well as for the formation of the "Anubandhas." The particular arrangement of letters as helpful to the application of grammatical rules and the formation of the Anubandhas are intended for constructing the "Pratyāhāras"¹; and the 'Pratyāhāra' [the Grammatical technics such as 'aṇ', 'ik' etc.] is again necessary for the application of grammatical rules.

[The utterance of letters is] "Also for the knowledge of the desired [necessary] letters." *Vār. 17.*

The utterance of letters is also necessary for having a knowledge of the desired letters ; [as we say] "we should know [learn] the desired letters". And it is not possible to know the desirable letters without uttering them.

"If [you say] it is meant for the knowledge of desirable letters, then the utterance of 'Udātta' [accented], "Anudātta" [uttered with grave accent], 'Svarita' [a pitched sound coming between 'Udātta and 'Anudātta], Nasal [as ṁ, ṇ, ṅ, ṅ, ṁ, m], long and protracted letters is also necessary. *Vār. 18.*

If [you say] it is meant for the knowledge of desirable letters, then it is also necessary to have the utterance of 'Udātta'², 'Anudātta', 'Svarita'³, Nasal⁴, long and protracted letters, for letters of this [description] quality are also desirable.

[It should be said] "The purpose is served by the utterance of their class". *Vār. 19.*

This is served by the utterance of their class. The "a-class" has been uttered which will comprehend all varieties of "A" [letter], and similarly "i-class" and "u-class" have also been uttered [so as to comprise all possible varieties of 'i' and 'u'].

1 The technical devices formed according to the rule of Pāṇ. 1. 1. 71. are generally called 'Pratyāhāras'.

2 "Udātta" [high-toned] and 'Anudātta' [low-toned]—Pāṇ, 1. 2. 30.

3 Pāṇ, 1. 2. 31.

4 Pāṇ, 1. 1. 8.

5 The word 'ākṛti' is used here in the sense of a class [jāti].

If you say "it is fulfilled by the utterance of class", there should be exclusion of 'Saṃvṛta' etc. [the defects beginning with "Saṃvṛta"]. Vār. 20.

If you say "it is fulfilled by the utterance of class, the exclusion of 'Saṃvṛta' etc. should be made. What, again, are those that begin with Saṃvṛta etc. ? They are as follows "Saṃvṛta" [a short 'a' is used as Saṃvṛta, i.e., with the mouth closed], 'Kala'¹ [uttered in a different place], 'dhmāta' [when a short vowel is uttered like a long one on account of excessive breath], "eṇīkṛta" [undistinguishable, i. e., when it is difficult to determine whether it is 'o' or 'u'], "ambukṛta" [what though uttered distinctly is not properly manifested], 'ardhaka' [what though long is uttered like a short one], 'grasta' [indistinct], "nirasta" [harsh], "pragṛta" [uttered like the Sāma song], "Upagṛta" [similar to the sound of letters in proximity], "kṣvīṇṇa" [uttered in a shivering voice], "romaśa" [grave sound]. Another says—"grasta" [indistinct], "nirhata" [harsh sounding], "ambukṛta" [what though uttered distinctly is not properly manifested], "dhmāta" [when a short vowel appears like a long one on account of excessive breath], "vikāṇṇita" [shivering], "Saṃdaṣṭa" [lengthened], "eṇīkṛta" [undistinguishable], "ardhaka" [what though long is uttered like a short one], "druta" [uttered quickly], "vikīṛṇa" [what gets mixed up with other letters]—these are the defects pertaining to the utterance of vowels². Apart from these are the defects pertaining to the utterance of consonants.

This is, however, no defect.

"[As]" The exclusion of 'Saṃvṛta' etc. will follow from the enumeration of the Gargādi³ and Bidādi classes" [the Gaṇa or collection beginning with the words Garga and Bid respectively]. There is some other reasons for the enumeration of the Gargādi and Bidādi classes. What [are those] ? So that there might be correctness of the whole

1 As it is difficult to find out the exact English equivalents of these words, we have given their meanings in accordance with the exposition of Kaiyaṭa.

2 Regarding the utterance of letters, both vowel and consonant, Kaiyaṭa rightly observes, there are numerous defects as caused by inability and carelessness.

3 For Gargādi see Pāṇ. 4. 1. 105.

[those that come under these two classes]. Thus, I shall have to re-enumerate 'a' as divided into eighteen forms [varieties] and as free from the defects beginning with 'Kala' etc.

That, then, should be stated. "The re-enumeration is really for this purpose of indicating a sign". That will, then, be for indicating a sign. That should therefore be stated. If it is said, then it will be unnecessary to utter [to enumerate] so many "Anubandhas," to make the so-called 'Saṃjñā' [technical term] as "i" and to speak of the elision of letters. For whatever is done by the "Anubandhas" might be done by the defects beginning with 'Kala' etc. This may indeed do, but [the thing is] it would be contrary to the use [object] of Pāṇini. Then, let it be as it is. But it has been said "if the purpose is served by the utterance of class, then exclusion should be made with regard to "Saṃvṛta" etc. This objection has been set aside by [saying] the following: "The exclusion of the defects beginning with "Saṃvṛta" etc. will follow from the enumeration of the Gargādi and Bidādi classes: But other reason has also been stated in regard to the enumeration of the Gargādi and [Bidādi] classes. What? So that there might be correctness of the whole [so as to show the correctness of them all]. Thus, then, twofold object is fulfilled by it—the study [of those letters] is specialised and the defects. i.e., 'Kala' etc. are also set aside. But how is it possible to get both of them by means of a single effort? Yes, it is attainable. How? Because there are causes that also serve two purposes [at a time], as, for instance, by the same act of sprinkling water "the mango-trees are watered and the libation is also offered to the forefathers." Similarly, the sentences are also found to be of double meanings, as "Śveto dhāvati" [a white, i.e., a horse or a body is running from here] and "Alambusānām yātā [one going to the country of Alambusa]. Or let it be so, but it must be asked where these defects beginning with 'Saṃvṛta' etc. are to be heard [found]? In the Āgamas [augment of letters]. [But] They are read correctly. Then in the modifications [Vikāras]. The modifications also are read correctly. Then, in the

1 The sentence 'Śveto dhāvati' admits of double interpretations, namely, "a white i.e., a horse is running" and [by dissolving "Śveta" into "Śvā" and "itaḥ"] "a dog is running from here". Similarly, the word 'Alambusa' as a whole is the name of a country, and when dissolved into parts, namely, "alaṃ" [able] and 'busa', it will mean "anything that is capable of getting the colour of straw".

suffixes. [No] The suffixes are read correctly [making them free from all such defects]. Then in the roots. [No] The roots also are read correctly. Then in the 'Prātipadikas' [crude forms of words]. [No] The 'Prātipadikas' also are correctly read. Then in those 'Prātipadikas' which are not enumerated. The utterance should also be made of such [these] 'Prātipadikas' for an accurate knowledge of vowels and letters in order of their priority and posteriority [so that we may not commit any mistake in uttering the following]. Thus [we should utter] 'Śaśaḥ' and not as 'Ṣaśaḥ' ; 'Palāśaḥ' and not as "Palāṣaḥ"; "Mañcakāḥ" and not as "Mañjakāḥ". "As augments, modifications and suffixes with roots are all correctly uttered, these defects, i.e., 'Kala' etc. do not pertain to them".

Here ends the first Āhnika in the first Pāda [section] of the first Chapter of the Mahābhāṣya composed by the venerable Patañjali.

PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

The Maṅgalastaka of Kālidāsa

In his essay on Kālidāsa, Visnusastrī Chiplunkar speaks of a common hearsay, which attributes the authorship of the *Maṅgalāṣṭakas*, sung generally on the occasion of the wedding ceremonies in Mahārāṣṭra and probably elsewhere also, to the great Kālidāsa, and we do find today among miscellaneous publications a few *Maṅgalāṣṭakas* stamped as productions of that great poet. Whether it is possible to arrive at a hypothetical text of such one or more compositions, and whether with any degree of justification it could be called a work of the author of the *Raghuvamśa* and *Śakuntalā* are questions which do not seem to have attracted much attention hitherto. Mr. Chiplunkar, in the essay above referred to, has not ventured beyond giving a warning that the question about the authorship of Kālidāsa should not be altogether met with ridicule, inasmuch as the greatest of poets are known ere now to have written the commonest of things. Accepting the possibility, therefore, that the great Kālidāsa did write one (if not more than one) *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*, an attempt is to be made to determine its text with the help of available resources, and without making, as far as possible, any presuppositions regarding its authorship, so as to supply a ground for further discussion regard-

ing the authorship of Kālidāsa and if needed, its poetic excellence. The preliminary ground-work and the tentative conclusions arrived at in such an attempt are set forth below.

The Tibetan translation of *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*, composed according to the translator, by *Āryadeśasthapaṇḍita mahākavi Kālidāsa* may be regarded as an important means of research, although the translation in itself is very imperfect and not as helpful as one would expect, in settling the original text. While aiming, for instance, at literalness, as all Tibetan translations generally do, it sometimes gives a wrong translation, e. g. in translating *tri-bhuvana* he writes *srid gsum nags tsal*. Here *srid gsum* itself means *tri-bhuvana*, but the translator wrongly takes *vana* of *tri-bhuvana* as a different word and translates it accordingly by *nags tsal* which means *vana* or forest. While doing so he commits another mistake by taking *bhu* of *bhuvana* for *bhū* in the sense of *bhava*, existence (Cf. *srid pahi dgon* meaning *bhūkāntāra*). Therefore, inspite of its being accompanied by a transliteration in Tibetan characters of the Sanskrit text, which is full of inaccuracies, the readings are often unintelligible and uncertain. The Tibetan Xylograph at Viśvabhārati and a copy of the Xylograph of the Asiatic Society of Bengal have been used for reading the Tibetan translation of the *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*, while an old palm-leaf manuscript of the Sanskrit text, written in Telugu characters, from the Adyar Library and a copy of an important Ms. of the same from the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras have served as resources for comparison with the original. The Tibetan translation contains eleven verses and the Adyar Ms. ten, while the Madras Ms. contains only nine, which are, it is to be observed, common to both the former Mss. The whole poem is written in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and each verse consists of only a string of proper names which are made the subject of the burden "*Kurvantu te maṅgalam*, "May (these) bless thee". The following is a brief survey of the text as it is found in the Tibetan translations :

(1) The first verse begins with a *Śrī* and gives the names of the Indian Trinity, some divine guardians, planets and precious stones of heaven, along with the names '*Mahendra, Pradyumna, Nalakūbara* (?)', *Śaktidhara, Lūṅgaladhara*, etc. all arranged apparently promiscuously.

(2) The second counts some well-known triads like the three eyes of Śaṅkara, the three Rāmas, the three streams of the Ganges, the three worlds, the three Vedas and the three Sandhyās.

(3) The third enumerates the rivers of India. This seems to be the only verse retained in the usually recited *Maṅgalāṣṭakas* from text, and is widely known. It runs as "*Gaṅgā Sindhu Sarasvatī ca Yamunā*" etc.

(4) The fourth verse sets forth certain auspicious materials and beings, which are considered worthy to be offered or worshipped. Cooked food, curds, milk, jarful water, conch, sandal flower, yellow pigment (*goracanū*), coconut, gold, rice knotted in the *Dūrvā* grass, Brāhmin, and cow form the principal contents.

(5) The fifth verse is found in neither of the Sanskrit manuscripts, and it also repeats a few names that have already occurred in previous verses. It invokes the divine sages chanting the Vedas, the sun and other planets, the protectors of the earth and forests, *Siddhapuruṣas* like *Mācchindra* (cf. *Matsyendra*), gods and guardians of the quarters and *Sarasvatī* with a few others whose names are difficult to determine from the text.

(6) The sixth is full of celebrated and heavenly trees and gardens, like *Aśvattha*, *Badarī*, *Candana*, *Mandāra*, *Kalpadruma*, *Jambu*, *Nimba*, *Kadamba*, *Cūta*, and *Caitraratha* and *Nandanavana*.

(7) The seventh verse commemorates the names of a few divinised women and other female manifestations of some recognised virtue. The śloka is rather difficult to read, but it seems to count among others the name of *Gaurī*, *Śrī*, *Sarasvatī*, *Surabhi*, *Arundhatī*, *Svāhā*, and the sea-shore.

(8) The eighth presents a range of mountains, among which *Śrī-śaila*, *Suvela*, *Vindhya*, *Candra-droṇa*, *Mandāra*, *Śrīkaṇṭhavāsodaya*, *Aśtādri* (?), and *Sumeru* can be fixed as almost certain.

(9) The ninth assembles together some of the great seers (whether among poets, sages or kings). *Vālmiki*, *Sanaka*, *Sanandana*, *Vyāsa*, *Vasiṣṭha* (?), *Bhṛgu*, *Jābāli*, *Jamadagni*, *Janaka*, *Gautama*, *Māndhātā*, *Nala*, *Rāma*, *Bharata* are found in the Tibetan translation, while *Sagara*, *Dilīpa* and *Gārga* are found in transliteration only.

(10) The tenth verse, like the fifth one, is not found in the Sanskrit Mss. and also not unlike it repeats a number of names already recounted elsewhere. It mentions the following 'guardians': *Brahmā*, *Śiva*, *Viṣṇu*, *Hutapati*, the Moon, the Sun, *Yama* and *Skanda*.

(11) The last verse is colophonic and confers merit on those who recite the *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* or hear it recited.

It will thus be seen that excepting the fifth and the tenth verse from the above text (there are some grounds for regarding them as interpolations), the remaining nine verses form the common text of all the Mss. and inasmuch as the last verse is not benedictory, the name *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* can be rightly applied to this octonary versification. It is necessary to note that the Adyar Ms. which contains ten verses includes an extra verse which enlists all the principal characters

in the *Mahābhārata*, in a rather loose manner, which also smells of an interpolation.

From the above brief description, it will be evident that the substance of this composition, which consists mainly of proper names with a few adjectives interspersed here and there, can offer no solid conclusive evidence of the nature of literary merit for deciding the authorship of this *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*. That it is found to be translated into Tibetan, (although we have to bear in mind that translations of the most insignificant Sanskrit compositions are also found in plenty) and that all the Mss. mentioned above contain the last verse which mentions Kālidāsa as its author (although *Mahākavi* Kālidāsa is found to be acknowledged only by the Tibetan translator) and that there is a certain tradition which attributes a *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* to the great poet, are the only external evidences which may be taken at their own worth. Some internal evidences can be gathered from examination and comparison of the relative importance given by the great poet to the various proper names found above in his other works, and of the botanical, and mythological data found above with those found in his other works. This work can however follow only the preparatory work of settling a text which may form a basis of discussion. This note, therefore, will, it is hoped, attract the attention of those interested in the subject and show that it is possible, to a certain extent, to arrive at a *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*, which can be said to be Kālidāsa's and thus clarify an interesting issue connected with a great name.

V. V. GOKHALE

Hindu Politics in Italian

II

But since we are concerned here solely with theories and not with actual institutions it is not unimportant to be reminded of the democratic background in the philosophical thinking of the Kautilyans¹.

1 While discussing this question, B. has made a statement to the effect that *in Kautilya non si nota tanto marcato l'influsso delle teorie brahmaniche* (the influence of Brahmanical theories is not much marked).

In other words he believes that K's conception in regard to the election of the king is peculiar to himself, for the Brahmanists are alleged not to have expressed this idea.

An exception to this statement has been taken by Professor Ghoshal who in his *History of Hindu Political Theories* (Calcutta, 1923), says : "This, it seems to us, represents what may be called the current theory of the times rather than an original contribution of K's genius. The idea of the king being an official was very much in the air in K's time" (p. 133).

Quite possible. But as long as the *Arthashastra* passage is perhaps the oldest available document on this point in black and white, there is no harm in calling K. the first exponent of the idea in question. So although it may not be right to say that K. was not influenced by Brahmanical theory, one would still be justified in crediting him with the first enunciation of the theory of the popular origin of kingship in India.

Ghoshal remarks further : "This virtually involves a Brahmanised adaptation of the Buddhist theory of contract" (p. 135). But what are the evidences to indicate that the Kautilyan tradition, the "floating" Brahmanical conception, is later than the Buddhist? While on the question of chronology both "Brahmanical" and "Buddhist" are problematic entities, one does not gain anything by robbing one group of a certain credit which perhaps belongs equally to both as but part and parcel of a common Indian philosophical *milieu*.

Finally, the entire criticism of Bottazzi's position in Ghoshal's pp. 137-138 appears to be irrelevant. B. does not state anything more than the fact that the idea of the election of the king by the people

In any case the attempt to establish an equation between the theory of a democracy monarchizing and that of a monarchy with a democratic sanction on the strength of the notion of a supreme necessity for order and law is eminently original.

constitutes a strand in the Kautilyan thought. Is there anybody to deny that the doctrines of the will of the people and of a *compromesso* based on the exchange of protection and taxes are to be found in the Sanskrit text? B. is quite right in his contentions, so far as he goes.

Ghoshal objects to the term "social contract" in the present instance. He would prefer the phrase "governmental contract," or "safer," the "human or elective origin of kingship" (p. 137). The verbal difference makes no substantial distinction so far as B. is concerned, for he is interested to indicate the democratic leanings in the Kautilyan philosophy which are not upset by Ghoshal's nomenclature. Besides, does G. believe that "social" does not include "governmental" and "human kingship"? Or does he merely object to it as being "too wide" and as covering too extensive a genus?

G. considers this concept of the human or elective origin of kingship to be something "incongruous" with the "familiar notion of the king's divinity (p. 135)," which is so prevalent in Kautilya as well as other thinkers. This incongruity, provided the term "divinity" is to be taken quite literally, is certainly a fact whose worth, however, is more apparent than real. For, it only proves that philosophical systems, creative and constructive as they are, do not always happen to be homogeneous and consistent, and are very often eclectic.

In the history of European political philosophy, for instance, the self-same doctrine of social contract has in certain hands been the instrument of absolute despotism and in others of revolution and resistance to tyranny. The English thinker of the twelfth century, John of Salisbury, again, in his *Policraticus*, did not find it inconvenient to advocate at the same time two diametrically opposite tenets. Devout priest as he was, he formulated the cult of the king as god, but yet he was radical enough to preach tyrannicide, and even justify the administration of poison in such cases.

Even if K. wanted to be regarded as the apotheosis of absolutism or divine-rightism, he did not, therefore, have to betray a nervousness before the theory of the elective origin of kingship. He might swallow it most conscientiously and yet produce a *Leviathan*.

In the chapter on home government, B. points out that in T's judgment (I, 77, 2 ; III, 39, 5 ; III, 37, 2) one who employs force does not have to complain, for men are naturally inclined to hold lenient persons in contempt and admire those who are masterful. The Kautilyan *danda* is, again, to be remembered. B. analyzes the governmental machinery from this angle of *prepotenza della forza* (preponderance of force).

On the Kautilyan measures re. *Kaṇṭakaśodhana* (extirpation of thorns) of the state, B. has the following to say : "These expedients which were approved by Thucydides and Machiavelli are fundamentally the same as those used not only by Cesare Borgia but by others as well who have rendered their states grand and prosperous. The only difference between K. and the modern politicians is this. K. says what he does, while the others under the mantle of hypocrisy work in silence."

A passage in connection with spies is translated by Shamasastri as follows : "Merchant spies pretending to be his disciples may worship him." According to B. the rendering is inexact. He translates thus : "Disciples of merchants (*I discepoli dei mercanti*) *onorino lui avente poteri d'un uomo santo* (honour him as having the powers of a saint)". Those who possess the text may verify the suggested change. The phrase, "disciples of merchants," is strange.

In regard to treasure T. holds (II, 13, 2, 3 ; VI, 34, 2 ; I, 83, 2) that the nerves of the state are furnished by tribute. Kauṭilya, Kāmandaki and others speak in the same strain.

The value of a well-trained and valorous army is appreciated as much by T. (I, 85, 2 ; II, 87, etc.) as by K.

Foreign politics or international relations are finally examined by B. K's *śadguṇa* is analyzed and explained in the light of T.

"The conception of a *pace vera cordiale* (real cordial peace) is to be found neither in K. nor in T. In the entire work of the Athenian historian, peace is an 'abnormal state' to which men submit on account of the pressure of superior force but out of which their animus of war and bellicose enthusiasm force them to seek an escape. And in K. peace is but a state of preparation for war".

Besides, the *Arthaśāstra* is an encyclopædia. What is there to astonish us if the hydra-headed Kauṭilya with one mouth lectures on the popular will as the foundation of the crown and with another on the "spiritual merits" of paying taxes to the "lord of all" ?

K. considers war to be the sole foundation of peace for two pieces of iron do not reunite unless they are glowing hot. T. is equally clear (I, 124, 2). Peace is better than war, says he, but not to undertake war for love of peace is not without danger.

The Kautilyan tactics of sowing dissensions in the enemy's camp and other forms of *divide et impera* are well known to the Athenian historian (I, 44, 2 ; III, 11, 3 ; VI, 77, 2 ; VIII, 46, 1, 2). A contract of alliance has no permanent value in T. (I, 43). As soon as the opportune moment arises, one is at liberty to throw one's allies overboard. An alliance is a measure of self-interest and is to last only so long as the necessity dictated by self-interest lasts. The Kautilyan *Samśraya* (refuge, shelter or protection) teaches the identical doctrine.

The concluding chapter says that Kauṭilya and Thucydides are precursors of Kāmandaki, Machiavelli and Hobbes and that all of them, however different in race, education, age and country, have discovered the same defects of human nature and prescribed the same remedies. If the casual details were removed from K. and the chronical elements from T., the body of social truths that would remain in each would have a permanent value.

For, says B., passions and innate interests of human nature vary only in intensity according to time and space but the substance remains the same.

"The past, accordingly, is to be studied not only for its own sake or as a curio but also as a guide to the present and the future."

The message of K. and T. is in one word that of a *stato forte ed autorevole* (powerful and authoritative state). To both thinkers the state is the highest of human creations and is the only instrument that serves to provide the foundations of civilized social life. And in their estimation the state follows no other motto except that of public good.

The Kauṭilya-Thucydidean philosophy would not be pleasant, says B., to the inert idler who under the atmosphere of Christian pessimism lives and preaches the cult of pacifism, nor to the cowardly who dare not rise against the dictates of destiny with an iron will. But it is a fountain of inspiration to the normal human beings fortifying him with the value of self-importance and moral responsibility and encouraging him to develop his immortal energies in the pursuit of his mission as *pa-trone dell'universo* (master of the world).

Bottazzi nowhere mentions Nietzsche, but it is evident that if Nietzsche had lived long enough to be acquainted with Kauṭilya's *vijigīṣu* (aspirant to conquest) and *cāturanta* or *sārva-bhauma* (world-

ruler) his crusade against the slave mentality as engendered by Christianity would have been tremendously reinforced. As it is, Nietzscheism has encountered a powerful support in the ideas of this Italian scholar.

Hindu-Activism

1914. *Pensiero e azione nell' India antica* (Thought and action in ancient India). A lecture at the University of Rome by Carlo Formichi published in the *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia* (Italian Review of Sociology, Rome).

The lecturer cites passages from the *R̥g-veda* (10, 129), *Br̥hadāraṇyaka-upaṇiṣad* (1, 4, 1) and other ancient texts to indicate the mystical and metaphysical character of Hindu thought. But is it true, asks he, that *vita pratica* or practical life, *voler vivere* (the will to live), *voler godere* (the desire to enjoy) was absolutely ignored by the Hindus?

He says that a "unilateral and hasty" view of Hindu civilization has become prevalent among scholars, thanks greatly to the romanticism of Schlegel, Humboldt and other German pioneers of indology.

One might add here that Hegelian metaphysics is responsible for much of the nonsense propagated in regard to the "spirit" of the Orient among the high-brows of the world. And among the lay public perhaps the greatest single source of mischief has been Max Müller's *India: What can it teach us?* and *Chips from a German Workshop*, full as both these publications are of unbalanced and exaggerated notions in regard to the alleged other-worldliness and spirituality of the Hindus.

The question has often occurred to F. in the following manner: "Is not India also a country like the other countries? Are not her ascetics and philosophers but exceptions in the midst of a great mass of people dedicated to action? And what is the significance, besides, of those mountains of volumes of law that go by the name of *gṛhya-sūtra*, *dharmasūtra*, *dharmasāstra*, *nītiśāstra* and treat of domestic, social, commercial and political relations?"

Curiously enough, the problem put forward by F. is almost identical both in form and spirit with that of the present reviewer's *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*. Be it remarked *en passant* that Vol. I of this book was published at Allahabad in the same year and the same month as the issue of the *R. I. di. Soc.* (March-April, 1924), containing F's lecture.

As evidences of practical and especially political wisdom F. translates long extracts from the *Mahābhārata* (Book XII, chs. 138, 140, etc.).

But the prejudice against the Hindu character as being devoid of force and vitality has been demolished above all, says he, by the recent discovery of the *Arthaśāstra*. So far as the Italians are concerned, he believes that this discovery will have the effect of restoring to fresh lights the *Prince* and *Discourses* of Machiavelli, lying buried as they have been for centuries in the book-shelves of libraries.

Several pages are then given over to the translation of principal passages from Kauṭilya. The audience is asked to note that the Hindus were as great in the affirmation of life as in renunciation, and that ancient India passed through all experiences and was an immense world in which nothing was wanting that might satisfy all the tastes and interests of human beings.

Arthaśāstra in Italian

1915. *Il I Adhikaraṇa dell' Arthaśāstra di Kauṭilya* (Rome). "The first Adhikaraṇa (Book) of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya" by Mario Vallauri, pp. 66.

Vallauri's translation appeared first in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Review of Oriental Studies), Vol. VI and is now available as a reprint. The rendering is based on (1) Shamasastri's text (1909), (2) the two mss. in the *Staatsbibliothek* of München, and (3) the ms. of Jolly's text since published at Lahore.

According to V., Shamasastri's two translations appear to be a little bit liberal, approaching a paraphrase rather than an exact interpretation of the original. The differences between S. and V. are therefore to be noted at many points.

The notes indicate the parallel passages in Indian political literature. The *Kāmandakīya Nitisāra* (both Dutt and Formichi) appears very often, as might be expected. *Manu*, *Sukranīti*, *Nītivākyaṃṛta*, etc. are also in evidence. Those who cannot read Italian will find the translation none the less valuable on account of these citations which are often given at length and of course always with chapter and verse.

A list of rare words occurring in the *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I (81 in number) adds to the usefulness of the work.

The study was undertaken and completed under Professor Jolly at Wuerzburg where V. gave a finishing touch to his studies in Indic subjects.

The investigations bearing on Kauṭilya in English and German¹ down to 1914 have all been consulted by the translator, as appears from the bibliography. Of these one or two do not seem to be well known in India. The following may be indicated :

1. 1910. Hertel's *Literarisches aus dem Kauṭilyabāstra* (Literary Data from K.) in the *Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Journal of the Learning of the Orient, Vienna), Vol. XXIV.

2. 1912. Jolly's *Lexikalisches aus dem K.* (Dictionary-material from K.) in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* (Indo-Germanistic Researches), Vol. XXXI.

3. 1914. Zachariae's *Die Weisheitssprüche des Sanag bei at-Tortusi* (Wise Sayings of Sanag to at-Tortusi) in the *W. Z. K. M.*, Vol. XXVIII.

4. 1914. Hertel's *Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (P., its history and distribution).

1 No French studies are mentioned. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that up to the moment of writing this notice, no French scholar seems to have applied himself to Kauṭilya or for that matter to Hindu politics.

In addition to the translations of Manu there was published, more than two generations ago, *Le Droit civil des Hindous* or "Civil law of the Hindus" (in two volumes) by Gibelin (Pondichery, 1846). While dealing with "private law" the author discusses among its "subjects" not only individuals but also "group-persons", for instance, the *sociétés* or guilds, on the basis of Nārada's *Smṛti*.

Since then the only writings in French on Hindu politics are as follows :

1. 1920. *La Théorie de la constitution dans la philosophie politique hindoue d'après M. Benoy Kumar Sarkar* by Masson-Oursel in *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris, August-December).

2. 1921. *La Démocratie hindoue* by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques* (Paris, July-August).

3. 1923. *Les théories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra* (Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the A.) by Kalidas Nag (Paris), pages 150.

But a systematic search among the back numbers of the *Journal d'Asiatique* and other French journals is likely to be rewarded with a list of contributions on different aspects of Hindu politics. It may

Hindu Gilds

1920. *Gilde di mestier e gilde mercantili nell'India antica* (Craft gilds and gild merchants in ancient India) by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. An article in the *Giornale degli economisti e rivista statistica* (Journal of Economists and Statistical Review, Rome, April).

The Kauṭilya Question

1924. *Rassegna* (review) of Kalidas Nag's *Les Theories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthasāstra* (Paris, 1923, pp. 150) by Carlo Formichi in the bi-monthly *Alle Fonti delle Religioni*, "At the Fountains of Religions," Rome.

F's review is given over mainly to the criticism of N's translation or paraphrases. But several statements will appear to be of more than textual or philological importance.

That under the name of Kaṇika (of the *Mahābhārata*) who propounds to Dhṛtarāstra a political doctrine identical with that contained in the *Arthasastra*, *si nasconda Cāṇakya* (we find Cāṇakya hidden), appears to Formichi "certain and not simply probable". The poet wished, says he, evidently to modify the name of C. but in a manner which *trasparisse quale dei politici indiani egli credeva il piu degno di assurgere a simbolo poetico di consigliere d'un re* (revealed that one among the Indian politicians whom he considered the most appropriate to embody the poetic symbol of a king's counsellor).

This significant hint comes from Nag himself (pp. 35-37) and may be taken for what it is worth.¹

Another statement on the Kauṭilya question is worth citing. It is beyond doubt, according to F., that the entire *Arthasāstra* is not the work of a single person but rather *una enciclopedia alla quale hanno lavorato precursori e successori di Cāṇakya* (at which have worked precursors and successors of C.).

Most probably F. is correct in his surmise.

not be unknown that Hindu thought has been slighted by Janet in his *Histoire de la Science politique* and *Manu Samhitā* occasionally referred to in Fustel de Coulanges's *La Cité antique* (The Ancient City).

¹ Similarly one Kāmanda is quoted by Bhīṣma in ch. cxxiii of the *Rājadharmā-parva*. See Shamasastri's *Evolution of Indian Polity* (Calcutta, 1920,) p. 150. See also Ghoshal, p. 69.

Further, says F., the treatise does not betray the attempt at suggesting the ways and means for founding a great national state, such for instance, as might be expected of a man whose whole life and talent are devoted to moulding *le base d'un impero in India*. It is rather the governments of *piccoli Stati* (little states) that one is said to read of in the *Arthasāstra*, and the picture is alleged to be that of the political conditions of India before and after the "glorious parenthesis" of the empire of the Mauryas.

This opinion is based evidently on the doctrine of *maṇḍala* (sphere of international complex) in chs. VI and VII. But one may ask: "Does the list of salaries for the generals, ministers and other officials (Book V, ch. 3) indicate the political *milieu* of *piccoli Stati* (or *Kleinstaaterei*, of which the German scholars speak)? How many small states could afford to maintain the commander-in-chief at £2,400 or the collector-general at £1200 per year?

In so far as the doctrine involves *per se* the hypothesis of a plurality of political units, there may be some truth in the contention. But the problem is complicated enough to need discussion.

The critics are very prone to ignore the fact that the *Arthasāstra* is not history as Guizot's *History of Representative Institutions in Europe* is, nor does it attempt to set forth the constitution of a particular state like, say, Joseph Barthelemy's *Gouvernement de France* (1920). It is *Kautilya-darśanam*, a philosophical treatise established, as openly admitted in the text, on the researches and investigations of *pūrvācāryas* i.e. previous speculators and theorists. In general features it belongs to the type of works like Bodin's *Les six livres de la république* (1578) or Adam Mueller's *Die Elemente der Staats-Kunst* (1809).

Political philosophy is, as in Spann's *Der Wahre Staat* (Leipzig, 1921), to mention a modern work, essentially a structure of ideals and pious wishes. It may not overlook analyzing the existing institutions, practices and *mores*, but its fundamental *raison d'être* consists in the criticism of the *status quo* and suggestions as to the duties that lie ahead.

A treatise on political philosophy is by nature futuristic in its aims. And although like Elyot's *Boke named the Governour* (1531) it purports to be pedagogic in so far as it is a handmaid to "the greatest of moral questions, the question how to live," its character as substantially one of intellectual gymnastics is never to be ignored. And of course it may carry with it its own methodology and machinery of discussion in an implicit manner or with clear statements.

How, then, are critics justified in attaching a "realistic", objective and historical value to the Kautilyan doctrines in an off-hand way? The doctrine of *maṇḍala*, for instance, will have to be taken as a philosophical category, pure and simple, just like the doctrine of *saptāṅga* itself. It constitutes a logical framework, a formula, so to say, of formal logic. There is nothing in the texts to associate it with the size and area of states or the numeral strength of the population. As such the Kautilyan categories might be adumbrated by theorists under almost any circumstances and studied for intellectual discipline not only by princelets and lesser statesmen but by empire-builders like Candragupta, Charlemagne, Frederick the Great, Napoleon and others, not excluding the Curzons, Poincares and Mussolinis of today.

Under our very eyes the world is exhibiting France and Germany as enemies or rivals because they are neighbours. For the same reason likewise are Germany and Poland enemies. Automatically therefore Poland and France are to be seen as allies. Or, again, Italy is hostile to Jugoslavia on the one side and to France on the other. As a consequence Jugoslavia and France are friends.

Contemporary statesmen who are used to thinking out their diplomatic manoeuvres on, among other things, this logic of geographical propinquity are not behaving differently from their predecessors of all ages? And yet there is no doubt as an historical fact that the "European states-system" of today presents a picture of more compact and extensive political grouping than during the Middle Ages, when even cities and districts constituted independent states by themselves.

In other words, whatever be the size of states the logical category of "foreign politics" or international relations has remained virtually the same through the ages. Hence in order to correlate definitely the Kautilyan dialectic of diplomacy to any particular states-system of India one is in need of other data than has yet been brought forward. The professors who are lecturing on the *mores* of the *vijigishu* (aspirant to conquest) do not necessarily have before them a bunch of pigmies as audience.

So far as political institutions are concerned there is no evidence to prove that the *Arthasāstra* is non-Maurya, implying thereby, for the time being, non-imperial such as is understood by *piccoli Stati* or *Kleinstaater*.

Let us examine the question at some length.

The chapters of the *Arthasāstra* dealing incidentally with technological (chemical, medicinal and toxicological) matters have been

examined by Jolly in the *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen* (News of the Society of Science at Goettingen) for 1916. Jolly's previous work on Hindu Medicine also throws light on the question. The results of his researches have been summarized by Stein in *Megasthenes and Kautilya* (Vienna, 1922, pp. 61-64) and made use of by Hillebrandt in *Altindische Politik* (Jena, 1923) and Winternitz in his paper on "Kautilya Arthaśāstra" in the *Calcutta Review* (April, 1924).

The metallurgical knowledge displayed in the *Arthaśāstra* is said to be much too advanced for the Maurya times. But what are the evidences? The extant chemico-metallurgical literature of the Hindus has been cited as authority. A more reasonable proposition would consist in questioning the finality of the as yet established antiquity of Hindu chemistry itself. It is time to discuss whether the *Arthaśāstra* references do not bespeak fragments of chemical texts older than has yet been studied (e. g. by Prafulla Chandra Ray). Instead of bringing the *Arthaśāstra* down to post-Maurya times why should it not be possible to push the older epochs of Hindu chemistry farther up to the Mauryas? In any case the question is open.

The reference to China in the *Arthaśāstra* is certainly a positive fact. If it were absolutely true that no foreigner could have used the name "China" before Tsin Shi-hwangti's "blood and iron" succeeded in imposing on his people and land the name of his own family (Tsin, to be pronounced Chin) we should have still the times of Aśoka and his successors in the Maurya line for the relevant passage in the *Arthaśāstra*. In that case, one might still believe that, wherever and to the extent that the "relativity" of political theory to political institutions is to be admitted, the authors of the Kautilya cycle were in touch with the men who ran the foreign office, finance department, general staff and other *Karmasthānas* (Bureaus) of the Maurya empire and that the institutional experience embodied in the *Arthaśāstra* is that of the "public law" such as was established by the Mauryas¹. Tsin Shi-hwangti, the first Chinese Napoleon, was a contemporary of Aśoka the Great, and the Maurya empire did not officially

1 A reasonable view of the institutional data of the *Arthaśāstra* has been taken by F. G. Monahan in his *Early History of Bengal* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 30-31. The subject needs a more detailed and critical handling.

come to a close until about three quarters of a century after Shi-hwangti's Tsinification of his fatherland.

It is quite possible, if a conjecture were allowable in the absence of evidences to the contrary, that Tsin Shi-hwangti had his *fait accompli* announced to and recognized by the greatest world-emperor of the time namely Aśoka. There was no Roman empire yet. And as a result of the exchange of imperial *salaams* that followed, it may have been just in Aśoka's days that the name China first became a well-known word in India. For the present, it seems, at any rate, that the *Arthaśāstra* is the first Sanskrit book to mention it.

The discrepancies between Megasthenes and Kauṭilya, again, of which Stein speaks in his bulky dissertation, do not militate against the *Indika* and the *Arthaśāstra* being pictures of the same political and administrative organization. So far as the "relativity" of treatises to epochal conditions is concerned, Stein's arguments have plenty of loop-holes. The Maurya *milieu* of the *Arthaśāstra* has not been dissipated by his investigations, laborious as they are¹.

For, supposing that Megasthenes were not a monumental misinterpreter and not too much obsessed with his Platonisms and Egyptian stories to remain objective enough to the Indian environment, and supposing, again, that the Kauṭilya professors, although students of political *śāstra* (philosophy, logic and so forth), were not disinclined once in a while, at least allusively, to cite instances from the actual world in which they were living, it is quite probable that the same sets of data may have led to two different reports. "We are but parts and can see only but parts." There is, further, nothing inconceivable in two eye-witnesses furnishing two entirely different evidences on one and the same event.

The highest that can be conceded about the *Indika* is that it tells "the truth and nothing but the truth" in regard to the Maurya empire. But can its author be justified in claiming the "whole truth", i.e., affirming that everything that others write about the Mauryas is wrong or false? And so far as the *Arthaśāstra* is concerned, its scope is that of an *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, (1920), say, by Jellinek. It does not claim the

I And yet the work is a monument of painstaking and conscientious research. It deserves a thorough critical examination, item by item, on the part of those who want to do justice to the institutional data of the *Arthaśāstra*.

authority of a tourist's account in regard to certain men and manners of a particular epoch or race.

It must never be forgotten, be it repeated, that the authors of the Kauṭilya cycle were philosophers. They were dealing with the theory of the state, the ideals of statesmanship, the knowledge as to the ways and means of *pṛthivyā lābhe pālana ca* (i.e., acquisition and maintenance of the earth). As theorists, idealists and logicians of *rājaraṇi* and of "world-conquest" they were not necessarily bound to take their inspiration from their own environment. Modern scholarship will have to attack the Kauṭilya problem in the same manner as it employs in regard to the political philosophies of Plato, Spinoza or Treitschke.

Not to find in the pages of the *Arthaśāstra* certain institutions already known to be Maurya by other evidences or to find some thing different is therefore no argument for labelling it as non-Maurya. The place of the facts and phenomena of *droit public* (administrative and constitutional institutions) in the *Arthaśāstra* is none other than that of historical, biographical, anthropological or geographical data in the world's philosophical treatises.

It is not improbable that some of the references carry a contemporary significance. But one has to be prepared also for the case that they are mere illustrations intended to impart a concrete character to some general truth. At times the objective data may not indicate anything more important than simple allusions.

The same holds true of all the *nītiśāstras* in Indian literature. Modern writings on the *actual* Hindu constitution and administrative system of ancient and mediæval times, such as are based on the *Arthaśāstra* and other *nītiśāstras*, are therefore *ipso facto* misleading and vitiated by a radical fallacy.

An Indian living in England for three years and preparing an objective report in Bengali on British institutions can produce a book which may have nothing in common with Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State* (1899) on the one hand, and Hobson's *National Guilds* (1919) or Webb's *Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain* (1920) on the other. And yet all the four works have their origin in the atmosphere of modern and contemporary England. Any attempt to establish or disestablish the Mauryaism of the *Arthaśāstra* by the sole or chief touchstone of the *Indika* would be tantamount to denying the independence of philosophical speculation as such in the history of human thought.

A much larger question remains yet to be grasped. Is it always true that political logic or theory is invariably a reflex of the statal develop-

ments? That it is not so is amply evident from the three volumes of Carlyle's *Political Theory in the West* (1903-15). There one notices how century by century the philosophers have talked of nothing but justice, equality and popular sovereignty while despotism, slavery and *l'état c'est moi* furnished the only basis of "positive law", and the Emperor was *deus in terris*.

What, then, it may be asked, coming back to the old question, are the grounds on which one could decide that the Kautilyan *maṇḍala* is oriented to the *Realpolitik* of a certain period of Indian History and not a universal stock-in-trade of the philosophical academies? And so on with regard to the other tenets and doctrines in the *Kautilya-darbanam*.

Kāmandakī in Italian

1925. *I Primi Principi della Politica Secondo Kāmandakī* (Rome). "The First Principles of Politics according to Kāmandakī" by Carlo Formichi, pages 141.

A complete translation of *Kāmandakī-nīti*. It appeared serially in the *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* (Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society) between the years 1899 and 1904 and is now published in a book form after thorough revision.

The Italian version of *Kāman.* was published after Manmatha Nath Dutt's English rendering in Calcutta (1896). But says F.: "I did not consult the English translation deliberately." But later, improvements have been effected in the Italian on the basis of comparison with the English. "The Appendix seeks to render unto Dutt what is Dutt's and unto myself what is mine."

The author points out line by line where the Italian translation differs from Dutt's version. The list of differences is formidable.

The manner in which Dutt was puzzled by *daṇḍābhāve paridhvamsī mātsyo nyūyah pravartate* (II. 40) has been very interestingly brought out by F.

An important passage (VII, 54) on which a difference of opinion is to be expected runs thus: *ahivṛttam pariharec chatrau cāpi prayojayet*. Dutt writes: "A king should avoid all serpentine dealings (with his friends) but have recourse to them against his foes." In F's version we read: *Il re deve guardarsi da tutti i tiri serpentine, ma sapere invece adoperarli contro il nemico* (The King should guard himself from all serpentine dealings (such as may come from enemies and women) but employ them against enemy. In other words, he

should *fa agli altri quel male dal conviene che tu ti guardi continuamente* (i. e., practise unto others all those "dirty tricks" from which it is one's duty to save oneself ceaselessly).

In the light of the context F. is correct.

Machiavellistic as the maxim happens to be, it is certainly implied by the *Kāmandakī*. But in that case the word *pariharet* is very peculiar (ward off or expel and not give up or dispense with, as generally it would imply).

F. devotes more than a page to the word *durga*, simple as it is. He says that it cannot mean a *fortezza* or *castello* (i. e. fort or fortress, a building) as generally understood but a *luogo di difficile accesso* (place, say, city or village difficult of access) or *citta fortificata* (fortified city). The suggestion is valuable but not quite acceptable.

In Buehler's translation of Manu (VII, 10 & 16) *durga*=fort or fortress, a building. According to F. this is wrong, for it is in the centre of a "fortified city" that a palace can be built but not inside a "fort". It is not clear why not.

Further F.'s own equation *durga*=(1) city or (2) fortified city is not borne out, at any rate, by the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 86, 6-10), *yat puram durgasampannam*, the city that is furnished with 'a fort, cited by himself. There the *durga* is certainly different from the city and is evidently an edifice. It is implied also that not all cities are furnished with forts.

Light can be thrown on this question from architectural treatises, the books on *Vāstuvidyā*. But in the meantime the literal meaning of *durga* as *luogo di difficile accesso* may be helpful on certain occasions. Depending on the context one could then take *durga* for (1) a regular fort, as usual, or (2) a fortified city, or even an ordinary city such as is difficult of access.

That Hindu writers on political theory mean regular *castello* or edifice well provided with war materials and so forth when they use the word *durga* need, however, hardly be doubted. The very doctrine of *saptāṅga* (seven-limbed organism), the pivot of *nītiśāstra* differentiates the *durga* from the *rāṣṭra* (territory) and describes the two categories as independent items. A separate treatment is assigned to the capital. This as well as some other cities can certainly be described, again, as *citta fortificata*.

In the estimation of F, *Kāman*. possesses even today more than an historical interest and is not in any case to be brushed aside as a curio of scientific literature. He believes that the doctrines set forth

in the treatise, naïve as they are, carry an instructive message to the modern world, overburdened as it is with the "weight of erudition", indecision and all sorts of learned lumber, which although indicating advance in thought "all the same serve but to eclipse the fundamental and essential truths".

The author of the *Nītisūtra*, says F., "sees the facts in their simplicity, exhibits the truths with original and efficient imagination, proclaims with incomparable candour certain bitter principles, and furnishes peace and explanation to our mind". As illustrations F. cites the *Kāmandakī* doctrines of the supreme value of the state as necessary for the success of all human activities, of the importance of justice in social organization, of the *costume micidiale dei pesci* (*māt-syaṇyāya*) or logic of the fish (II, 8. 9, 40).

The doctrines that in politics only the party that is useful is a friend (VIII, 74) and that one should know oneself and one's enemies before undertaking attacks (XII, 21) are likewise cited as maxims that have not lost their value even in these days of complexity and progress in social science.

F. asks the Italians to discover the other gems for themselves from his translation and be convinced that in comparison with any famous literary document of the ancient world the *Kāmandakī-nīti* can hold its own as "a mine of truths revealed from the experiences of other times and other climes, which, however, are none the less based on the immutable human nature eternally and under all corners of the sky."

The translation is based on Rajendralal Mitra's text in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. The text in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has been left alone. Hints for the correction and improvement of the text have been derived from two sources: First, the commentaries published in 3 fasciculi of the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Nos. 306, 338, and 511); secondly, the two mss. of *Nītimayūkha*, one belonging to the Buehler Collection (No. 205) and the other to the Library of the India office, London (*Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. 1444), have been valuable in the rediscovery of the *Kāmandakī*, since this older authority on politics lives *verbatim* in many sections of the seventeenth century compendium of laws and morals.

Democratic Institutions in India

1925. *L'organizzazione democratica della vita pubblica nell'India antica.* (The democratic organization of public life in ancient India)

by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. An article in the quarterly *Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia del Diritto* (International Review of the Philosophy of Law, Rome).

(To be continued)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

The Maṅgalaśloka of the Ślokavārtika

The *Ślokavārtika* is the well-known work of the great Mīmāṃsist, Bhaṭṭa Kumārila (last half of the 8th century). He is generally regarded as an atheist. But this view is inconsistent with the Maṅgalaśloka of that work quoted below :

*viśuddhajñānadehāya trivedādivyacakṣuṣe/
śreyahprāptinimittāya namas somūrahadhārīṇe||*

It is quite clear from the above that the author salutes here God in the form of Śiva holding the crescent moon as an ornament for the head. As God, Īśvara, has no place in the Mīmāṃsā system, the commentator, Pārthasārathi Miśra, tries to explain the verse with reference to *yajña*, though he seems to think that the verse can be interpreted also with regard to Īśvara. Now it seems that though the verse under discussion is found here, it does not originally belong to the work, but somehow or other has found its place there ; in other words, it might have been quoted here from some other work. If so, it is to be said that the work really begins with the next verse ("*Abhivandya gurūn ādau* etc.") in which the author pays his homage to his *Guru*. Mark here the word *ādau* in the verse meaning "at the outset". It clearly shows that the work begins from this very verse and not from the preceding one, i. e., "*Viśuddha*". Compare here the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhyakārikā* of the same author, in the first śloka of which he salutes the teacher Āśvalāyana.

While looking into some Mss. in the Viśvabhāratī Library, I came across one No. 1871 of *Devīmāhātmya* in Devanāgarī script dated 1718 Samvat. I found in it the same verse in a slightly modified form, i. e. with the reading *śriyahprāpti* instead of *śreyahprāpti*. I collated a southern Ms. No. 1363 of the same work in Grantha script and a printed book in Bengali script. Both of them read *śreyahprāpti*. I therefore took it as a genuine verse of the *Devīmāhātmya*.

It is, however, not included in the body of that work but in the *Kīlaka* which is one of the preliminary stotras afterwards added to it. Now Mahāmahopādhyāya : Haraprasāda Śāstrī has found out a

Ms. of the *Devīmāhātmya* in old Newari script in the Royal Library in Nepal and as it is dated 998 A. D. (see his Catalogue) it is certain that before the 10th cent. the work was considered as a religious text of the Devī worshippers and it is also well-known that it is incorporated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* not later than the 5th or 6th century A. D. From the observation made by Bhāskaraṛāya in his commentary *Guptavaṇī* on the *Devīmāhātmya* it appears that the preliminary *stotras* were known to the author of the *Rudrayāmala* a Tāntric work of about the 10th century and may, therefore, be said that those preliminary *stotras* might have been added to the *Devīmāhātmya* before the 10th century.

Bhāskaraṛāya, an orthodox Mīmāṃsaka, remarks in his *Guptavaṇī* on the verse in question that it is the first śloka of the *Ślokavārtika* and it is here read also by many. Whereas Nāgojibhaṭṭa another commentator of the same work questions (criticising Bhāskaraṛāya's views) "Why is it not possible that the verse originally belonged to the *Devīmāhātmya*?" There is a Ms. of his commentary in the Palace Library of Tanjore; this I happened to see during my visit to the Library. It goes without saying that Gauḍapāda, too, has explained the verse. Now according to the tradition Gauḍapāda is the *Parama-guru* of Śaṅkara, the great Vedāntist. If it is taken as valid, the verse cannot originally be of the *Ślokavārtika*, and must be pushed a few centuries back. It is therefore quite possible that the scribe of the *Ślokavārtika* might have written it there from *Devīmāhātmya* like the first verse (*Vande gaṇendra*^o) of the *Lalitāstavaratna* (Kāvya-mālā, Nirṇayasāgara publication) written as the *Maṅgalaśloka* at the beginning of the Ms. No. 2936 of the *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* in the Viśvabhāratī Library.

Now in his *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī*, a commentary on the *Śāstra-dīpikā*, Rāmakṛṣṇa writes the following: *Uktaṅca Bhaṭṭombekena 'Granthārambhe abhimatadevatūnāmaskūraṇṇ karoti Vārtikakūrah'* referring to the śloka *Vīśuddhajñāna*^o. Umbekabhaṭṭa is said to have been one of the four pupils of Kumārila. If so, the quotation from Umbeka here would tell us that the Vārtikakāra knew the verse under discussion. But it does not necessarily follow from it that he himself composed it; nor is it clear from it that Kumārila took it from the *Devīmāhātmya*. Possibly it was taken by him from a common source. Kumārila was a great Mīmāṃsist no doubt. Yet, it is not strange that he might have been in his heart a devotee of Śiva or Devī. Such cases are not rare in Sanskrit literature. Take, for example, the case of Vācaspati Miśra, who expounded the six systems of Indian philosophy.

Indian Literature Abroad

(In China)

II

The Later Han Dynasty came to an end in 220 A. D., and was followed by the animated and romantic epoch known as the Three Kingdoms (221-265 A.D.), when China was divided into three states, Wei with its capital Loyang, where the Hans ruled, Wu with its capital at Nankin, and the Shu kingdom. Loyang still remained the stronghold of Buddhism under the Wei dynasty and five translators worked there. Till then, only Sūtra literature of different sects of Buddhism had come into China, and no books on Vinaya or discipline had been translated. The Han translators had only spoken of śīla or morality. Āryakāla had translated a sūtra on 'the lightness and heaviness of the sin of transgressing the śīla (Nanjio, 1112) and Che-Huen had translated another, which illustrated the Mahāyāna conception of the śīla by showing how the Bodhisattva had kept the six pāramitās. But the Han translators had been contented with a mere sowing of Buddhistic seed—an indication of the fact that they were truly the pioneers of Buddhism.

Than-mo-chiao-lo or Dharma-kāla is responsible for the first translation of Vinaya. He was a native of Central India and came to China in 222 A. D. where he found that the priests were entirely ignorant of the Buddhist discipline. In A. D. 250, he translated

Later Han
Translators.

the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsaṅghikas in one fasciculus.

But it was lost in 730 A. D. During the Wei dynasty Vinaya of the Dharmagupta school began to appear in Chinese from the pen of three Indian monks of Loyang monastery. Of other subjects, outside the Vinaya, they give us two volumes of the dialogues, which the Buddhists are so fond of, namely, *Ugā-paripicchā*, *Surata-Paripicchā*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. Abhidharma first made its appearance in the Wei Dynasty. The title of the first book was *Abhidharma-mūlta-rasa-śāstra* and was composed by the venerable Ghoṣa; but we do not know who the translator was. Another important Sanskrit book *Sukkhāvaṇī-vyūha* became very popular with the Chinese Buddhists. *Sukkhāvaṇī-vyūha* had two recensions. The shorter one might well be the original and the longer one the emended edition of the former. Both versions have been found in Japan, and edited by

Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio. The popularity of the book can easily be gauged by the fact that there had been no less than twelve translations of it into Chinese. These are :—

- (1) *Amitāyus-sūtra* (2 fasc.)—by An-Shih-Kao A.D. 148-170 (lost).
- (2) *Amita-śuddha-sambuddha-sūtra*—by Loka-rakṣa (?), A. D. 147-186 (No. 25 Nanjio).
- (3) *Amita-sūtra*—by Chi-Chien, A. D. 223-253 (Nanjio 26).
- (4) *Amitāyus-sūtra*—by Saṅghavarman, A. D. 252 (Nanjio 27).
- (5) *Amita-śuddha-samyak-sambuddha-sūtra*—by Po-Yen, A. D. 257 (lost).
- (6) *Amitāyus-sūtra*—by Dharma-rakṣa (Chu-Fa-hu), A. D. 266-313 (lost).
- (7) *Amitāyus-sūtra* (new)—by Buddhahadra, A.D. 398-421 (lost).
- (8) *Amitāyur-arhat-samyak-sambuddha-sūtra*—by Chu-ta-li (Mahā-bala), A. D. 419 (lost).
- (9) *Amitāyus-sūtra* (new)—by Pao-yun, A. D. 424-53 (lost).
- (10) -do- by Dharma-mitra, 424-441 (lost).
- (11) *Amitāyus-tathāgata-pāṇḍita*—by Bodhi-ruci, A. D. 693-713 [Nanjio. 23 (5)]
- (12) *Mahāyāna Amitāyur-vyūha-sūtra*—by Fa-hsien, A.D. 982-1001 (Nanjio 803).

These *Amitāyus-sūtras* are less occupied with the picture of the country of Sukhāvati (Land of Bliss) than with the exhortations to meditation or dhyāna of Amitāyus, by means of which a man attains to the Blessed Land.

In 402 Kumārajīva translated the shorter version, which very nearly corresponds with the extant Sanskrit version. This is one of the most popular books in China and Japan. There was another Chinese translation of this short Sukhāvati by Guṇabhadra (420-429). But it was lost in 730 A. D. The bigger version was translated by Hiuen Tsang in A. D. 650 (see Nariman, pp. 77-79, 94 ; Nanjio, pp. 10, 59)¹.

I have already referred above to the foundation of a kingdom

1 *Anecdota Oxoniensia*—Aryan series V. I, part II, Oxford, 1883, translated into English by Max Müller, S. B. E., vol. 49. For the French translation, see *Annales de Musée Guimet* by Yamaizoumi and Yamata, 1881, vol. II, pp. 36-64. In Japan, various Sanskrit, Chinese, Japanese and Korean editions have of recent come out. A Chinese version was translated by Takakusu in S. B. E., vol. 49, part II, pp. 159 fol.

round modern Nanking or Southern China, where the first king Sun-Chüen became a patron of Buddhism. Nanking became a centre of Indian culture and scholars began to flock there. Five translators flourished during the Wu dynasty (222-280 A. D.). All the translators of this period were men from Central India and we get none but Hinayāna books, or books belonging to both vehicles as *Dharmapada*.

Of these writers Chi-Chien is the most famous. He was an Upāsaka of the country of Yüeh-chih and came to China towards the end of the Later Han Dynasty. After the dismemberment of the Hans, he took refuge in the kingdom of Wu, where he was appointed as a professor by the king for teaching the heir-apparent. He translated numerous Sanskrit works into Chinese during thirty years of his life in China (A. D. 223-253). It is said that he translated as many as 129 Indian books, but unfortunately many of them are lost, and of his vast literary productions only 49 works are extant. According to some compilers, this Upāsaka scholar translated *Fo shuo-ssü-shih-san-chan-ching*, which Mātāṅga had translated in 67 A. D. This translation differed a little from that made by Kāśyapa, being the second version of the same text ; and the meaning of the words seem, to be more correct, and the composition readable.

Another very important book *Dharmapada* appeared in Chinese translation for the first time in A. D. 224. The translator's name was Wai-Chie-nan or Vighna, an Indian Śramaṇa, who is said to have been originally a fire-worshipper (probably a Yājñika) and afterwards converted to Buddhism. He brought to China the Sanskrit (?) text of *Dharmapada* and translated it with the help of his friend Chu-Lüh-Yen, another Indian Śramaṇa, who accompanied him from India. At this time Vighna and his friend were not well acquainted with the Chinese language ; nevertheless they translated the text of *Dharmapada* into Chinese in two fasciculi. Their translation is, therefore, somewhat difficult in expression and excellence. Fourteen books were rendered into Chinese by one Khān-sang-hwui of which only two are now preserved. His *Saṭ-pāramitā-saṅgraha-sūtra* contains Jātaka stories. Khān-sang-hwui was the eldest son of the Prime Minister of the country of Kambu (Jambu) or Utiior Tibet, whose family was continuously resident in India.

Kashmir was not counted as a part of India, and is always separately named in Chinese books. Khān-sang-hwui came to

Wu dynasty
222-280 A. D.

Chi-Chien
223-253 A. D.

Dharmapada :
1st translation.

Vighna.

Khān-sang-hwui
347-380 A. D.

China in 241 A. D. and the Wu king Sun-Chüen gave permission for the building of the monastery of Chien-Chu, which was also known as Fo-tho-li, i. e. the Buddha village. Khān-sang-hwui began his translation in 251 and continued till 280 A. D. when he died, after having resided in China for about forty years.

Besides these well-known translators, there were about 110 distinct works of unknown authorship, which are said to have been done during the Wu dynasty; today only one work *Saṃyuktāgama* has been preserved, other 109 works have followed their unknown translators. Among these lost works, there was the oldest translation of the *Lalita-vistara* in eight fasciculi. During the 58 years of power wielded by the Wus, altogether 189 Sanskrit works in 417 fasciculi were rendered into Chinese, but 128 works were lost in 730 A. D. and today there is hardly more than 56 in existence. Thus the Sanskrit Buddhist literature has been poorer by about 133 books, which were still available in the third century A. D.

It was during the Western Tsin rule which for a short time united the Heavenly Kingdom (265-316 A.D.) that Buddhism began to become prominent. Loyang was still the capital of the Chinese emperors and was still the centre of intellectual activity of the Indian Paṇḍits as well as of Sanskrit learning. Politically this was a period of unrest, contest between the north and the south, and struggle between the Chinese and the Tartars. During the first-half of the fifth century, some twenty mushroom states rose and fell in Northern China under Tartar chiefs. The longest existent of them was Northern Wei, which lasted till 535 A. D. But the Later Chao and both the Earlier and Later Tsin are important for our purpose. During the Western Tsin rule, a large number of Sanskrit books on Mahāyāna theology was translated by Indian and Chinese monks. We find the names of twelve workers, who are said to have translated 447 works, of which only 153 are extant at present. Besides these, 20 works of this period exist, authorship unknown. In this list we find Buddhism of different shades represented. Even Tāntrik Buddhism and books on Dhāraṇīs, Mantras, mystic Sanskrit Alphabets had begun to be introduced in China, but these were not widely propagated at this time.

Many important books gradually came to be introduced into Chinese. The most famous of the workers was Dharma-rakṣa (Chu-tāng-mo-lo-chā) who is also known in Chinese as Chu-fa-hu.

Western Tsin
dynasty 265-316
A.D.

He was a Śramaṇa, whose family was continuously resident in the Thun-kwau district, the western extreme of the Great Wall in Kan-shuh in China. He was a descendant of a family of the country of Yueh-Chi i. e. in the vicinity of Tartar and Karashahr, where Indians lived.

He became a disciple of a foreign Śramaṇa and travelled with him to the western regions i. e. India, and became well acquainted with thirty-six different languages and dialects. He must have travelled long and in A. D. 266 came to Loyang where he settled and worked at translation till A. D. 313 or 317, and died at his 78th year. It was he who first translated several sūtras of the Vaipulya class and acquainted the Chinese public with this branch of Buddhist literature. He is said to have translated 210 works; but in 730 A. D. only 175 works are mentioned, and 91 only existed. His translations now number 90, the most important works being *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Lalita-vistara*, *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, the last one being incomplete. This work was also taken up and translated in 30 fasciculi of 90 chapters by Wu-lo-chā or Mokṣala in 291 A. D.

We meet now with a few non-Indian translators, who like An-shi-kao did very useful work for the spread of Indian literature in China. An-fa-chin, a Śramaṇa of the Ān-si country (Eastern Persia or Parthia or Arsak) translated *Aśokāvadāna*, which is a collection of stories in which the central figure is Aśoka. Historically these stories are of little importance. In the third century we find numerous Indians domiciled in Eastern Turkestan and China; we shall however deal in a separate chapter with Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan.

Chu-shu-lan an Upāsaka, who translated two Sanskrit works in the reign of Hwui-Ti (A. D. 290-306) was of Indian descent, but born in China. Shih-fa-li, the translator of *Dharmapada* and other four works of which only three have come down to us, and Shih-Fa-khu another great translator of this age, were probably non-Indians as their native place is unknown. Shi-Fa-chu worked along with Ta-li (Mahābala) and after the death of the latter, Fa-chu alone translated several works in the same reign as before. Two of the earliest compilers of the Chinese tripiṭaka tell us that Fa-chu translated 132 works in 142 fasciculi, but only 23 works exist. Chu-Fa-tu and Tao-lo yen were also probably foreigners.

Dharmarakṣa
and the Vai-
pulya Sūtras.

Hindus in
China and
Central Asia

Three Chinese translators of some importance appear for the first time during this period. Po-fa-tsu was a Chinese Śramaṇa who translated about 23 works of which only 5 books are to be found in the existing Chinese Tripiṭaka. His most important book was *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, which for the first time appeared in Chinese. This book appeared twice after him—one being translated by Fa-hsien and the other by Buddhayaśas and Chu-Fa-men in 412-413 A. D. Other two Chinese translators of Sanskrit books of this age were Nieh-khan-yuen and Nieh-tao-kan, the latter being the translator of 54 books, but unfortunately only four of his books are before us.

We have already seen that China for a time was divided into many principalities. A dynasty known as the Later Chao was founded by Shih-lo (273-332 A. D.), whose territories extended from the Great Wall to Han and Huai in the south. Emperor Shih-lo showed favour to that remarkable Indian monk and diviner called Fo-lu-cheng, who lived at his court, and he himself appears to have been a Buddhist. The most eminent of his successors Shih-chi-lung was an ardent devotee and gave general permission to the people to enter monasteries, which had not been granted previously. This was indeed a great step towards the spread of Buddhism in China.

"In 381 we are told that in the North-western China, nine-tenths of the inhabitants were Buddhists. In 372 Buddhism was introduced into Korea and accepted as the flower of Chinese civilisation" (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 250).

The state known as the Former Tsin had its nucleus in Shensi in Northern China. Under its able leader Fu-chien its power expanded between 351 and 354 A. D. In 381 Fu-chien became Buddhist, and he was evidently in touch with the west and probably with India. The Later Tsin Dynasty had its head-quarters at Kansu and was founded by the vassals of the Earlier Tsin. After the collapse of that empire these became independent sovereigns. Yao-hsing, the second monarch was a devout Buddhist and has been famous in history as the patron of the great Kumārajīva, the most eminent of the earlier translators, of whom we shall hear a little later.

In the south, Eastern Tsin dynasty ruled at Nanking from 317 to 420 A. D. The emperors were favourable to Buddhism and Hsiao-wu-ti, the ninth sovereign of this line was the first emperor of China to become a Buddhist. Nanking was already a cente

of Buddhist culture during the Wu Dynasty (222-280 A. D.), and under the inspiration of the sympathetic emperors the Buddhist culture steadily spread, and learned Indians flocked into the Chinese city. Sixteen translators are mentioned during the hundred years the Eastern Tsin ruled.

Eastern Tsin
Dynasty
[317-420].

Śrīmitra (She-li-mi-to-lo), a Śramaṇa of the Western region or India, translate books on Tantra. This Śrīmitra was the heir-apparent to a king, but gave up his realm to his younger brother and became a monk. He came to China (307

Śrīmitra and
Tantra litera-
ture.

—312 A.D.) under the Western Tsin dynasty and translated three works under the reign of the Emperor Yuen-ti (317-322), and died at the age of 80. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, which had already been translated by Than-mo-lo-chia (Dharmarakṣa, 266-313) was again translated by

Chi-Tao-Kan.

Chi-Tao-Kan (lin), probably a Chinese Śramaṇa, in A. D. 335. But that was lost as early as 730 A. D.

The greatest translator of the age was (Than-wu-lan or) Dharmarakṣa who is said to have rendered ten Sanskrit works into the Chinese language, the language of his adoption. He was a

Dharmarakṣa
[381-395].

Śramaṇa of the western region i. e. India, who worked from A. D. 381 to 395. Of his vast work only 23 remain.

These are mostly Dhāraṇī-mantras, Sūtras for spell, Sūtras on various Mahāyāna theology and legends.

Gautama Saṅghadeva was no less voluminous a writer in Chinese than Dharmarakṣa. But he took up more abstruse books and his contribution to Chinese literature is more valuable than that of his contemporary Than-wu-lan. He translated *Madhyamāgama*

Saṅghadeva
and Madhya-
māgama.

corresponding to the *Majjhima Nikāya* of the Pāli tripiṭaka. It was a vast collection and covered 60 fasciculi in 5 adhyāyas and 18 vargas, and contained 222 sūtras.

This great work had already once been translated by Dharmānandi in 384-391 A. D. of the Former Tsin dynasty (350-394). This translation has not come down to us as it was lost before 730 A. D., and the only great translation of this Āgama (Madhyama) is that of Saṅghadeva. Fragments of Sanskrit Āgamas have recently been discovered in Central Asia, which clearly prove that there was a Sanskrit version of the Tripiṭaka, analogous to the Pāli Tripiṭaka. Saṅghadeva's other important translations were *Tridharmakūya-śāstra*, *Abhidharma-jñānaprasthāna-śāstra*, and *Abhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra*, all on Abhidharma. *Jñānaprasthānaśāstra* consists of 44 vargas. It is said that the Sanskrit text consisted of 15,072 ślokas or verses. This is the

principal work on the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda school (Nanjio, 1273).¹ Saṅghadeva was a Śramaṇa of Kubhā (Kabul) which was formerly a part of India. He arrived in A.D. 383 at Chang-an, the capital of the Former Tsin dynasty, and between A. D. 391 and 398 translated five other works in the Eastern Tsin dynasty.

Buddhabhadra, an Indian Śramaṇa and a descendant of Amṛtodama, an uncle of Śākyamuni, introduced some very important books in China and was responsible for 13 or 14 works, some of which were books of enormous size. He met the

great Kumārajīva in China, and such was his erudition
Buddhabhadra.

that even that learned doctor always asked for an explanation whenever any doubts arose in his mind. The great traveller-scholar Fa-hsien, his contemporary, helped him in some translations. The Sanskrit '*Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaiṣṭya-sūtra*', a large book in 60 fasciculi and 34 chapters, was translated by Buddhabhadra and others. This was translated for the first time into Chinese but was not completed. Three hundred years later Śikṣānada translated this book over again. This is a much fuller translation and agrees with the Tibetan version in *Kha-gyud*, which was translated from the Chinese. Another great work done into Chinese by Buddhabhadra was *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya*, which he translated together with Fa-hsien in 416 A. D. It had 46 fasciculi and 18 sections—one fasciculus being the '*Prātimokṣa-saṅghika-vinayamūla*'. We remember that in 250 A. D. Dharmakāla translated the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsaṅghikas, but it was lost in 730 A. D. Buddhabhadra translated another book which had become very popular with the Buddhists and was known as *Ananta mukha sūdhaka dhāraṇī*. It had been once translated before him during the Wu dynasty and six times after him, altogether the book has eight versions, long or short, in Chinese. Some important Vinaya books were rendered into Chinese during this time by Dharmapriya and Vimalākṣa. Vimalākṣa was a native of Kubhā (Kabul) and was well-known as a Vinaya teacher of Kwei-tsz i. e. Kharasar (Karasahr) in Eastern Turkestan, where Kumārajīva was his disciple. He arrived in China in 406 A. D. and after Kumārajīva's death, he continued the translation of *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* and wrote the preface to the *Daśādhyāya-vinaya*. Jitāmītra, a Śramaṇa from the Western region, is said to have translated 23 or 25 works of which only two have remained to this day.

1 See *infra* for details of this important work.

Nandī, another Indian who was a gr̥hapati (layman) translated a few books in 419 A. D. and after Chu-fa-li or Dharmabala translated the larger version of *Sukkhāvāṭi-vyūha* which was the eighth of the twelve translations of this popular work. But that translation is lost.

Besides these Indian writers, four Chinese śramaṇas flourished during this period of Eastern Tsins. The most well-known among them is Fa-hsien, the great traveller, who visited India in 399 A. D. He translated '*Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*', once with Buddhahadra and for the second time himself. Another small work is the '*Mahāsaṅgha-bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*' which is presumably the Sanskrit version of the Pāli '*Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha*' according to the Mahāsaṅghika school.

Fa-hsien, the
Traveller-
Monk.

Fa-hsien kept the original Sanskrit name in Chinese translation, viz. 'Pi-chiu-ni-san-chi-liu, Po-thi-mo-cha-chie-ching'. But the most famous and enduring of his works was the book on India which he published at the request of his instructor Kumārajīva. He was the first Chinese who came to see India with the explicit purpose of studying Buddhism. It is related in his travels that while he was residing at Chang-an, he was distressed by the imperfect state of the Buddhist "Discipline" and accordingly went to India to try to obtain these rules.

During the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420 A. D.), 233 books were translated into Chinese in the Southern China. Besides these there were about 52 works, whose translators' names are lost. Among these we find a third translation of *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the two other being of Fa-hsien and Buddhahadra mentioned above.

(To be continued)

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI

Bhadrayana

Every student of Buddhism knows that about the beginning of the Christian era and in succeeding centuries Buddhism had three Yānas, (1) Śrāvakayāna, (2) Pratyekayāna, and (3) Mahāyāna, that is (1) the method proper to hearers (2) to non-hearing individuals and (3) to the advanced students of Buddhism. The first two are classed as Hinayana or inferior method and the last as superior method.

About the fourth century A. D. Buddhism was divided into four schools of thought, (1) Vaibhāṣika, (2) Sautrāntika, (3) Yogācāra and

(4) Mādhyamika ; roughly (1) those who believed in the existence of external objects, (2) those who did not believe in the existence of external objects, (3) those who believed in momentary ideas only, (4) and those who believed not even in ideas. The names by which these are known in philosophical works of the Hindus are Sarvāstivāda, Vāhyārtha-bhaṅga, Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda. The relation of the yānas with the schools is an historical problem which has not yet been investigated by any competent scholar in any part of the world. A brief summary therefore may not be out of place here.

The first two yānas belonged generally to the Vaibhāṣika school. But the Mahāyānist were Sautrāntikas, the more ardent of them called themselves Yogācāra and the most advanced were the Mādhyamikas. This relation of the Yānas and the schools is exceedingly interesting and instructive but this is not the place to expatiate on it.

The Mahāyāna developed itself in the 5th and 6th centuries in two different ways : (1) those who believed in philosophy and followed the Prajñāpāramitās and (2) those who developed mysticism. One is called the Pāramitā-naya or the rules of Pāramitās and the other Mantra-naya or the rule of mystic Mantras ; the latter, that is, Mantra-naya seems to have discarded the Sautrāntika school proper and developed its later and advanced forms, Yogācāra and Mādhyamika. In the ordinary language Mantra-naya is often called Mantra-yana which I do not think to be proper, for it is not a method of Buddhism but a system of Yoga practice. In the 8th century A. D. the Mantra-yāna or Mantra-naya developed the contemplation of Śūnya into Vajra-yāna; there again the word 'yāna' appears to be misleading because the origin from which it developed was a 'Naya' and not a 'Yāna'. Careful writers called it Vajra-vrata. The word 'vajra' in this system meant Śūnyatā ; so the followers of Vajra-vrata concentrated their attention on Śūnya, that is, 'the Absolute' which cannot be divided, cannot have any attribute and transcends not only the senses but even the faculties of human mind. From Mantra-yāna simultaneously with Vajra-yāna developed another system called Sahaja-yāna ; it advises its votaries to concentrate its attention on 'the Absolute' but without any reference to creation of phenomenal existence, that is, 'the Absolute' as absolute. There is another yāna called Kāla-cakra-yāna which concentrates its attention on Kāla or the Absolute form of Time.

These are the schools and methods that were to a certain extent known. But I am going today to give you some account of a method which I have not seen discussed anywhere, this is Bhadra-yāna. It was first preached by one Dharmapāda but its real preacher and advocate

was Bhadrapāda or Bhāde. He left no books except a few Bengali songs. The only book that has come down to us was written by a disciple of Bhāde named Kuddāla-pāda.

Bhādra-yānasyāmnāya nibandholpaka stathā
 Yacchrataṃdhavāritam tat bhāvanā-śmtacittayā
 Bhadra-pāda-prasādena śravaṇābhyāsa-yogataḥ
 Kuddāla-nāma kuśalī tena saṃgrathito-hyayam
 Bhadra-pādasya dāso'ham anyeṣṃmācārya-yoginām.

The lines are ungrammatical and abound in errors of the scribe but it is plain that Kuddāla was an immediate disciple of Bhāde and was his constant companion. He has simply compiled what he heard, what he understood and what was repeated to him many times. The work is called acintyādvaya-kramopadeśa. Kuddāla in one place says that these doctrines are of the same purport (ekābhiprāyaḥ) as those of Paramārtha, Vīṇāpāda, Indrabhūti, Lakṣmīkara, Vilāsavajra, Guṇḍarī, Padmācārya and Dharmapāda. He also says that the doctrine of Bhadra-pāda is Ekābhipraya with Mantra-vāda, Pāramitā-naya, Sūtrānta Piṭakas, Arhats, Saura, Śrotriya, Soma-siddhanta, Vaiṣṇava and Mānava-dharma. It preaches a non-dual theory, there is nothing outside this non-dual, neither Gods nor Asuras nor men. The true knowledge is non-duality the others are only reflections. The doctrine of Bhādra pāda is really an ocean of knowledge, just as all good things were produced by the churning of the ocean, so Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Buddha, Soma, Sūrya, Tārā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Amṛta were all produced by churning this ocean of knowledge. The doctrine in a few words is non-duality mixed with karuṇā accompanied with supreme knowledge and supreme means of salvation, and with different phases of Śūnyatā is Gūru himself, he is all the Buddhas put together.

This is really an attempt to reconcile in a non-dual form all the different creeds prevalent in India in Bhadrapāda's time. He is therefore regarded as one of the eighty-four wise men of India and not as a prominent Buddhist.

HARAPRASAD SASTRI

MISCELLANY

Trivandrum Sanskrit Series

Oriental studies in Travancore owe their birth to the genius of His Highness Rama Varma Maharaja G. C. S. I. (1880-85) who, among various administrative measures introduced during his short but glorious reign, planned also the scheme of organising the Palace Manuscripts Library and of preparing a catalogue of the manuscripts in several private collections within the State. Since the recognition by western scholars, a century and a half ago, of the cultural attainments of the Sanskrit language, a number of rare Sanskrit works has been published in India alone in the form of "Series", such as, the Bibliotheca Indica, the Benares and the Bombay Sanskrit Series ; while the West has not altogether been idle in this matter. In spite of these activities for the better appreciation of the Sanskrit language, a good many manuscripts in the Palace Library and in the libraries of ancient families in the State had not seen the light of day ; and it was with a view to obviate this serious handicap that in the year 1908, the enlightened Government of His Highness the Maharaja created this department for the preservation of oriental literature, and selected with rare foresight Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī as the Curator. The department has had an eventful life of nearly 17 years, and has more than justified the royal interest that had been responsible for its genesis.

The number of manuscripts acquired for preservation during the period comes to about 1400, and a catalogue in seven parts has been published. The collection can be said to be one of the richest in India, containing as it does, valuable materials for an intelligent construction of the history of Sanskrit literature. As an account of this collection is beyond the scope of this note, we shall confine our attention mainly to the publications issued by the department, under the name of the "Trivandrum Sanskrit Series".

The works are selected from the mass of Sanskrit literature representing a wide range of culture, such as the literary subjects, poetry, drama, rhetoric and grammar ; the philosophical subjects, Nyāya,

Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā and other Darśanas ; the secular subjects, polity, law, architecture, etc. Eighty four volumes of the Series have been issued up to date.

Foremost among the publications of the department are the thirteen plays of Bhāsa discovered by Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, which have created quite a lively stir in literary circles. These plays, which had slumbered in the manuscript libraries almost neglected and forgotten, have now become so popular as to have been translated into almost all the important vernaculars of the East and the West; and have, in addition, exercised the talents of scholars in unending discussions on the authenticity and date of their composition.

The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a work on Mahāyāna Buddhism, is another interesting publication. This work was hitherto known only through its Tibetan and Chinese translations and its Sanskrit original was believed to have been irretrievably lost in the land of its birth. The discovery of the original therefore from a corner of Travancore was indeed a surprise to scholars interested in the history of Buddhism ; while the fact that the manuscript was copied by one Paṇḍita Ravi-candra, the head of the Śrīmūlavāsa-Vihāra adds importance to the find. Śrīmūlavāsa, a Buddhist colony is said to have been once in existence on the west coast near Thrikkunnapuzha, 30 miles north of the modern Quilon and that it was subsequently washed away by the sea. There are also other important works in the Series some of which are noticed here in brief.

It is a peculiar feature of the Series that it has not neglected the important though less popular subjects like Śilpa, Āgama, Tantra, etc. which have not so far come under the scrutiny of modern critical scholarship. There are four works on architecture in the Series of which the *Mayamata* is the most ancient and comprehensive one, having been quoted as an authority by subsequent treatises on the subject. Another work of note on architecture is the *Śilparatna*, a popular and extensive compilation by a Kerala author Śrīkumāra.

In Āgama, the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* by the Śaiva teacher Īśānaśiva who wielded great influence on Kulothunga Chola (12th century A. D.) is an encyclopædic work dealing with the various religious and secular subjects of the vast Āgama literature. To this class of works also belongs the *Tantrasamuccaya* (lit. a collection of Tantras) written by a Nambuthiri Brahmin of north Travancore in the 16th century which deals with the temple worship and allied subjects. This work is accepted as an authority in all temples in Kerala

at the present day, and has a peculiar interest to students of Hindu Iconography. The *Tantrasūddhāprakarāṇa* tries to vindicate the Pāñcārātra school against the charges the Vedic followers level at it as being outside the pale of Vedic religion.

Among dramatic compositions both major and minor published by the department, comes next in point of age the interesting farce called the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*. Its author Mahendra Vikrama I, the Pallava king of the first half of the seventh century A. D., who played a prominent part in the shaping of South Indian culture. This farce in particular is the earliest work of its kind in Sanskrit literature and is also of considerable importance in throwing light on the state of religion in the sixth century A. D. in South India.

Three other plays are noted for the great interest they have for the historians of South India. Kulaśekhara Varman, the author of the *Tupatī-saṃvaraṇa* and *Subhadrū-Dhanañjaya* have been considered to be identical with the famous Cera Kulaśekhara-Alvar, the saint king of the Vaiṣṇava hagiology. Another play, the *Pradyumnābhaya* was composed by Ravi Varma, Saṅgrāma Dhīra, the famous king of Travancore of the 14th century A. D. Besides being a great warrior, having extended his conquest as far as Conjeeveram during the troubled times of the first Muhammadan invasion in Southern India, the author was also a great patron of Sanskrit learning ; and many learned men including Samudrabandha, the commentator on the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, are said to have graced his court.

Among the works on Alaṅkāra, the *Vyaktiviveka* is admittedly of supreme importance. It is an erudite treatise on literary criticism by the great Rājānaka Mahima-Bhaṭṭa who is placed in the middle of the eleventh century A. D. The author combats the system of Dhvani (the sustained resonance of sense or word) elaborately dealt with in the *Dhvanyāloka* by Ānandavardhanācārya by attributing all the characteristics claimed for Dhvani to reasoning (Anumāna). The author, a bold rationalist in the domain of art tries to find out the "fundamental principle of art in a conscious reason rather than in a mysterious enthusiasm". In spite of all adverse criticism of Mahima-Bhaṭṭa, the system of Ānandavardhana still holds the field, having been adopted by all writers that followed him.

The *Kumārasambhava* and *Meghadūta* with the learned commentaries of Aruṇācalanātha and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha are noteworthy additions to the belles-letters of Sanskrit literature.

Among the works on Grammar published in the series, the *Daiva*

with the commentary *Puruṣakāra* and *Durghatavṛtti* are useful for higher studies in grammar. These two works have brought to light the names of a good many hitherto unknown authors and works testifying to the extent of grammatical studies pursued in ancient days.

The *Siddhānta-siddhāntjana* a voluminous polemical work on the Advaitavedānta ; *Maṇisūtra* and *Maṇidarpaṇa* on mediæval logic ; the commentary of Śrī-Śaṅkarācārya on the Adhyātma-pāṭala of Āpastamba Dharma, and the short synopsis of all the Hindu and Buddhist thoughts named *Sarvamata-saṅgraha* are noteworthy contributions to the philosophical literature.

The department has published two works on the Pratyabhijñā school or "Kashmir Saivism" viz. *Mahārathamāñjarī* and *Virūpākṣa-pañcāśikā* with the commentaries of Vidyācakravartin and Maheśvarānanda, who, it may be noted, belonged respectively to the Kārṇāṭa and the Cola country. As large elements of Kashmir Saivism are found in the Tantric worship of Kerala and as many manuscripts of the vast literature of that school have also been discovered in the libraries of the west coast, the two extremities of India can be said to have been brought into connection by ties of religion.

The *Tattvapraṇāṭha* of Bhoja Deva is the only work on the philosophy of the Āgamānta school of Saivism published in the Series. This work is largely quoted as an authority by Mādhavācārya in the Śaiva Darśana of his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*.

So much about the works already published.

Among the works in the press, the *Bharata-carita* a small poem by Kṛṣṇa Kavi on the story of Bharata, son of Śakuntalā, is to be issued soon to mark the change in the administration of the State, having been dedicated to Her Highness the Maharani Regent. And three other works namely the *Saṅgītasamayasāra* by Pārśvadeva, the *Viṣṇu-saṁhitā*, an original work on the Vaiṣṇavāgama and two learned commentaries by Śrī-Vidyācakravartin and Bhaṭṭa Gopāla on the *Kāvya-praṇāṭha* are awaiting publication. Besides the *Vivaraṇa*, a commentary on the *Horā* of Varāhamihira, and Sucarita-Miśra's *Kāśikā-ṭīkā*, an elaborate commentary on the *Śloka-vārtika* of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa are passing through the press, and will be published in parts during the course of the year.

Two works on medicine have also been sent to the press, of which the *Rasavaiśeṣikasūtra* is of interest as the production of Bhadanta Nāgārjuna. It will be issued with the Bhāṣya of Nṛsiṅha.

Among the works that are being prepared for the press, two works

on grammar deserve mention. One is the *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja Deva with the Vṛtti of Nārāyaṇa-Daṇḍanātha and the other is the *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the prolific author of Kerala.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has published some of the best books in Sanskrit literature. All credit is due to Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, who has been in charge of the department ever since its inception and whose untiring energy has borne noble fruits in the publication of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and who has bequeathed to his successor sufficient material in manuscripts to carry on this much-needed, but ill-recognised, branch of research.

G. HARIHARA SASTRI

On the Materials for the History of Rajputana

The history of Rajputana is a fascinating study. How an inhospitable land bred and nurtured princes whose spirit of independence would have done honour to any country, how small jagirdars settling upon some favourable spot carved out kingdoms for themselves as large as many of the countries in Europe, how they defended themselves against ambitious emperors and powerful neighbours, and last of all how they proved first the support and then the ruin of the great Mughal empire, is a theme well worth studying. Yet the misfortune of the subject is that workers in ancient Indian history regard it as a subject set apart for those studying mediæval India, while the latter busy in their study of Mughal India relegate it again to those interested in the achievements of the Hindus: it goes a-begging. It is a significant commentary on our interest in the subject that though the output of original historical work by Indian scholars during the past decade or two has been large, very little of it concerned itself with the history of the Rajputs. It is not to be supposed that this means that there is no work to be done in this field, that all possibilities of adding to our historical knowledge have been exhausted by Todd's monumental work, and that no historical revisions need be attempted in this field. It plainly and simply means one thing; despite the romantic thrills of the story, our interest has not been sufficiently roused in the subject.

There are however other difficulties with which most of those

who have had anything to do with the subject are only too painfully familiar. To start with, no thoroughly reliable introduction to the history of Rajputana as a whole is available. Todd's famous work was written almost a century ago, and since then not only have we learnt many new things about the history of the Rajputs but the very method of writing history has also changed in the interval. Kaviraj Shyamal Das's famous *Vir Vinod* though mainly a history of Mewar is really a comprehensive history of the whole of Rajputana. Yet to our dire misfortune, the Mewar Darbar decided to withhold printed copies of the work from the public, lest some blemish become visible in the unsullied record of the Sassodias. So far as we know, no less than half a dozen copies of the book are known to exist in private hands. There are only two public libraries that possess copies of the book, the library of the Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, Benares, and that of the D. A. V. College, Lahore. The want of a reliable introduction to the subject is all the more keenly felt on account of the fact that we cannot study the history of any one state without being perplexed by questions that primarily concern other states.

The materials on which we have got to build our history lie scattered from one end of Rajputana to the other. This difficulty could be surmounted by untiring toil and unremitting patience, but there is another trouble. The materials are in the possession of people who for one reason or another are chary of seeing them utilized by a student of history. They have got a genuine dread of his profaning hands and his defiling methods. It would be difficult to find a man who is more interested in maintaining untarnished the honour of his ancestors than a Rajput, and the result is that he takes precious good care to maintain it by letting other people know nothing about them lest a blemish be pointed out in his pedigree—an ancestor who ran away from the battle-field or who married in an undesirable family—and so he keeps the history of his people to himself. It is necessary that he should be weaned from this prejudice of his at least so far as it makes him such a watchful gaurdian of historical secrets. But this work requires careful handling and in the hands of the unwary it might produce worse troubles.

Still more formidable is the lack of guidance. Of books and mss. that deal with other periods of Indian history there are catalogues enough. We know roughly, when we take up any other period, what sort of material we have got to work upon. We may discover new materials ourselves, but that does not affect the fact that we had known

a good deal of it before, at least large enough to construct a working outline. When we are dealing with the history of Rajputana, however, the only guidance is supplied by the two catalogues. "The Prose Chronicles of Jodhpur" and "of Bikaner," issued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and prepared by Dr. Tessitori when conducting the Historical and Bardic Survey of Rajputana.

These two catalogues do not carry us very far ; the books that they deal with are all in ms. and only one important work detailing Kamran's defeat at the hands of Rao Jetsi of Bikaner has yet been published. No learned society nor any state in Rajputana has yet ventured to publish even such momentous works as Mehta Nensi's History of Rajputana or his separate History and Account of Jodhpur modelled on Abul Fazi's *Ain-i-Akbari*. We understood that *Sūrya Prakāśa*, history of Jodhpur in verse, written in the beginning of the eighteenth century, was being published by the ASB. some time back, but have failed so far to see a published copy.

There is the minor difficulty of language too. The local material is mostly in the various dialects of Rajputana ; a few words that have so far appeared have almost all been written in Urdu or Hindi. This does not take away from the historical value of those books, but it confines them to a small coterie. To imagine that a book utilizing original sources can appear in any one of these languages would be heresy at present. Very few people would go in search of such books so far.

But even if all this be ignored, there remains the fundamental difficulty of the paucity of historical materials. Chronicles, written in the various dialects of the tract, some of them quite contemporary, others more or less so, may be met with. There are some land grant records ; some traces of the correspondence between the different Rajputana chiefs and the Mughal emperors can be found ; there are some inscriptions as well. Local tradition also preserves, though often in a garbled form, the memory of historical events and personages. But of first hand information, of state records detailing items of public importance, of the story of events connected with persons who played a part in the making thereof, we have not much. Mehta Nensi's Account of Jodhpur is a brilliant exception. We have thus as our primary sources description of events at second hand.

Taking all these things into consideration, it is not surprising that no attempt has yet been made to repeat Todd's experiment of

writing a history of the whole of Rajputana. The work, if it is adequately to be done, has to be divided. Different states have for long been content with the meagre history of their dynasties prepared for the Imperial Gazetteer Series and mostly based on Todd's work, though avoiding some of his obvious mistakes. They have however now become conscious of this void and are running historical departments of their own. Kaviraj Shyamal Das's work *Vir Vind* was primarily prepared under the auspices of the historical department of Mewar, of which he was the president. Yet it is unfortunate that owing to some unpleasant experiences in the past, these departments have found it impossible either to enlist the aid of students of history in their work or to make their work available to them. The Bikaner Darbar however did succeed some time back in securing the services of the late Dr. Tessitori for writing a history of that state. This ambitious undertaking was however brought to an untimely end by the death of the learned doctor and no attempt yet seems to have been made to continue his work. In the interests of a proper undertaking of the history of Mediæval India it is earnestly hoped that some more scholars would turn their attention to the work and thus considerably increase the output of the work which is now being produced.

SRI RAM SHARMA

Tradition about Vānaras and Rākṣasas

Among the many Paurāṇic books of the Jainas there is one called the *Padmapurāṇa* i. e. the story of Padma (another name for Rāmācandra) who is looked upon as one of the sixty-three Śālākāpuruṣas or great men who are born from time to time to teach laymen the law of piety. This book may be said to be the Jaina version of the Hīndi Rāmāyaṇa from which it differs on a good many points.

Now, in this *Padmapurāṇa*, Hanumān, Sugrīva and their Vānara (monkey) relatives are not represented as animal having long tails and beastly behaviours. Neither are Rāvaṇa, Bibhīṣaṇa and their Rākṣasa relatives represented as demons with fearful appearances and devouring all kinds of animals including even human beings. But these Vānaras and Rākṣasas are depicted there as Vidyādharas or a class of beings endowed with many supernatural qualities, if not human beings in the

correct sense of the term. Beastly and uncouth behaviours and appearances are not therein attributed to them. On the other hand they are depicted as having been highly civilized people who far from killing and devouring all animals that they could obtain, strictly adhered to the vow of Ahimsā or refraining from giving any kind of pain to even the lowest of animals. The Rākṣasas were so called because they are represented to have descended from one who was known as Rākṣasa by name¹ (just as, for instance, the minister of Nanda bears the personal name of Rākṣasa in the Sanskrit drama *Mudrārākṣasa*). As regards the Vānaras they owed their name to the custom prevailing among them of wearing the symbols of a monkey on their crowns and flags², so that Vānaravaṃśa or the Vānara tribe is sometimes derived as Vānarayuktā vaṃśā dhvajadaṇḍā yeṣāṃ te vānaravaṃśāḥ i. e. those whose flagstaves were marked with the symbol of a monkey³.

Now this account professes itself to be as old as the 1st century A. D. when Vimalācārya composed his *Payumacariyaṃ* or the life of Padma in Prakrit⁴. It may perhaps be older as according to the author he draws upon the tradition handed down by his predecessors since a very long time⁵. The Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣenācārya belongs to the 7th century A. D. and is the Sanskritised version of Prakrit *Payumacariyaṃ*.

Now, whether this profession regarding the antiquity of this account be correct or not it may be supposed that it goes close to preserve somewhat a correct translation as to the origin of the names Vānara and Rākṣasa which were misunderstood in later times and supposed to have the meaning of beasts and demons.

- 1 Rākṣasas-tanayo jāto manovegāṅgadhārīṇaḥ,
Rākṣaso nāma yasyāyaṃ nāmnā vaṃśaḥ prakīrtiyate.
(*Padmapurāṇa*, v. 378).
- 2 Tāthā vānaracihnenā cchatrādiviniveśinā,
Vidyādharaḥ gatāḥ khyātiṃ vānarā iti viṣṭape.
(*Ibid.*, VI. 215).
- 3 Hindi Translation of *Padmapurāṇa* by Daulatārāmā (Siddhānta Prakāśa Saṁsthā edition), p. 88.
- 4 Pañceva ca vāsasayā dusamāye tisavarisasaṃjuttā,
Vīre siddhiṃ uvagae tayo nibaddhaṃ imaṃ cariyāṃ.
(*Payumacariyam*, v. 118).
- 5 *Ibid.*, I. 8.
- 6 Hindi Trans. of *Padmapurāṇa*, p. 997.

It may be interesting here to note that to this very day there lives in the Tamil country the Makkaḷs who "have a very high social status in the Tamil-speaking country and many aristocratic zamindar families belong to the clan of the Makkaḷs". Mr. B. C. Majumdar in his 'History of Bengali language (pp. 30-31)' says "as this Drāvidian term Makkaḷa or Makkaḍa could be easily transformed into Markaṭa, I suppose the poet of Rāmāyaṇa was pleased to make monkeys of them. It is reported that those Makkaḷs once occupied those high lands of Central India which are included in the Daṇḍakāraṇya of Rāmāyaṇa."

Thus this combined evidence of the Makkaḷs and the tradition recorded in the Jain Padmapurāṇa confirms the opinion of scholars that beastly behaviour and appearance have wrongly been attributed to Hanumat, Sugrīva, Rāvaṇa and others in Hindu mythological works.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Samskrta Sāhitya Pariṣad Series

The great importance of publishing accounts of works belonging to the various oriental series in India and elsewhere cannot be overrated. Of the different oriental series, a few are well-known to scholars while the others are less known or almost unknown. These are conducted by individuals, societies or firms not yet able to attract the notice of scholars in the fullest degree but yet they can count some important works as their publications. It is for this reason necessary that accounts should be published in the Quarterly of these series which in no way deserve to be ignored. I should like to give here a brief account of the books published up to now in the Series of the Samskrta Sāhitya Pariṣad of Calcutta.

Kālitantram—No. 2 of the Series with a Sanskrit commentary and a Bengali translation by the editor is an important and authoritative Tantra. The work bearing the same name already published from Baṭ-talī, Calcutta, is not regarded as genuine, as verses attributed to the Kālitantra in works like *Tantrasāra* and *Śyāmārahasya* are not found in the latter though they are present in the work published by the Pariṣad. The treatise contains elaborate descriptions of some of the mystic rites of the *Virūcāra* and *Kaulācāra* school of Tantra.

Śaṅkarīśaṅgītam by Jayanārāyaṇa deals with the story of Pārvatī—her childhood, her union with Śiva, her separation from her lord, her stay in Ekāmraavana in the guise of the daughter of a cow-herd and finally her *Rāsakriḍā* with her consort. The work seems to have

been written in imitation of the celebrated *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva though it falls far short of its prototype in poetic charm.

Navamuktivāda of Gadādhara (with two Sanskrit commentaries—an ancient one by Śivarāma and the modern one by the editor deals with the nature of *Mukti* or salvation according to the Navyanyāya school of philosophy. The book contains a learned introduction in Sanskrit and a supplement giving the text of what is called *Sāmpradāyika Prācīnamuktivāda*.

Nos 5-7 and 10 of the series are *smṛtis*. Of these, *Durgāpūjātattva* and *Graha-yāgatattva* are both attributed to Raghunandana, though none of the two are included in the famous 28 *Tattvas* of the great Bengali savant. The inference as to the authorship is based on genuine tradition, and the case seems to be almost proved for the first work, of which a mention is made by the author in his *Tithitattva*. The Pariṣad intends to publish a scholarly and critical edition of the encyclopædic work of Raghunandana whose service to the modern Hindu society of Bengal through his books cannot be over-estimated. A learned edition of his works is likely to be welcome to all scholars as they along with the works of other *Smṛti Nibandhakāras* are expected to throw light on the history of social and religious condition of mediæval India. The editions of the two works just mentioned only pave the way for the contemplated critical edition.

The *Durgāpūjātattva* along with No. 7 of the Series consisting of tracts on Durgāpūjā by Śūlapāṇi, Jīmutavāhana, Vācaspatī Miśra and Śrī-nāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi brings together a considerable mass of information regarding the antiquity and nature of the greatest festival of Bengal.

Pitṛdayitā of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa of the court of Ballālasena treats mainly of the different kinds of śrāddhas with a preliminary dissertation on some of the daily duties of a brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda school. It shows that even at the time of Ballālasena, śrāddhas were performed in the presence of sāgnika brāhmaṇas instead of a symbolic substitute, a kuśa grass, that in later times took their place. From this it seems that brāhmaṇas performing daily sacrifices were still available at the time of Ballālasena but when they became very rare the substitution of them by the symbol was resorted to.

Kāraṅkollāsa of Bharatamallika is a small metrical work dealing briefly and elegantly with the definitions and examples of the different Kāraṅkas of Sanskrit. It has an Introduction, which furnishes a description, of the time, and the various works of the author.

Ṛgvedabhāṣyopakramaṇikā—or Sāyaṇa's Introduction to the Ṛgveda

has been edited with occasional footnotes, explaining difficult passages and giving references to quotations. It contains also a summary of the introduction in English.

Prabhākara-vijaya of Nandīśvara gives an account of the views of the Prabhākara school of Mīmāṃsā philosophy. The importance of the work is greatly enhanced by the fact that it proves incorrect the prevailing notion of scholars that the school of Prabhākara was atheistic. It is proved here with an array of arguments that God is not denied by the Prabhākaras. It is only the inference of the opponents with regard to God that is refuted by this school.

The most important of the works undertaken is the *Chāndoga-mantrabhāṣyam* of Guṇaviṣṇu, whose interpretation of the ritual mantras is valuable inasmuch as we get here a pre-Sāyaṇic interpretation of Vedic mantras.

The other works undertaken by the Pariṣad now passing through the press are :—

- 1 *Yātrātattvam* and
- 2 *Tīrthātattvam* (both attributed to Raghunandana).
- 3 *Ānandalatikā*—a short *Camphu* composed by Kṛṣṇanātha Sārva-bhauma with the help of his accomplished wife Jayanti Devi.
- 4 *Prameyaratnāvalī* of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. It is an elementary treatise on Vaiṣṇava philosophy. It is being edited with a Bengali translation and Sanskrit commentary.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A Review Reviewed

Dr. Charpentier's criticism of "Aśoka"¹ by Prof. Bhandarkar is a sign of the times, and is a good sign for the West as much as for the East, both are trying to defend their cultures against rival claims for supremacy. Dr. Charpentier's typical Nordic attitude meets the no less typically Aryan stand represented in the Maratha scholar. It is really not a review of the book but more or less of the culture set forth in it and consequently it is more amusing than surprising, or better still both at one and the same time.

To begin with the reviewer's "fad" for newness, with something startling in it, one feels constrained to say that the criterion is impractic-

1 Vide *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, pp. 805ff.

cable. It takes the breath away of those who are humbly working in the vast field of Indology. To think that every book in history must have startling information is to expect facts to be manufactured. Poetry and philosophy become likewise impossible if all were to make similar demands. In philosophy, thought advances on the old basis through criticism and interpretation. Even in poetry, the most original of literary activities, ancient truth re-appears in beautiful designs and finer clothing. No less a genius than Milton had to proceed on the foundation of Greek and Latin poetry, for according to him, 'borrowing and bettering is no plagiarism'. Indeed the creative genius constructs things out of the old materials revealing hidden beauties, underlying connections and operative motive and ideals. In the field of science such newness may be possible and that again to a certain extent when it is remembered that theoretical anticipations can be shown for almost every new thing actually done or invented. Such being the case in every department of life, certainly a Columbus will be needed to satisfy this criterion. Remembering that Prof. Bhandarkar's book is mostly from epigraphical sources, it may be said quite safely that he has done excellent work in constructing history from materials other than traditional and literary. The extant books on Aśoka, at least those written in English do not open out these fields before the readers except in the smallest measure. Senart, who is looked upon as an authority, found in the book matter enough to carry conviction on many points. Hence we have to say with Kālidāsa,—“Men are of different tastes.” Yet apart from tastes, the very best books will not stand Dr. Charpentier's test including his own contributions to the 'Cambridge History of India'.

More astonishing than the demand for newness is the expression “the somewhat vague expression, brotherhood of man”, which is met with in the review under notice. If “brotherhood” is a vague or somewhat vague expression, it is beyond our imagination as to what may be clearer, more definite or even more powerful in any language and in any religion. Indian culture does not believe in howitzers and maxim guns. Dr. Charpentier has in the same breath used the expression “our religion” when speaking of Christianity, the originality of which he means to defend. Is there anything really greater in Christianity itself than the conception of brotherhood? It should not be condemned simply because it seems to have risen from Buddhism as shown by Prof. Bhandarkar. This will unfortunately give away Christianity rather than save it. In certain directions authorities have suggested Christian

influence on later Buddhism. On the same lines greater and robuster conceptions might have travelled from India to reach Christianity. If trade in articles was possible, exchange of ideas was equally possible and some of the Jātakas throw good light on the point. Stories could be borrowed as in *Æsop's Fables*, and Indian art had a good deal from the Greeks; religion is not an exception to this rule whether in India or in Palestine. Of course, it is difficult to establish the truth of borrowing like that of philosophical causation, although similarities and sequences may be found all right, and be present at every step.

Another authority who has been hurled down by Dr. Charpentier's pen is H. G. Wells. He is spoken of as no historian worth careful consideration. But H. G. Wells stands for idealism which is the philosophy of history as different from dry dates and chain of events. It is exactly here that our reviewer has failed to see the lesson of Aśoka's life and government. His "duties of a ruler", even if they come from the most efficient Hohenzollern foundry, do not agree with the application of spiritual principles to politics. The imperialist shibboleth, "safety of subjects", has been so often abused that it does not deceive any one today and would hold no water in modern times when Christianity itself is being interpreted as an advance on Socialism. It is difficult to imagine what he would say to this if he happens to be a Christian, by which is meant Christ's own principle and not the formal and official Christianity too well known as a western product having little to do with the founder of the religion. The Christians were equally subjects of Marcus Aurelius, and their rights demanded equal attention. If Aśoka were in the same position, he would have perhaps given up the throne before acting like the Roman Emperor, which marks out all the spiritual difference. But the principles of righteous government as understood in the east will not be understood in the same way in the west, far less by the reviewer. The time is not also ripe. It is a question of the level of culture which is still to be settled, and where Christ is just an Easterner like Aśoka.

The comparison between Cæsar, Alexander and Aśoka has not been made on military glory but on the cultural level. Supposing Aśoka had not laid down his sword in Kalinga when victory was at his feet and turned a new leaf in the book of life under the inspiration of Buddhism, he could have attained to the standard of Dr. Charpentier and others of his school. Valuation has to go on, according to known standards. Let it also be said that Aśoka governed an empire not less extensive and complicated than the largest yet

known. The wonder is that he did it on his own principles just as Marcus Aurelius lived a good life even in a palace of his time. Their greatness consisted in this one fact of loyalty to ideals under trying and difficult circumstances. Aśoka met the problem successfully in and outside his palace.

It is a matter for satisfaction that Dr. Bhandarkar's book has successfully suggested and provoked thought. The real point at issue between him and Dr. Charpentier seems to be over the question of Aśoka's greatness, the Indian opinion being all in favour of the Buddhist Emperor. The reviewer is probably upset by the claims made in this respect, and it is not unnatural considering the narrow outlook of many westerners with regard to things eastern. His criticism goes, after all, to prove to the hilt the one fact, if nothing more, that Indian scholarship is freeing itself gradually and systematically from the tame intellectual helotage to the West, and Dr. Bhandarkar is one of the outstanding pioneers. The Calcutta University has done solid service to the nation and to the East in general by publishing the works of those scholars who are interpreting Indian culture boldly in their own way, away from the leading-strings of the West. The day is dawning when the Indian school of thought will find its own and rightful place.

N. C. G.

Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya

In the previous number of this Journal (p. 569) Mr. V. Vankataram Sharma has written 'A note on the word Kauṭalya' showing that Kauṭalya and not Kauṭilya is the right spelling of the name of the famous author of the Arthaśāstra. I have found an inscription of V. S. 1291 (Vaiśākha Śudi 14 Guran) from the village Gaṇesar near Dholkā in Gujarat which in l. 9 clearly reads Kauṭalya. It records that Vastupāla the famous Jain minister of the Vāghela king Viradhavala, who built a temple of Gaṇeśvara in V. S. 1291, was equal to Kauṭalya in statesmanship.

D. B. DISKALKAR

The Vedic Jāhāka and the Avestic Dahāka

In the R̥gveda VIII, 45, 37 the words *jahā haḥ* occur together in the following sentence: *jahā ho' asmād'igate*. The same verse is

found also in the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* I, 3, 1 with only one variation that *jahā́ kah* of the former is here *jáhākah*,—one word with different accent. Much has been discussed by German scholars, Ludwig, Grassmann and others as regards the meaning of *jahā́ kah* or *jáhākah*, but it seems still to have been unsettled. The word *jáhāka* in the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* struck me at once reminding of *Dahāka* or *Azi Dahāka* of the Avesta better known in the later legends by the name of *Zohāk*. Now, the question is : Are *jáhāka* and *Dahāka* identical? It appears that there are no such philological difficulties in their identity as cannot be overcome.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Indian Ballads

(A Query)

Will any of the readers kindly furnish the undersigned, through the Editor, with a list of Indian Ballads old and new, current in the different provinces and in the different vernaculars, and state whether the ballads are in manuscript or are published, and where they are available?

Information is also solicited as to the subject-matter of ballads which the country-folk of the different provinces usually recite or sing in the course of their work or during leisure hours.

S. N. RUDRA

Obituary Notice

The Late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai

Persons interested in ancient Indian chronology will have heard with great regret of the rather sudden death of Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, which took place in Madras on 10th September last. He fell ill on the 17th August ; but he, nevertheless, attended the sitting of the Madras Legislative Council, of which he was the President, and it is to be feared that his devotion to public duty most probably hastened his end. He was a firm believer in the gospel of ceaseless work ; and in his life he exemplified the great truth taught by Goethe that :—

Rest is not quitting the busy career ;

Rest is the fitting of self to one's sphere.

The late Mr. Louis Dominic Swamikannu Pillai was born in 1865 in the Coimbatore district of the Madras presidency. He had his education in St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, from which he took his B. A. degree, securing a First Class and the first place in the presidency, with Mathematics as his optional subject. His proficiency in English, Latin and Greek was even then remarkable. He took his M. A. degree in English and Latin in the First Class, and after serving his College for some years as Professor of English, he became Professor of Latin in the Madras Presidency College. From there, he was taken into the Secretariat. During a service of about 32 years he held several important appointments under Government, including those of Collector and District Magistrate, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and Director of Agriculture ; and after his retirement, he became Secretary to the Madras Legislative Council and then President of that body. In the midst of his heavy official duties, he found time for the pursuit of learning ; indeed, we might say of him, as Robert Browning says of his Grammarian, that he 'decided not to Live but to Know'. He was a master of several languages, both Indian and European ; but to readers of this Journal, his greatest claim to grateful recognition is afforded by his works on Indian Chronology and Indian Ephemeris which are of the highest value. Speaking of his work, Prof. Hermann Jacobi wrote in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1912 :

"Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's work...gives complete information on

all topics of Indian chronology and furnishes accurate methods for calculating all items connected with it....He naturally treats all chronological questions from the Indian point of view, and in accordance with it he has invented his methods for solving them...The operations to be gone through are easy and not too many, and the whole process, if once clearly understood and its details thoroughly mastered, will require less time than that of Sewell and Dikshit....As regards the methods of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai in general, they may safely be pronounced to be sound and correct.....His ingenuity in devising these methods, and his indefatigable perseverance in working them out in numerous tables, will ever command the sincere respect of all who are able to appreciate work of this kind. The author has rendered a great service to his science, and will have a lasting claim on our gratitude." Higher praise than this is impossible, and it is well deserved.

K. G. SESA AIYAR,;

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary, November, 1925

H. C. RAY.—The date of the Kauṭīliya. In this article which has been continued from the September number of the *Ind. Ant.*, the author shows that the arguments advanced by Hillebrandt, Jolly, Keith and Winternitz against the theory that the *Arthashastra* in its present form was a work of the Maurya period are far from convincing.

Ibid., December, 1925

G. RAMADAS.—Tiriliṅga and Kuliṅga. The name Telugu is considered here to have its origin from *Tiriliṅga* (*Tirili* meaning wisdom), a tract of land in modern Sabbavaram in the Godavari district where learned and wise men lived, and the origin of Kaliṅga has been found in the word *Kuliṅga* which is the name supposed to have been given by the Aryans to the Dravidian tribes that cultivated in the valley of the Ganges a kind of grain called *Kuliṅga*.

L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, July-December, 1924

M. Foucher, head of the French archæological mission in Afghanistan, has recently discovered at Balkh a large brick-stupa consisting of a cylindrical drum 43 metres in diameter, placed upon a square base. The drum is still adorned with 28 pilasters; in it have been discovered a few Kushan, Sassanide, and Timuride coins. M. Foucher has also carried out a preliminary excavation in the ruins which conceal the ancient citadel of Bactria. M. Jouveau Dubreuil of the Pondichery College arrived in Afghanistan last year as a collaborator of the French archæological mission. But only a month after his arrival he was compelled to return to India by the outbreak of a popular revolt against the Amir. During his short stay he was able to discover at a place 47 miles north of Kabul the remains of two cities, one being the ancient Kapisa and the other Alexandria under the Caucasus founded by Alexander the Great. M. J. Hackin, keeper of the Guimet Museum has successfully excavated a Buddhist site near Charikar. (See pp. 647ff.) (U. N. G.)

Journal Asiatique, April-June, 1925

Richard Schmidt's Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in Kürzerer Fassung von Otto Böhtlingk (Supplement to the abridged Sanskrit Dictionary of Otto Böhtlingk). Reviewed by G. Ferrand. It is a work proposing to incorporate additions to the Sanskrit Dictionary collected in the course of a study of the texts. The number of such additional words collected by its author amounts to nearly 12,000. Four fasciculi of this work have already appeared; No. 1 comprising 'a'-apāṅgapāta'; No. 2 'apāṅgayati'-āptavākya'; No. 3 'āptvāda'-kālabandhana'; No. 4 'kālamahi'-jṛmbhita'.

The Oriental Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters has published a work entitled *Notes on the Saundarananda, Critical and Explanatory* (2nd series). The author is a Polish scholar M. Gawronski, who has qualified himself for his task by previous studies in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. He has set himself to remove many of the obscurities occurring in the Bib. Ind. edition because of the paucity of Mss. available to its editor Mm. Haraprasad Sastri. He draws a number of comparisons between the *Saundarananda* and the rest of Sanskrit literature (specially the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata), and he quotes analogous texts from Horace, Ovid etc. (U.N.G.).

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

N. S., Vol. I, No. 2

P. V. KANE—The Predecessors of Vijñāneśvara. An account has been given here of Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci, Medhātithi, Śrīkara, and Dhāreśvara who are named by the *Mistākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara and who wrote either commentaries or nibandhas on the Dharmaśāstra.

JAMESDJI M. UNVALA—Syntheticism in Indian Iconography. The author points out in this paper the peculiar feature of the Hindu sculptural art, viz. its synthetic traits of representing the plurality either of the aspects or of the activities of a deity, which are absent in the Buddhist iconography owing to the Hellenic influence on same.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR.—Pañca-mahāśabda in the *Rājataranigīṭī*. It has been contended here from the evidences of the Southern usage that Pañca-mahāśabda found in the *Rājataranigīṭī* means five great sounds i. e. a band of five musical

instruments, and refers to the dignity of going in public with a band playing, rather than to the five titles commencing with *great* (mahā), as has been interpreted by Sir Aurel Stein.

- K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—Kerala-Nāṭaka-Cakra. The names of the various Sanskrit dramas and their Acts which have been popular on the Kerala temple stage are given from the verbal testimony of the Cākyārs, the custodians of such information, which makes it probable that some more Sanskrit dramas will, in due course, be brought to light.
- H. D. VELANKAR.—Prince Sambhājī as a Poet. Here has been described a Sanskrit work on anthology called *Budhabhūṣaṇa* claiming for its author king Sabhu (Sambhājī), son of Śivājī the Great, and a few passages from literary documents have been quoted to prove that it is not impossible that Sambhājī was the author of this work and some other Hindi poems.
- K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—Nāga Worship in Kerala. In worshipping the Nāgas, Malayalees are, according to the writer, paying their homage to the ancestors of the aborigines called Nāgas, who died in the battle with Paraśurāma when he reclaimed the land and suggested to the conquered people, as has been said in the *Sthalapurāṇa*, probably as a measure of reconciliation, the worship of the departed heroes.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1925

- A. C. WOOLNER.—Sanskrit Names of Drugs in Kuchean.

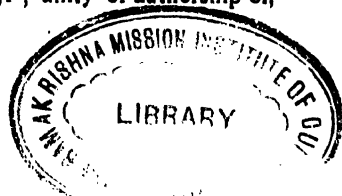
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